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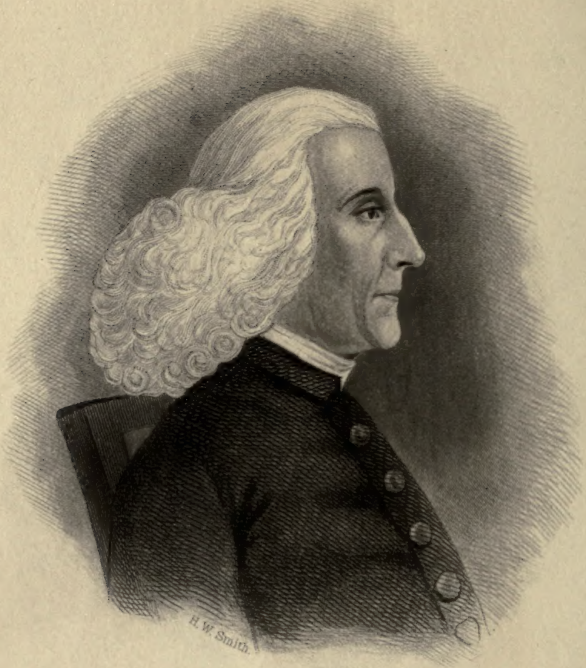


SAMUEL CURWEN, A.M.

Judge of Admiralty &c.

20474

THE

JOURNAL AND LETTERS

OF

SAMUEL CURWEN,

AN AMERICAN IN ENGLAND,

FROM 1775 TO 1783;

WITH AN

APPENDIX OF BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

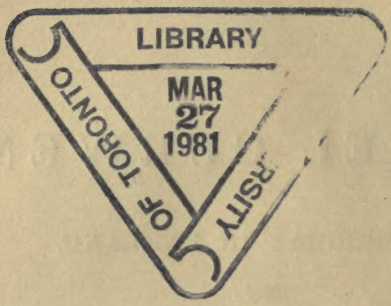
BY

GEORGE ATKINSON WARD,

FELLOW OF THE MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETIES
HONORARY MASTER OF ARTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF HARVARD
AND NEW YORK.

FOURTH EDITION.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY.
1864.



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RIVERSIDE, CAMBRIDGE:
PRINTED BY H. O. HOUGHTON AND COMPANY.

To

JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D.,

EX-PRESIDENT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, ETC., ETC.

THE PATRIOT, STATESMAN, SAGE,

WHOSE LONG AND PEERLESS LIFE WAS A CONTINUAL BLESSING TO HIS COUNTRY AND MANKIND,

This Work

WAS BY PERMISSION ORIGINALLY DEDICATED,

AND IS NOW

GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED TO HIS MEMORY.

SALEM, *Mass.*, *July* 4, 1864.

PREFACE.

The original manuscripts from which the body of the following work was compiled, were sent in detached parts by the respected writer to his niece, a grandparent of the editor, (in whose family they remained for more than sixty years,) with the following injunction, viz: —

"These papers were written partly by way of pastime, and partly with a view to future amusement, should it please the Sovereign Disposer of life to lengthen mine beyond the period of banishment and restore me again to my native country. Otherwise may they prove an entertainment to my friends, to whom I commend them, requesting their care to keep them from the inspection of all others, they being negligently written and but for the eye of candor and friendship, without method or order, as memory served, whereby many faults and anachronisms happened (if a technical expression applied to more important events may be used about such insignificant trifles); if they shall afford them the least amusement, my purpose will be answered."

The editor considered the publication of these papers not only as in no wise a violation of the injunction of his venerated relative, but as due to his memory, to exhibit to his countrymen the purity of his motives,

and the ardent affection he bore towards his native land, even when constrained by a sense of duty to turn his back upon it. The modest estimate of the Journal and Letters expressed by their author, in the above passage, was not regarded as forbidding their publication. The clearness and purity, the classical accuracy and simplicity of their style place them beyond the need of elaborate finish or a more methodical arrangement. Their merit in these respects has been everywhere acknowledged.

Another inducement for the publication was furnished by the incidental light thrown upon the character of his brethern in exile, all of whom have passed away, but whose numerous descendants feel a deep sense of the injustice to which most of them, in a season of great popular excitement, were unfortunately subjected, who, under less adverse circumstances had filled with honor civil posts of high trust, and led to victory our arms in the provincial wars. As the just fame of such as have distinguished themselves in important public concerns has ever been esteemed among the most valued treasures of civilized nations, that of these Loyalists, banished for having taken the losing side in a struggle the nature of which was thought to require all to be treated as friends or foes, seemed to call for a proper vindication at the hands of posterity, while the contrast of their later with their earlier fortunes presents strong claims to the sympathy of mankind.

Theirs was the losing side. "*Victrix causa Diis placuit sed victa Catoni;*" and the feelings of admiration inspired of old by the contemplation of the generous virtue of the high-souled Roman, must ever meet the sympathy of truly elevated and enlightened minds.

At the time of the issue of our first edition, the success of publications then recent in the department of historical writing induced the belief that the period had arrived when a sealed book might be opened, and a dispassionate examination had of the circumstances connected with that portion of our history in which the character of this proscribed class of our countrymen is involved. This work was offered with the hope of removing to some extent, if not fully, whatever obloquy had been unjustly cast upon their names, and to show that they were, in many instances, not the less actuated by lofty principle than those who embraced the popular opinions of the day, and adopted measures which resulted in such transcendent success.

The former editions of this work having been for some time exhausted, the editor feels it to be his duty to meet the demands still made for it by a reprint. He gratefully and respectfully submits it again to the public favor, in a form which will show that he appreciates the estimate that has been put upon its value, and the friendly suggestions with which the previous editions have been received. He flatters himself with a belief that he has rendered a service in opening an interesting and important department of historical literature, and that the journals which have noticed his work, and subsequent writers who have availed themselves of, or been aided by, his materials, have also done much to inform and enlighten the public in reference to the actors in the period and crisis to which this work belongs.

In the third edition, which was published in 1845, there are biographical sketches, of greater or less particularity and length, of the following persons: —

Apthorp, Rev. East, D. D.
Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, D. D.
Auchmuty, Judge Robert,
Badger, Rev. Moses,
Bernard, Sir Thomas, Bart.
Bliss, Daniel, Esq.
Bliss, Hon. Jonathan,
Blowers, Judge S. S.
Borland, John L., Esq.
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Brattle, Major Thomas,
Brinley, Thomas, Esq.
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Cunningham, Gen. Richard,
Cunningham, Major William,
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Flucker, Secretary Thomas,
Franklin, Gov. William,
Frye, Col. Peter,
Galloway, Joseph, Esq.
Gardner, Sylvester, M. D.
Gray, Treasurer Harrison,
Green, Francis, Esq.
Greenleaf, Stephen, Esq.
Gridley, Benjamin, Esq.
Hallowell, Benjamin, Esq.
Hooper, Joseph, Esq.
Hopton, John, Esq.
Hume, Hon. John,
Hutchinson, Elisha, Esq.
Hutchinson, Judge Foster,
Hutchinson, Thomas, Jr., Esq.
Hutchinson, William, Esq.
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Jeffries, John, M. D.
Lee, Joseph, Esq.
Leigh, Sir Egerton, Bart.
Leonard, Hon. Daniel,
Lloyd, James, M. D.
Loring, Commodore Joshua,
Lovell, Rev. Benjamin.
Lynde, Ch. Justice Benjamin,
Marston, Benjamin, Esq.
Murray, Col. John,
Oliver, Lieut.-Gov. Andrew,
Oliver, Judge Andrew,
Oliver, Dr. Brinley Sylvester.
Oliver, Daniel, Esq.
Oliver, Ch. Justice Peter,
Oliver, Peter, Jr., son of the Judge.
Oliver, Dr. Peter,
Oliver, Lieut.-Gov. Thomas,
Orne, Timothy, Esq.
Oxnard, Edward, Esq.
Paine, William, M. D.
Paxton, Charles, Esq.
Peters, Rev. Samuel, D. D.
Pickman, Col. Benjamin,
Porter, Samuel, Esq.
Powell, Col. Robert William,
Poynton, Capt. Thomas,
Prince, John, M. D.
Putnam, Judge James,

Putnam, James, Jr., Esq.
Pynebor, William, Esq.
Robie, Thomas, Esq.
Robinson, Col. Beverly,
Robinson, Lieut.-Col. Beverly,
Robinson, John,
Rogers, Jeremiah D.
Rogers, Samuel, Esq.
Ropes, Judge Nathaniel,
Routh, Richard, Esq.
Royall, Col. Isaac,
Ruggles, Gen. Timothy,
Russell, Judge Chambers,
Saltonstall, Col. Richard,
Savage, Arthur, Esq.
Sewall, Hon. Jonathan,
Sewall, Samuel, Esq.
Sheppen, Edward,
Simpson, Jonathan,
Smith, Rev. Isaac,
Smith, Judge William,
Sparhawk, Samuel H., Esq.
Stuart, Hon. John,
Temple, Robert, Esq.
Troutbeck, Rev.
Vassall, John, Esq.
Vassall, William, Esq.
Waldo, Francis, Esq.
Waterhouse, Samuel, Esq.
Wentworth, Gov. Sir John, Bart.
Willard, Abel,
Willard, Abijah,
Wilkins, Rev. Isaac,
Williams, Elijah,
Williams, Seth, Esq.
Winslow, Edward, Jr., Esq.
Winslow, Pelham, Esq.
Wiswall, Rev. John,
Wragg, Hon. William,
Wright, Gov. Sir James, Bart.
Zubly, J. J., D. D.

The notices of the foregoing names are omitted in the present edition. As they can be seen by reference to that of 1845, it seems unnecessary to repeat them; especially as they can also be found substantially in the same form in Mr. Sabine's book on the "American Loyalists," published in 1847. Our thanks are due Mr. Sabine for his favorable opinion of our labors, expressed on page 238 of his valuable work, viz.: "Mr. Curwen[1]

[1] Capt. George Curwen, the first of the name in New England, (and who used the arms of the Curwens of Workington Hall, Cumberland County, England,) spelt his name differently at different times — Curwin and Corwin. There is a document in possession of the family signed by him as Corwin and by his son John as Curwin. The family have also two documents signed by George, a grandson of Captain George, and both sealed with the arms — one is signed Corwin, the other Curwen. The Hon. Jonathan, a son of Capt. George, and Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, spelt the name Corwin, while his son, the Rev. George, spelt it Curwin.

Samuel and George, sons of the Rev. George, spelt it during their mi-

kept a Journal which has lately been published, and is an interesting book: its editor has enriched it with several[1] notices of his relative's fellow-loyalists, and thus added greatly to its value. No work extant contains so much information of the unhappy exiles while abroad."

Much new information concerning persons mentioned in former editions will be found; and a number of names and characters alluded to in the text, not before brought to view, is added in this edition.

Charles Dickens, in his "Household Words" for May and June, 1853, devoted twenty-three closely printed columns to a notice of this work; and it is remarkable that this American book should have so attracted his attention as to induce him to read it, which he did, and praised, — and

"Stanley's praise is praise indeed."

Mr. Dickens described Curwen as "a small, thin, precise-looking man, in a dress of grave, square cut, with a large bush wig, sharp features, long nose and chin, a keen, restless eye, a step as active and firm as though it carried sixteen instead of sixty winters, and a complexion certainly not tanned by an English sun."

The following passage exhibits our author and his Journal in the light in which Dickens regards them: "When Judge Curwen fled from the rebellious colonies he was sixty years old; when he went back to the triumphant young republic, he was sixty-nine; and of the eventful years which formed the interval — all of them

nority, Corwin; but (as in Harvard College Catalogue) and after they became of age, Curwen; to which cognomen the family in New England have ever since adhered, and through all these changes the arms of the Curwens of Workington Hall have been used by the family.

[1] The number is one hundred and forty!

passed in England, and all with the usual penalties of exile, though some with more than its usual enjoyments — he left a curious record in a diary which his surviving representatives printed in New York a dozen years ago, and in which those past days with all their pains and pleasures, their hopes and their misgivings, still live for us with a vivid and singular reality. For the record was honest and genuine, as in the main the diarist himself was. He does not indeed appear to have been of the heroic stuff of martyrs. If the liberty of opinion he craved had been conceded to him it it would probably have involved nothing graver than the liberty to change his opinion; for he was clearly a man impressible by events, and would probably have saved himself a very long voyage and very great inconvenience if he could only have held his tongue till after the first few blows were struck in the war of his fellow-citizens for independence. Not that he was a timeserver — far from that: 'his views within his line of sight were steady and unwavering;' but in politics this line stretched but a little way, and took also a subsequent not dishonorable bias from his avowed liking of his native land. In other respects he was a man of fair learning, and more than average accomplishment; not at all intolerant of opinions at issue with his own; in religion a Dissenter of the class still most prevalent in New England; in his tastes scholarly and refined, not ill read in general literature, prone to social enjoyments, a reasonably good critic of what he saw, — altogether an excellent example of the class of men out of whom the fathers and founders of that great republic sprang; and a companion not less pleasant than instructive to pass a few hours with, as I hope the reader will find."

Dickens follows Curwen in his observations upon the scenes and objects of interest in London, evidently regarding his descriptions and criticisms as a true and adequate picture of the times. "Having gone through the great metropolis," he says, "the reader will not object to accompany him through the leading towns of Old England, and mark how little or how much they may still retain of what their visitor from New England observed in them seventy-eight years ago."

After quoting the following passage from Curwen's Journal, — "Oct. 21st. Rose at six o'clock, and went a coursing with two greyhounds and a spaniel for hares. Started one and left her in a turnip-field; returned about two o'clock, not greatly fatigued, after a ramble of fifteen miles over hedge fences, ditches, &c.," — Dickens speaks as follows: —

"Nor is this a mere casual indication of activity and the power of bearing fatigue. It expresses the habit of the man. During the long journeyings to which reference has been made, the mere movement from place to place has been the least part of the fatigue undergone. Whatever any place contains he must see: if there be any object of interest in the neighborhood, off he starts on a visit to it. He is never willingly at rest, never comes to a positive stand-still; is still pushing forward where something more can be seen or known. With the passion of a dweller in a new country for all that makes memory and association so pleasant in an old one, he is honorably anxious to examine every spot consecrated by genius or made illustrious by heroism or worth."

The use that this preëminent literary critic makes of Curwen's Journal proves that he regarded it as the very best picture extant of that country; of its cities,

towns, institutions, people, manners, customs, and entire state of society and condition of things ninety years ago. Confident that he has not overestimated the value and interest of the Journal, not only as a part of the literature belonging to the American Revolution, but as the most trustworthy and thorough representation of the mother-country at that period, the editor presents this edition in a mechanical style of elegance and finish worthy of its inherent, peculiar, and enduring merits.

The "North American" and other Reviews objected that but one letter from Mr. Curwen to his wife was inserted in the book. It was first published with the view of enlightening the public as to the wanderings and trials of the exiled Loyalists abroad, and not to exhibit their domestic relations. Mr. and Mrs. Curwen were in constant correspondence during their long separation; but as their letters contained nothing of interest to the general reader which was not to be found in others of similar dates, written with more care, they were excluded.

In bringing the present edition before the public, kind aid has been rendered by the Rev. John Langdon Sibley, A. M., the indefatigable librarian of Harvard University; John Holmes, A. M., of Cambridge; Rev. George E. Ellis, S. T. D., of Charlestown; Rev. John Parkman, A. M., of Boston; and Hon. Charles W. Upham, S. H. S.; Dr. Henry Wheatland, A. A. and S. H. S.; and George R. Curwen, Esq., of Salem, to whom the editor tenders his grateful thanks.

G. A. Ward.

Salem, March 29, 1864.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

His Ancestry, Birth, and Education. Visits Europe. Returns, and engages in Commerce at Salem. Joins the Expedition against Louisburg. Extracts from his Journal during the Campaign. An Account of the Expedition. Appointed Impost Officer for Essex County. Literary Clubs at Salem. Affairs in Massachusetts before the Revolution. Difficulties with Governors Bernard, Hutchinson, and Gage. Commencement of the Revolution. Departure of the Author to Philadelphia, and thence to England. His Return and Death. Number of Exiles from Massachusetts, ... pp. 1–24

JOURNAL AND LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1775-1776. Causes of the Author's Departure. His Arrival in Philadelphia. State of Affairs in that City. Perplexities of the Author. He meets Col. WASHINGTON. Reception of Hancock and Adams. The Author sails for England. Arrives at Dover. Proceeds to London. Dines in company with Mrs. Copley, mother of Lord Lyndhurst. Samuel Quincy, Jonathan Sewall, Benjamin Pickman. Letters to Rev. Thomas Barnard, William Pynchon, &c. Dines with Gov. Hutchinson. Visits Bow-Street, Hampton Court, Windsor, Twickenham, Newington, &c. Destruction of Falmouth (now Portland), Maine. New England Club in London. Meets Sir Francis Bernard. Attends Oratorio of Messiah at Covent Garden. Lecture at Salters' Hall by Dr. Price. Visits Chapter House. Doomsday-Book. Portuguese Synagogue. West's Pictures. Tylney House. Lord Mansfield's Seat at Caen Wood. Great Bed of Ware. Rye House. Westminster Hall. Maddock's Garden. Pinchbeck's. Boar's-head Tavern. British Museum. Duke of Bedford's Seat at Croydon. Rev. Dr. Apthorp. Rev. Mr. Peters, ... pp. 25–67

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1776. Leaves London for the Country. Visits Salisbury. Stonehenge. Exeter. Sidmouth. Rev. Isaac Smith. Letter to Thomas Danforth. Visits Bristol. Birmingham. Tewksbury. Gloucester. Returns to Bristol. Ratcliff Church. Admiral Penn. Clifton Grotto. Shepton Mallet. Lord Arundel's Seat. Cabinet of Pope Sixtus V. Alfred's Tower. Spinning-jennies, ... pp. 68–86

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1776. Visits Bath. Meets Col. Saltonstall and Mr. Boylston. Longleat, Seat of Lord Weymouth. Glastonbury Abbey Ruins. Bridgewater. Enmore Castle, Seat of Earl Egmont. Taunton. Sidmouth. Slade. Dr. Shebbeare. Supposed Danish Encampment at Hembury. Admiral Graves. Exeter. News from New York in "Bristol Gazette." Election of Member of Parliament at Exeter. Candidates Baring and Cholwich. Visits Lord Courtenay's Belvidere. Birthplace of Sir Francis Drake. News from America. Rumors of War between England and France. Electioneering in England. Remarks on Election at Exeter. Baring elected. Advices from Gen. Burgoyne. Report of Washington's Defeat at Kingsbridge. Remarks on the tone of Englishmen towards America, and vindication of the latter. Letters to George Russell, William Pynchon, and Judge Sewall, ... pp. 87–102

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1777. Author completes his sixty-first year. Remarks on the Commencement of the New Year. Letters. Dr. Dodd's case. Visits Plymouth, Exeter, Bristol. Journey to London. Engages Lodgings at Brompton-Row, near London. Dines with Gov. Hutchinson. Meets B. Hallowell. Thomas Russell. Visits Christ Church Hospital. The Institution described. Visits Cromwell's Garden in company with Judge Sewall and Abel Willard. Attends New England Club at Mr. Blowers's. Dines with Harrison Gray. Letter to Rev. Isaac Smith on American Affairs, ... pp. 103–117

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1777. Journey from London to Ipswich, in company with Judge Sewall and Abel Willard. Passes through Rumford, Ingatestone, Witham, Colchester. Description of Colchester. Roman Antiquities. Arrival at Ipswich. An unpleasing Town. Leaves it for Cambridge. Newmarket Races. Description of Trinity College. River Cam. University Library. Returns to London. Journey to Oxford. Visits Queen's College. Jesus's College. Merton College. Christ Church College. Library. Allsouls.

Meets Sir F. Bernard. Leaves Oxford. Visits Blenheim House at Woodstock. Bicester. Buckingham. Stow Gardens. Lord George Germaine. Earl Temple. Coventry. Birmingham. Leasowes of Shenstone. Hagley, Lord Lyttelton's Estate. Hales Owen. Fair. Returns to Birmingham, ... pp. 118–134

CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1777. Fair at Birmingham. Soho Gardens. Ashton Park. The Author leaves Birmingham for Sheffield. First stage, Litchfield. Cathedral described. Burton. The Great Staffordshire Canal. Derby Silk-Mills. Porcelain Manufactory. Kiddlestone, Seat of Lord Scarsdale. Ashburn. Residence of Chaucer. Castleton. Remarkable Cave described. Arrival at Sheffield. Colliery. Wakefield. Original of Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, named Johnson. Leeds. Armley. Huddersfield. Halifax. A Great Manufacturing Town. Rochdale. Manchester. Duke of Bridgewater's Canal. St. John's Church. Coal Mines at Worsley. Description of Manchester. Journey to Bristol. Stockport. Macclesfield. Leek. Manufactories. Sandon. Stafford. Penkridge. Wolverhampton. Manufactories. Stourbridge. Bromesgrove. Worcester. Cathedral described. Tewksbury. Gloucester. Newport. Bristol. pp. 135–154

CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1777. Entry of Member of Parliament elect into Bristol. The Author visits the Cathedral. Stapleton. Dundry Tower. Bath. American Privateers in St. George's Channel. Visit to Wales. Swansea. Welsh Customs. Neath. Cowbridge. Cardiff. Newport. Return to Bristol. Advices from New York. Adventure of Charles II. Dean Tucker. John Wesley. Journey to Exeter. Sidmouth. Axminster. Birthplace of the Great Duke of Marlborough. Carpet Manufactories. Thorncombe. Culliford. Slade. Ottery. Return to Exeter. News of Gen. Burgoyne's Surrender. Close of the Year, . . pp. 155–176

CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1778. Letter on American Affairs. Enumeration of Troops to be sent to America. Lord Abington's Motion. Passage from Dr. Robertson. Ceremony of Installing a Bishop. Writers in the Spectator. Amount of Captures by American Privateers. Rev. Sir Henry Trelawney. Political Letters. Report of a Treaty between France and the United States. War between England and France, . . pp. 177–197

CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1778. Letter to Judge Sewall on Public Affairs. Remarks on Ability of England to sustain a War with France. Public Credit. Number of

Troops sent to America. French Medal in honor of Washington. Commissioners to settle the Dispute with America. Massachusetts Exclusion Bill. Excursion to Tiverton. The Author removes his Lodgings from Exeter to Sidmouth. Ride to Taunton. Colyton. Woodbury Castle, the remains of a Danish Fort. Ordination of Rev. Isaac Smith at Sidmouth. Procession of Lacemakers at Honiton . . . . pp. 198–216

CHAPTER X.

A. D 1778. Excursion to the West. Otterton. Lympstone. Teignmouth. Newton Bushel. Dartmouth. Torbay. Bridgtown. Chudleigh. Exeter. Returns to Sidmouth. Visits Beach at Axminster. Letters on Public Affairs. Excursion to Weymouth and Portland. Melcomb Regis. Island of Portland described. Roman Remains. Dorchester. Advices from New York. Quits Sidmouth for Exeter. Arden's Course of Lectures on Experimental Philosophy. Letter from Judge Sewall. Number of Ships taken by the French. Votes of the Bishops on the American War. The Author completes his sixty-third year, . . pp. 217–231

CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1779. Origin of Custom of making Presents on New-Year's-Day. Letters on Public Affairs. British Fleet at Torbay. Lord North announces Departure of Spanish Minister. Ordination at Lympstone. Combined Fleet of France and Spain off Plymouth. Author suspected of being an American Spy. Leaves Exeter for Bristol. Dines with Mr. Vassall. Dr. Gardiner. Captain Carpenter arrives with Letters, etc., from Salem. Mrs. Erving. William Cabot, ... pp. 232–250

CHAPTER XII.

A. D. 1780. Manilla Ship described. Visit to Bath. Letters. Mr. *Washington*, a Moravian Preacher. Celebration of Admiral Rodney's Victory over Don Langara. Death of William Hutchinson. Number of Americans at Bristol, and their Names. Remarks on the Theatre. On Public Affairs. Advices from General Clinton in South Carolina. His success. Tour to the North in company with the Sewalls. Newport. Newton. Honiton. Kidderminster. Brosely. Shrewsbury. Residence of Samuel Porter. Ellesmere. Wrexham. Chester. Warrington. Canal Locks at Runcorn. Liverpool. Peak of Derbyshire. Derby. Wolverhampton. Iron Bridge at Brosely. Curious Celebration of Gen. Clinton's success at Charleston by S. Sewall. Passage on the Severn from Bridgenorth to Worcester. Adventure with a Footpad. Return to Bristol. Riots described in Letter to W. Pynchon. Leaves Bristol for London. Amusing sign at Devizes. Arrival in London, ... pp. 251–287

CHAPTER XIII.

A. D. 1780. Letter to Judge Sewall giving an Account of the reported Dark Day in America. Reply of Sewall. Visit to Ruins of King's Bench Prison and Surrey Bridewell, destroyed by Mob. Remarks on the evil of French Troops in America. Opening of Bartholomew Fair by the Lord Mayor at Smithfield. Richmond Gardens. Elections in London. Sadler's Wells. Plowden's Funeral Monument at the Temple. Roman Coins. Disputing Club. Excursion to Hempsted, . . pp. 288–312

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1780. Visit to Parliament House. Ladies' Disputing Society. Guildhall Meeting. Lord Mayor's Day. Chancery Court. Essex House Chapel. Rev. Mr. Lindsay. Carlisle House. Montague House. British Museum. Lottery Drawing at Guildhall. Disputing Club. Affair of Major André. Mr. Copley's Picture-Room. Painting of Death of Lord Chatham, etc. . . . . pp. 313–327

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1781. Description of Entertainment at Covent Garden Theatre. Letters. American Academy of Arts and Sciences founded in Massachusetts. Trial of Lord George Gordon. Visit to Priory, Clerkenwell. Greenwich Hospital. Mrs. Cowley's New Play. Colonel, now Governor Browne. House of Commons. Debate. Mr. Burke. Visit to Westminster Abbey. Mary-le-bone. Dr. Priestley. British Museum. Curiosities seen there. Benj. Thompson, (Count Rumford.) Intercepted Letter of General Washington. Excursion to Windsor. Personal Description of the King and Queen. Eton College. Chiswick House. News of the Burning of New London. Admiral Rodney's Fleet at Torbay. Consequences of Surrender of Lord Cornwallis. Henry Laurens discharged from the Tower on Bail, ... pp. 328–362

CHAPTER XVI.

A. D. 1782. Letters. Visit to the Queen's House. Domestic Habits of the King. Letter from Judge Oliver. Secret Service List for 1781. General Burgoyne. Welsh Procession. Disgrace of Lord George Germaine. Defeat of Ministers. General Rejoicing in England. Lord Surrey and Benedict Arnold. New Ministry. Anecdote of the Prince of Wales. Lord North. Excursion to Hampton Court. Division in the Cabinet. Admiral Barrington. News of the Defeat of the French Fleet by Admiral Rodney. Maddocks the Florist. Anecdote of the Shakespeare Mug. Parson Wiswall. New Arrangement of the Ministry. Visit to House of

Commons. Parson Peters. Sir William Pepperell. Lord Howe. Sterne's Private Character. Public Notice of a Provisional Treaty between England and the United States. State of Parties. Sir William Draper. pp. 363–398

CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1783. Meeting of Refugees at Sir Wm. Pepperell's. Death of Mr. Flucker. Uncertain Prospects of the Loyalists. Dr. Graham's Lecture on Health. Meeting of the Royal Society described. Public Affairs. Procession in honor of Fox. Mrs. Siddons at Drury Lane. Visit to the House of Lords. Mr. De Berdt. Excursion to Herts. Hoddesdon. Letters. St. Giles's. Peace proclaimed with France, Spain, and Holland. Nathaniel Gorham. Macklin at Covent Garden, pp. 399–435

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1784. Pitt's East India Bill lost. The Author receives Letters from Salem encouraging his return. Riots in London between followers of Pitt and Fox. Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff. Letters from William Pynchon. Funeral of Sheriff Turner. Letter from Judge Sewall. The Author's Petition for leave to return to America, and to appoint an Agent to receive his Pension. Visit to the Treasurer. Preparations for leaving England. Embarks in Ship *Union*. Fellow-passengers. Lands at Cowes, Isle of Wight. Excursion on the Island. Arrival at Boston. Captain Coombs. The Author's Classmates. Letter from Noah Clap, ... pp. 436–461

SUPPLEMENT.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

PAGE

Address of the Merchants and others of Boston to Governor Hutchinson, May 30, 1774, ... 465
Address of the Inhabitants of Marblehead to the same, May 25, 1774, 468
Address of the Barristers and Attorneys of Massachusetts to the same, May 30, 1774, ... 469
Recantations of several of the Salem "Addressers," May 30, 1775, . 471
Address of the Merchants and others of Salem to Governor Gage, June 11, 1774, ... 472
Names of the Gentlemen and Principal Inhabitants of Boston who signed an Address to the same, Oct. 6, 1775, ... 474
Names of Gentlemen driven into Boston, who signed a Loyal Address to the same, Oct. 14, 1775, ... 475
Conspiracy Act of Massachusetts, April 30, 1779, ... 475
Confiscation Act of Massachusetts, April 30, 1779, ... 477

PAGE
Councillors of Massachusetts appointed by Writ of Mandamus, August 9, 1774, ... 479
Banishment Act of Massachusetts, Sept. 1778, ... 479
Worcester (Massachusetts) Resolutions respecting Refugees and Absentees, May 19, 1783, ... 484
List of Inhabitants who left Boston with the British Troops in 1776, . 485
List of such as died in exile from Massachusetts from 1776 to 1783, . 489
Confiscation Act of New York, 1779, ... 489
Action of New Jersey regarding the Loyalists, ... 490
List of Officers who declined signing the Articles of Association in South Carolina when offered them by the General Committee of the Revolutionists, ... 491
List of the Loyalists proscribed by the General Assembly of South Carolina, ... 493
List of Citizens who congratulated General Sir Henry Clinton on the fall of Charleston, ... 493
List of Citizens who served as Volunteers in the Royal Militia, . . 494
List of Citizens who congratulated General Earl Cornwallis, . . 494
List of those who held Commissions under the Royal Government, . 494
List of those who avowed their Allegiance to His Britannic Majesty, and manifested themselves inveterate Enemies to the State, . . 495

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

Abbot, Stephen, ... 496
Ashley, Rev. Jonathan, ... 497
Baring, Sir Francis, ... 497
Bernard, Governor Sir F., ... 499
Blowers, Sampson Salter, ... 500
Boylston, Ward Nicholas, ... 503
Brattle, Major Thomas, ... 504
———, General William, ... 504
Browne, Hon. William, ... 504
———, Hon. William, ... 505
Burgoyne, General, ... 506
Cabot, Andrew, ... 509
———, John, ... 509
———, George, ... 509
Carleton, General Sir Guy, ... 510
Chandler, Nathaniel, ... 511
Clinton, Governor George 512
———, Sir Henry, ... 512
Coffin, Nathaniel, ... 513
———, Thomas Aston, ... 513

PAGE
Conway, General Thomas, ... 513
Cooper, Myles, ... 514
Copley, John Singleton, ... 519
Cornwallis, Charles, ... 520
Crowninshield, George, ... 521
Curtis, Charles, ... 524
Cushing, Thomas, ... 525
———, William, ... 525
Dana, Francis, ... 526
De Grasse, François Joseph Paul, ... 526
D'Estaing, Admiral Charles H., ... 529
De Kalb, John, ... 529
Derby, Elias Hasket, Sen., ... 530
———, Richard, ... 533
Draper, Sir William, ... 534
Fairfaxes, The, ... 534
Faneuil, Benjamin, Jr., ... 543
Fiske, John, ... 546
Frye, Peter, ... 547
Gage, General Thomas, ... 547
Gates, Horatio, ... 548
Germaine, Lord George, ... 549
Gibbs, Henry, ... 550
Goodale, Nathan, ... 550
Goodhue, Hon. Benjamin, ... 551
Gorham, Hon. Nathaniel, ... 552
Gray, William, ... 552
Green, Joseph, ... 554
Greene, David, ... 554
Gridley, Benjamin, ... 555
———, General Richard, ... 555
Haraden, Captain, ... 556
Harrison, Gov. Benjamin, ... 558
Hartshorne, Thomas, ... 558
Hatch, Nathaniel, ... 559
Hawley, Joseph, ... 559
Hewes, Joseph, ... 560
Hill, Rev. Abraham, ... 560
Hiller, Major Joseph, ... 560
Hodges, Benjamin, ... 562
Holyoke, Dr. Edward Augustus, ... 563
Hooper, Hon. Robert, ... 565
Hovey, Rev. Ivory, ... 565
Howe, General Sir William, ... 566
——— Lord Admiral Earl, ... 566

PAGE
Hutchinson, Governor, ... 567
Jones, Admiral John Paul, ... 572
Knyphausen, Lieut.-General, the Baron, ... 578
Lee, General Charles, ... 578
———, Colonel William R., ... 579
McGilchrist, Rev. William, ... 580
Mauduit, Jasper, ... 584
———, Israel, ... 584
Mifflin, General Thomas, ... 584
Moulton, Col. Jeremiah, ... 584
Newton, Roger, D. D. 585
Oliver, Hon. Andrew 585
Paine, Judge Robert Treat 586
———, William, M. D. 587
Palmer, Thomas, ... 587
Peabody, Joseph, ... 587
Pepperrell, Lieut.-General William, ... 602
———, Councillor, William, ... 619
Perkins, Thomas, ... 621
Phips, Col. David, ... 624
Pickering, Timothy, ... 624
Pickman, Benjamin 627
———, William, ... 628
Porter, Samuel, ... 630
Quincy, Samuel, ... 630
Reed, Joseph, ... 647
Robie, Thomas, ... 647
Rochambeau, Lieut.-General, ... 648
Ropes, Judge, ... 648
Rumford, Benjamin Thompson, Count, ... 649
———, Countess, ... 650
Saltonstall, Col. Richard, ... 652
Sargent, John, ... 654
Shirley, Governor William, ... 655
Silsbee, Nathaniel, ... 655
Simpson, Jonathan 657
Sparhawk, Samuel Hirst, ... 658
Steuben, General, ... 658
Stevens, George Alexander, ... 660
Taylor, Joseph, ... 660
Temple, Robert, ... 660
Thomas, Nathaniel Ray, ... 660
Thorndike, Israel, ... 661
Upham, Col. Joshua, ... 664
Vaughan, Lieut.-Col. William, ... 668

PAGE
Walter, William, D. D. 668
Ward, Richard, ... 669
Warren, Admiral Sir Peter, ... 670
West, Nathaniel, ... 670
Winslow, Edward, ... 672
———, Isaac, ... 672
Winthrop, Vice-Admiral Robert, ... 673
———, Governor Thomas Lindall, ... 675
Worthington, John, ... 676

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR.

His Ancestry, Birth, and Education. Visits Europe. Returns, and engages in Commerce at Salem. Joins the Expedition against Louisburg. Extracts from his Journal during the Campaign. An Account of the Expedition. Appointed Impost Officer for Essex County. Literary Clubs at Salem. Affairs in Massachusetts before the Revolution. Difficulties with Governors Bernard, Hutchinson, and Gage. Commencement of the Revolution. Departure of the Author to Philadelphia, and thence to England. His Return and Death. Number of Exiles from Massachusetts.

The paternal ancestry of Samuel Curwen, the author of the Journal and Correspondence now submitted to the public, was for many centuries amongst the leading families in the County of Cumberland, in the North of England, where the family seat, named Workington Hall, still remains.

Captain George Curwin, the immediate ancestor of our author, was born in England, December 10, 1610. He settled at Salem, and, in company with the celebrated Hugh Peter, laid the foundation of the mercantile enterprise of Salem, and first commenced building vessels in that port; he was afterwards extensively engaged in commerce during the whole of his long life. His books of account, and his mercantile correspondence with Sir William Peake, (Lord Mayor of London in 1666,) show that he had embarked in the London trade previous to the year 1658. The late

Rev. Dr. Bentley thus notices him in his "Sketch of Salem," published in the "Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society," in 1800: "This year (1685) Salem lost another eminent man, Capt. George Curwin, who came here in 1638, with his family, and was rich. He was often engaged in town affairs, and commanded a troop of horse. He was also a Representative in the General Court. There is a three-quarter portrait of him in the hands of Samuel Curwen, Esq., son of the Rev. George Curwin, and his great-grandson. He had a fine round forehead, large nostrils, high cheek bones, and gray eyes. His dress, a wrought flowing neckcloth, a sash covered with lace, a coat with short cuffs and reaching half way between the wrist and elbow, the shirt in plaits below; an octagon ring and cane, which still remains." He died on the 3d of January, 1685, leaving no debts, and one of the largest estates that had been administered upon in the Colony, which was inventoried at only £5,964 19*s.* 7*d.*, but comprised, besides the homestead, four dwelling-houses, four warehouses, and two wharves in Salem; three farms in the vicinity containing fifteen hundred acres; a warehouse and wharf in Boston; the ketches *George*, *Swallow*, *John*, and *William*, valued at £1,050; in merchandise, £2,232; in gold and silver coin, £93 7*s.* 0*d.*, in English and New England money, and 621 ounces of plate. Among the wearing apparel inventoried, are a silver-laced cloth coat, a velvet ditto, a satin waistcoat embroidered with gold, a troping scarf and silver hat-band, golden topped and embroidered gloves, and a silver-headed cane, which still remains.

In the settlement of the estate, Captain Curwin's widow, Elizabeth, who was a daughter of Gov. Edward Winslow, and also a sister of Gov. Josiah Winslow, of

Plymouth Colony, claimed some plate given her by the Lord Mayor, by her father, and by the Governor; together with eight pounds in gold, which her husband had received from Mr. Pope, being the "produce" of an Indian boy sent her by the Governor and Council from Plymouth.

His four daughters married Hon. James Russell and Edward Lyde, Esq., of Boston; William Browne, Jr., Esq., and Josiah Wolcott, Esq., of Salem.

Captain John Curwin, the eldest son, was born in Salem, July 28th, 1638. He became a merchant, and was elected deputy to the General Court from Salem, where he resided. He married Margaret, third daughter of John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, in May, 1665. Captain Curwin died in 1683, leaving an only son, George, born February, 1666. The latter, who married Susannah, and afterwards Lydia, daughters of the Hon. Bartholomew Gedney, of the Provincial Council, is the Captain Curwin mentioned in "Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts," in the expedition against Canada, under Sir William Phipps, in 1690. He was, unfortunately, Sheriff of the County of Essex, in 1692; and for officiating during the witchcraft delusion, was severely persecuted by the friends of the sufferers, till his death, which took place in 1696.

Bartholomew Corwin, the only son of the last mentioned George, removed to Amwell, Hunterdon County, New Jersey, and married Esther Burt. He had four sons, viz.: George, John, Joseph, and Samuel, and died May 9th, 1747. Samuel Corwin, of Amwell, a grandson of Bartholomew, informed the editor, in 1822, that the books and papers left by his grandfather were destroyed, with other movables, during the Revolutionary war, when his uncle Joseph removed to Canada, and

the family of his uncle George, who died in 1780, removed to Kentucky. Probably Governor Corwin, of Ohio, is a descendant of this branch. He also informed the editor that John Corwin, a great-grandson of Bartholomew, was living at Baltimore.

Hon. Jonathan Corwin, second son of the first mentioned George, was born at Salem, Nov. 14, 1640, and made a freeman May 31, 1671. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob and Margaret Sheafe, of Boston, and widow of Robert Gibbs, who was a son of Sir Henry Gibbs. He commenced his public career of a Deputy to the General Court, in 1684, which office he again held in 1689. The following extract from the records of Salem, shows much confidence in him; and at the same time the action of that town towards re-establishing a government under the venerable Bradstreet, in opposition to the tyranny of Sir Edmund Andros.

"May 7, 1689. Capt. John Prince and Mr. Jonathan Corwin were chosen to assist in the Council at Boston, to be held on the 9th inst.; and we desire that the Honorable the Governor, the magistrates, and deputies chosen in the year 1686, would (having always due respect to our dependence on the Crown of England, and the obligation we are under by the late declaration before the surrender of the last government) reassume our charter government, by taking their places and forming a General Court as soon as possible; unto which we shall readily and cheerfully subject ourselves, and be always assisting to the utmost of our power with our lives and estates as formerly."

From 1689 to 1714, Mr. Corwin was of the Provincial Council, named in the Massachusetts Charter granted by William and Mary, in 1691. In 1692 the Court of Oyer and Terminer to try persons accused of

witchcraft, was organized, and Nathaniel Saltonstall was appointed one of the Judges, but soon resigned, when Mr. Corwin was appointed in his place, and sat in most of the trials before that Court. The same year he was appointed Justice of the Inferior Court of Pleas for Essex County, and remained upon that bench till 1708, when he was selected to fill the vacancy in the Superior Court of Judicature, caused by the resignation of Judge John Leverett, who was that year made President of Harvard College, which office he resigned in consequence of ill health in 1715. He was also Judge of Probate from 1698 until 1702. He died 9th July, 1718. Of his children, but three arrived at maturity, viz.: Anne, who died at the age of eighteen; Elizabeth, who married James Lindall, Esq., of Salem; and George, born in 1682, graduated at Harvard College in 1701, and married Mehitable, daughter of Deliverance Parkman, Esq., (by his wife Mehitable, daughter of Hon. John Waite, Speaker of Massachusetts House of Representatives) 27th July, 1711. He prepared himself for the Church, and was ordained and settled in that of his ancestors, in Salem; the first founded in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. He is thus noticed in the "Historical Collections of Massachusetts," as copied from the records of the Church.

"Died, at Salem, Nov. 23, 1717, the Rev. George Curwin, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and the fourth of his ordained ministry. He was highly esteemed in his life, and very deservedly lamented at his death; having been very eminent for his early improvement in learning and piety, his singular abilities and great labors, his remarkable zeal and faithfulness. He was a great benefactor to our poor."

There is a good half-length portrait of him in the possession of George R. Curwen, Esq. His sons were

Jonathan, who died young, and Samuel, author of the following journal, born in Salem, Dec. 17, 1715. He graduated at Harvard College in 1735, and subsequently pursued the usual course of preparatory studies for the Church, but his health proving inadequate to the labors of the profession, he was obliged to relinquish the design, when disappointment in an affair of the heart induced him to travel in England and on the Continent. On his return, Mr. Curwen engaged in commercial pursuits with uprightness and success. His business was subsequently interrupted by the depredations of French cruisers, fitted out from Louisburg in the Island of Cape Breton. New England suffered immensely in her commerce from the same cause, and her enterprising people resolved upon the reduction of that stronghold of the enemy at all hazards. Accordingly we find what was generally considered a romantic expedition set on foot for this purpose in the winter of 1744–5; and Mr. Curwen, as a Captain, and his brother as a Commissary, join it. The command of this expedition, comprising some four thousand New England militia, was given to General Pepperrell, who having suffered largely from the depredations of French cruisers, advanced several thousand pounds towards the outfit. The result of the expedition, the great event of our Colonial history, was successful, and reflected credit on the participators in it. General Pepperrell was created a Baronet and Lieutenant-General, — honors never before conferred on a native of the North American Provinces.

In May, 1750, Mr. Curwen was married to Abigail, daughter of Hon. Daniel Russell, of Charlestown, and sister of Hon. Chambers Russell; she died 31st March, 1793.

Mr. Curwen had been in the commission of the peace for thirty years, and at the time of his departure was a Judge of Admiralty, in which office he was immediately succeeded by Timothy Pickering, the patriot, who afterwards so ably filled distinguished offices in the Army, in the Cabinet of Washington, and the Councils of our country. Judge Curwen returned in the autumn of 1784, much to the satisfaction of his friends, and was never molested for his political course; he died in his native town, 9th April, 1802, and was buried with his ancestors in the family tomb, in Broad-street Cemetery.

George, the youngest brother of our author, was born 4th December, 1717, and graduated at Harvard College, with his brother, in 1735. He engaged in commercial pursuits with success, until interrupted by hostilities with France, which induced him to join in the expedition against Louisburg, as before stated. His commission as Commissary, signed by Governor Shirley, is dated February 1, 1745. He married Sarah, youngest daughter of Benjamin and Abigail (Lindall) Pickman, 18th March, 1738, and died in the prosecution of a mercantile enterprise at St. Eustatia, in 1746. His widow died 3d January, 1810, at the advanced age of ninety-one years.

Their children were George, born in 1739, who early embarked in commerce, and was drowned while on a voyage to the West Indies, in 1761; Sarah, who died unmarried; and Mehitable, who married the late Richard Ward, Esq., of Salem, and died in 1813, at the age of seventy-two.

The late Samuel Curwen Ward, Jr., a grandson of the last mentioned, and brother of the editor of this work, at the request of Judge Curwen, took his name,

by an Act of the Legislature of Massachusetts; and the three sons of the former and their children are all that now bear that name in New England.

The following are extracts from Mr. Curwen's journal, kept during the campaign and siege of Louisburg:

"*Boston, March* 23, 1745. The General is embarking, and we shall sail this afternoon. Commodore Warren is coming to our assistance, which, with the blessing of God, will be of great advantage. There will go down in the first embarkation at least twenty-five hundred soldiers.

Sheepscot, March 27. We have in our mess Mr. Walter,[1] our chaplain, who is a very pleasant companion. I dined to-day on board with Capt. Grant, who to-morrow, with Capt. King, will breakfast with me. Our troops were landed at Chapeaurouge on the 29th March.

Canso, April 17. Wrote home for provisions and stores to be sent in case the goods I expect shall arrive safe from England. We are almost reduced to pork and pease.

Our men-of-war and privateers are stationed all round the island to prevent vessels going in or coming out. This evening another prize arrived, taken by Capt. Donahue, in the *Swan*, of Marblehead, who behaved very bravely. The prize had captured the packet sent from Boston to Canso,[2] to notify us that Commodore Warren was coming to our assistance, which heightens our spirits.

Canso, April 22. Capt. Durell is come in this afternoon to our assistance; as yet we have no news of Commodore Warren; hope it will not be long before he arrives with an account of the French men-of-war expected. Our last transport arrived this afternoon; we had almost given her up.

[1] Son of Rev. Nehemiah Walter, of Roxbury. His son, Rev. Dr. William Walter, a proscribed Refugee, became Dean of Shelburne, Nova Scotia; returned to Boston in 1792, as Rector of Christ Church, and died 1800, Æ. 64. He married a daughter of Chief Justice Lynde.

[2] Canso, or Canseau, was taken by the French and Indians; the houses were burnt and fisheries destroyed; the garrison and inhabitants made prisoners, and sent to Louisburg.

I believe our campaign will be short, and expect the place will surrender without bloodshed.

Last night our chaplain and doctor went with two companies to attack St. Peter's, and we are momently looking for their return. I long to be once within the walls of Louisburg. This is the strangest country I ever knew; not two fair days together.

Canso, April 27. The Connecticut fleet arrived, and Col. Lathrop handed me my letter. The scheme of attacking Louisburg is altered every day.

Commodore Warren has arrived. I trust the expedition will prove successful, and that our friends will remember we are going against our common enemy. May 1st, a small party went to the harbor and burned a small quantity of wine, brandy, and naval stores.

Camp before Louisburg, May 6. We have got possession of the Grand Battery; the French departed from it three days ago; they spiked all the guns, but we have got seven of them clear, and five of them are continually playing upon the town. Our soldiers are all in good heart, and I doubt not in a few days we shall have the town. We have taken a great number of prisoners.

Commodore Warren this day came ashore to visit the General; he and all our officers have a good understanding among themselves.

Yesterday a gun at the Grand Battery split and wounded five of our men. They now and then throw a bomb, but do no damage.

This morning came in Col. Moulton with his detachment from St. Peter's, which they have demolished with the loss of but one man. Providence has signally smiled, and I doubt not the campaign will be crowned with success. I am willing to undergo anything for the good of our cause.

Camp before Louisburg, May 12, 1745. Commodore Warren has had two hundred marines and sailors ashore for three days past in order to attack the Island-Battery, but something or other has always prevented its accomplishment, so the Commodore has ordered them all aboard, and gone on board himself not a little dissatisfied.

Camp before Louisburg, *May* 26. Commodore Warren has taken the *Vigilante*, a 64 gun-ship, from France, coming with ammunition for this garrison. She was manned with five hundred men, had five hundred barrels gunpowder on board: she lost thirty men before she struck. The command of her is given to Captain Douglass, who before had the *Mermaid*, and Capt. Montague is to have the *Mermaid*. This has given new life to all our officers and soldiers.

Capt. Gayton is safely arrived at last, which affords great joy; for we almost despaired of him, being out so long after all the transports had arrived that left under his convoy.

Capt. Fletcher has had the misfortune to lose ten men by the Indians; seven killed, and three taken prisoners. They went ashore ten miles above where we lay, to get wood, and, keeping no guard, were beset by the Indians and cut off.

Camp before Louisburg, *June* 2*d*. We have made an attempt upon the Island-Battery, and failed. Abbot, a townsman of mine, was wounded in the leg, and I fear he will lose his life. An hundred men are missing, and we are in hopes they are taken, as two boats laden with men were seen going into the town after the attack, when the French gave three hurrahs. Young Gray is dead, and three of Capt. Grant's men are missing, — all of Salem. Our scouts have had an engagement with a number of French and Indians, which we routed; killed thirty, and wounded forty; we lost but six killed; among them is the brave Capt. Dimmock, of Barnstable, and twenty wounded, some very dangerously. Our men got under the very walls before the French fired a gun.

Louisburg, *June* 17*th*, 1745. The Governor, aware of our preparations for a general assault, thought it best to capitulate, and has just surrendered the city to our arms.

Louisburg, *July* 25*th*, 1745. An East India ship, worth at least £200,000 sterling, came off the harbor, and fired a gun for a pilot. The Commodore sent out two sixty-gun ships, which came up with and took her in three hours; we had pleasure, from the walls, to see her strike to them. Two others, sent out three weeks before her, bound hither, are hourly expected to heave in sight. Col. Graham goes to-

morrow in a sloop as a flag of truce for Canada, with about thirty French prisoners; he is the only Englishman that goes in her.

I am going on board Capt. Lovett, to St. Peter's, with a number of my soldiers, to guard the wood-vessels going there. Our affairs will soon be settled, and I shall, to my great joy, return home.

TO HENRY GIBBS, ESQ., SALEM.

LOUISBURGH, *July* 25, 1745.

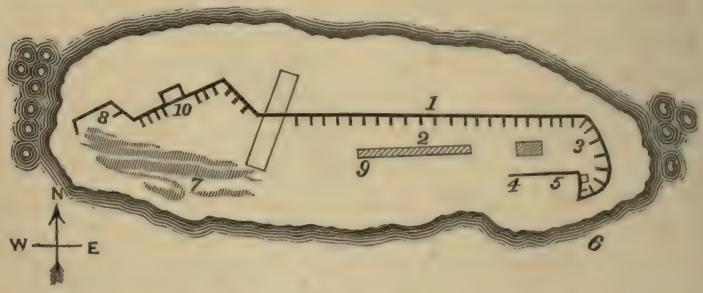
DEAR SIR:

I enclose you a rough draught of the Island-Battery, which I hope will afford you some pleasure. It may perhaps give you some idea of the place which the day before yesterday I saw, and not before. I have the great pleasure to congratulate you on our continued success, in taking a rich East India ship, which, upon the ramparts, about three thousand of us saw strike to the *Princess Mary* and *Canterbury*. She appeared in sight on Monday, the 23d, about middle P. M. She fired for a pilot, and was answered by the Island-Battery with French colors, as the ships in the harbor, by the Commodore's order, laid to, until the *Vigil*, which is placed opposite the mouth, came up as a decoy. Early the next morning, the two ships above-mentioned went out with the white ensign, which the Frenchman laid to for, and too late discovered her mistake; for, being surrounded by the English ships, after having received a broadside from the *Princess Mary*, she yielded without firing a gun; her cargo cost in India about £75,000 sterling. It is judged to be worth one hundred and fifty per cent. above the cost. She has on board thirty tons of pepper, eight hundred and eighty-five bales of muslin, and other very valuable commodities, but no tea or porcelain.

On the 23d, Mr. Rolleau, an engineer, was buried in martial order; the second of the sort since my arrival, a marine having been buried in this manner about a week since. The procession began by soldiery, with arms reversed, two and two, about twenty-five file, then the corpse, with a standard on the coffin, on top of which was placed a drawn sword.

Three files before the corpse went two drummers, with drums unbraced, and beating with the butt-ends of their sticks, at proper pauses, which made a most solemn sound. Then went the General and suite, in a most confused, irregular manner. I am this day going out with a detachment of sixty or seventy of our regiment, as a guard to twelve sloops, to St. Peter's, for wood for the garrison, being the third piece of duty of the military sort. I have no more news.

Heartily wishing you success in business, health of body and tranquility of mind, I remain your friend, and most obedient humble servant, SAMUEL CURWEN."



The embrasures on the front are not more than three feet above the ground.

1. Fronting mouth of the harbor, 22 embrasures, 21 guns, 36 and 48 pounders.
2. Barracks.
3. Sally-ports.
4. Wall framed of timber, and covered with plank, and filled with stone and lime, in which is an embrasure with a 48 pounder.
5. Wall, defended with two small swivels.
6. The place at which whale-boats might easily land 500 men.
7. One entire rock, perpendicular on the face, and absolutely impossible to be climbed.
8. Piquet of large timber, fastened by iron clamps, drilled into the solid rock.
9. Commandant's apartments, five feet high.
10. The gate under the wall, about four feet wide, formed like a common sally-port, not straight, but made an angle of 160 degrees. Ten men can prevent ten hundred making their way; this wall has but four guns and two swivels.

I paced the island, and judged it to be about 56 yards wide and 150 long, at the widest part, nearly.

FROM WILLIAM LYNDE.

SALEM, *July* 27, 1745.

CAPT. CURWEN:

I have had the pleasure of but one letter from you since you left us. If no more East Indiamen, &c., drop in, yet a line on any occasion will be very agreeable. I should be glad to hear of the event of these ships being at Louisburg, and what effect their coming will have on the fleet, army, New England, the nation, or any particulars of them, or concerning Louisburg; the French fishery, settlements on the island, &c., if not too troublesome to you.

I hope New England will be the happier for the event of the expedition, which is known to have been too bold a stroke for your enemy; — how it will turn out is doubtful, since many are competitors for the honor. We here assure ourselves of the Governor's good designs and influence on our part. I could *say* more than write on this article, and cannot but be sanguine for the honor of our country and friends, whose all was involved in the happy issue of the expedition. We hope daily to hear of the Governor's arrival, and good measures for the general advantage. The fleet assume their full share, from all accounts, and have much popularity ashore; doubt not of the influence of omnipotent gold, which, perhaps, they have a greater share of than of honor or jurisdiction on land. How you stand inclined yourself, I know not, though don't doubt your zeal for our country and friends.

As to occurrences at Salem; trade has been successful, and no losses; — if the Dutch break this year, you know how it will affect. We hear from New York, and *viâ* Lisbon, of some five French men-of-war, designing for Cape Breton; perhaps to convoy the Indiamen. Undoubtedly you may expect some *viâ* Lisbon advices; they say Genoa has declared for the French and Spaniards. From New York they say the Duke of Tuscany is Emperor, but it is doubted here. I believe there is matter enough in Europe for a long war; but perhaps you have later news than we. Our Government

has declared war against the Penobscot Indians, who have broke in on our new settlements; so that we are at war with all Eastern Indians; they are doubtless put on by the French of Canada. New England has enough on her hands, though the season is hopeful and trade brisk. Some particulars I could give verbatim, which I cannot write. Hope to see you soon here, and spend some pleasant hours with you, as we have spent many past. Give my hearty service to your brother and Capt. Grant. My brother[1] desires you would excuse his not writing by this opportunity. Capt. Hillyer is now going to sail, having given but short notice.

Believe me, dear Sir, your real friend,

WILLIAM LYNDE.

A late writer thus describes this expedition, which is among the most remarkable in our history:—

"The French had built a city and fortress on the island of Cape Breton, at immense cost, and of immense strength, which, in honor of the King, was called 'Louisburg.' Their fisheries in the seas in its vicinity (as was ascertained by Mr. Kilby, as agent of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts,) produced *one million and four hundred thousand* quintals annually, and they annoyed the Colonial fishermen so much, that the fishing interest of Massachusetts and New Hampshire resolved on the destruction of Louisburg, and the expulsion of the French from the fishing grounds. Application was made to Governor Shirley accordingly, by Vaughan, a son of the Lieut.-Governor of New Hampshire, who was largely interested in the fisheries, and whose fishermen had imparted to him valuable information as to the weak parts of its defences. The subject was considered in secret session, *the first ever held in the Colonies.* After much difficulty, and after having been negatived once, it was resolved to undertake the destruction of this wonderful city. But the Colonies south of New England declined to aid in so mad an enterprise, though urged to do so; and Dr.

[1] Benjamin Lynde, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Franklin, as if forgetting that he 'was Boston born,' ridiculed the project, in one of the wittiest letters that he ever wrote. The spirit of New England was up. A feeling something like that which caused the Crusades, prevailed among her people, high and low. Religion shouted 'Popery;' — and even Whitefield made a recruiting-house of the sanctuary; and he not only preached *delenda est Carthago*, but one of his followers actually joined the troop as Chaplain, and carried an axe at the shoulder, with which to hew down the Catholic images in the churches of the fated city. On sailing, the troops were furnished with line and other gear to catch fish on the passage. The original plan of attack was not observed, but to the surprise of all the city fell, and Pepperell was rewarded most magnificently; while Vaughan, who claimed to have conceived its destruction, and who certainly did much to effect it, and was second in command, and performed extraordinary feats of valor before it, was suffered to die neglected, though he went to London in person to press his claims. At the peace of 1749, Louisburg was restored to France, much to the displeasure of New England. In the war with France, which preceded the Revolution by about twenty years, it was captured a second time, and miners were sent from England to reduce its walls to rubbish. In its second capture, Wolfe distinguished himself much. He sailed from this doomed city for Quebec, at the head of 8,000 men, to rise from a sick bed, and 'die satisfied' on the plains which his name has made immortal. Louisburg is now desolate. Its walls were built of bricks brought from France. Twenty-five years and thirty millions of livres were spent in building it. It had nunneries, and palaces, and two hundred and six cannon were mounted to perpetuate French dominion over it. Six thousand troops garrisoned its fortress, and a fleet of ships-of-the-line and frigates were moored in its waters. But yet, though all called it the 'Dunkirk' of America, because of its exceeding strength, it fell, — and now it is almost unknown that such a place existed. Its captors, by keeping the flag of France in its place, after they became its masters, decoyed and captured

ships and cargoes worth some millions of dollars; but now none but fishermen visit it, and they for shelter and for traffick. That such a city existed at so early a period in our history, is a marvel; that such a city yielded to the farmers and fishermen of New England, is almost incredible. The lovers of the wonderful may read the works which contain accounts of its rise and ruin, and be satisfied that 'truth *is* sometimes stranger than fiction.'

"The influence of the expedition to Louisburg has been felt ever since. When, thirty years after it, the Northern Colonies became embroiled with the mother country, many of those who belonged to it were still alive. The confidence which their skill and success inspired was incalculable. — When General Gage was fortifying Boston Neck, the American people, whose curiosity led them to watch the progress of the works, used to say that 'Gage's mud walls are nothing to old Louisburg's.' 'The drum that beat along the road to Lexington,' said Edward Everett, 'had been at Louisburg.' This is literally true. Gridley, who had laid out the works on Breed's or Bunker Hill, on the night previous to the memorable 17th of June, was the engineer of the Colonial forces at the siege of Louisburg, — and many who rose to distinction in the Revolution, were associated with him in the same perilous enterprise. In truth, the biographers and letters of the men of the Revolution teem with incidents and allusions to this, — the great event of Colonial history."

Mr. Curwen, in 1759, was appointed Impost Officer for Essex County, which office he filled for fifteen years, his commission being renewed at intervals of three years during that period.

He was a member of a club instituted for improvement in philosophy and literature in his native town, in which originated the Social Library, in 1760, and the Philosophical Library, which were afterwards united, and became the foundation of the Athenæum, in 1810.

The meetings of this club were interrupted by the Revolution, but were resumed and continued many years afterwards. Among the members were Dr. Holyoke, (who was President of several literary and scientific societies, and died at the age of a hundred years and seven months, in 1829; and who, with the late Hon. Samson S. Blowers, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, are the only alumni of Harvard University, out of thirty-six hundred graduates, that have arrived at that great age); Hon. Benjamin Lynde and Hon. Nathaniel Ropes, Judges of the Superior Court; Hon. Andrew Oliver, Judge of the Common Pleas; William Pynchon, Esq., an eminent lawyer; Rev. William McGilchrist and Rev. Thomas Barnard; Stephen Higginson, Esq., who afterwards removed to Boston; Hon. William Browne, Judge of the Superior Court, afterwards Governor of Bermuda; Col. Benjamin Pickman, Col. Peter Frye, and Thomas Robie, Esq. These gentlemen possessed literary attainments of a high order, and though ardently attached to their country, took different views of its interests. The last four, together with Mr. Curwen, in consequence of the spirit of persecution which succeeded the battle of Lexington, fearing that the high-toned conduct of the people would bring ruin on their country, became Loyalist refugees, and retreated to England. A brief account of the state of affairs in the Colony of Massachusetts, at the period immediately preceding the Revolution, may serve as an appropriate introduction to the parties and events referred to in the following pages.

We find, at the commencement of Governor Bernard's administration in Massachusetts, in 1760, the final reduction of the Canadas, causing a general jubilee throughout the continent; for the Colonists had

only suffered from their French and Indian neighbors, and these being at length completely subdued, they felt that they could now sit under their own vines and fig-trees, having none to molest or to make them afraid. They had felt the burden of the Government less than any people who had received such benefits from it; and it was a common aspiration in the public prayers of the day, that the civil and religious privileges they enjoyed might be transmitted to their posterity forever. In 1763, Mr. James Otis, (afterwards the great leader of opposition to Gov. Bernard's measures,) in his address, as Moderator of the first town-meeting at Boston after the peace, remarked, that "no other constitution of civil government had yet appeared in the world so admirably adapted to the preservation of the great purposes of liberty and knowledge as that of Great Britain. Every person in America is, of common right, by Acts of Parliament, and the laws of God, entitled to all the essential privileges of Britons. The true interests of Great Britain and her Colonies are mutual, and what God in His providence has united, let no man dare attempt to pull asunder."

There does not appear to have been any cause for dissatisfaction in the Colonies at that period, and there was no complaint of the invasion of the rights of the people by any of the Governments. Soon, however, the disturbances in England reached America, and the cry of "*Wilkes and Liberty*," in London, was echoed in Boston, and resounded through the Colonies.

Accounts were received, before the session of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in 1764, that a bill had passed the House of Commons, imposing duties on articles heretofore exempted, which afforded a good

opportunity to bring the officers of the Crown into disrepute, should they attempt to carry the law into effect. All who were desirous of keeping up the authority of law, were branded with the name of Tories; their characters were assailed in the newspapers, and they were charged with promoting measures to restrict the natural and chartered rights and liberties of the people. The law was attacked by Mr. Otis, in a pamphlet, in which he asks this question: "If taxes are laid in any shape, without our having a legal representative where they are made, are we not reduced from the character of subjects to the miserable state of tributary slaves?" He allows the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies, provided they are represented; and had not the Colonists soon after declared against it, this privilege would probably have been conceded; for Mr. Grenville, and many influential members of the Government, acknowledged themselves in favor of the measure. On the passage of the Stamp Act, there appeared a general determination to oppose it throughout the Colonies; and Mr. Andrew Oliver, afterwards Lieutenant-Governor, having been appointed distributor of the stamps for Massachusetts, a mob attacked and destroyed a building lately erected by him, as was supposed, for a stamp-office; on which he gave notice of his intention to resign, and never to act in that capacity. Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson's house was the next evening attacked, with little damage; but on the 26th August, 1765, his windows and doors were burst in, and every article of furniture and property that it contained destroyed, to the amount of twenty-four hundred pounds sterling, besides a great mass of public and private papers of inestimable value. From this time governmental power ceased in Boston.

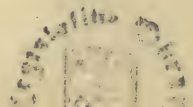
Smuggling had been extensively carried on at that port for years. In 1766, exertions were made, on the part of Government, to prevent this illegal traffic, by prosecuting the parties concerned, which induced the most abusive and licentious attacks on the Governor and all the officers of the Crown. False and groundless as these charges were, they gained too ready a credence with the people, as they were directed against their rulers. At length, however, Mr. Sewall, (afterwards Attorney-General,) in a series of papers signed *Philanthropos* refuted the charges, and silenced the calumniators.

The Stamp Act was repealed, and the duty on molasses reduced from 3*d.* to one penny per gallon; and, for a short time, at the close of the year 1766, the Colonies reposed in tranquillity. This calm was, however, interrupted the next year by the refusal of the Assembly of New York to submit to Parliamentary authority, by making provision for quartering the King's troops. In 1768, the Governor laid before the Assembly of Massachusetts a letter from Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State, directing him to dissolve the same unless an obnoxious vote, passed in February, should be rescinded; and this being refused, by a vote of 92 to 17, the minority were ever after reproachfully termed "*Rescinders.*" In April, 1769, Governor Bernard received orders to embark for England; and on his arrival, his conduct having met the approbation of the Administration, he was created a Baronet. He had been treated with great bitterness here, which, however, was owing in part to certain of his letters to England, in which he infers the necessity of the King's appointing a Royal Council instead of that elected by the people, and recommends an Act to authorize the

King to supersede all commissions which had been issued to improper (*i. e.* disaffected) persons. The destruction of the East India Company's tea at Boston, in 1773, only was wanting by their leaders, to involve the body of the people in the same circumstances in which their course of opposition measures had placed them.

The leading principles of the Revolution, viz., a denial of the right of taxation by Parliament, a claim of the privilege of juries in admiralty courts, and the right of trial only in places where offences are committed, should have been allowed to rest upon the broad basis of their respective merits. Private letters, surreptitiously obtained in England, written by Governor Hutchinson and Lieut.-Governor Oliver, (whose spotless lives, devoted, as they believed, to the best interests of their fellow-men, had acquired for them an almost unbounded influence,) were announced with great pomp and circumstance by legislative resolves; and garbled extracts were circulated, and unjust inferences drawn, before the letters themselves were permitted to be printed, which would have proved a sufficient antidote to the poison so invidiously diffused. The distemper, however, was much arrested by a series of papers, under the signature of *Philolethes*, from the pen of Mr. Sewall, developing the disguised craft and fallacies which pervaded this deep contrivance, and written with such moderation and candor that the calumniators thought it best to leave these pieces unanswered, and suffer the flame to die away, intending to keep the embers in reserve for raising a new flame at a more propitious time for their purposes. Governor Hutchinson[1] had represented the transaction of

[1] See Supplement.



the 5th of March, 1770, (commonly called the Boston Massacre,) in his letters to the Secretary of State, far more favorably for the town than the evidence at the trial afterwards warranted, yet the Assembly considered him as inimical to the Province for conforming to his instructions, and withstanding their attempts to compel him to yield the prerogative of the Crown; and the Council, instead of supporting him, sided with the House. The designs of particular persons to bring about a revolution and attain independency were apparent to the Governor, but he did not think it possible that the people would be induced to declare for it.

Under the discouragements of the times, Governor Hutchinson determined to visit England, and have at least a temporary relief; but before he received an answer to his request, his able and estimable coadjutor, Lieut.-Governor Oliver,[1] succumbed to the unwarranted attacks upon him, and fell a victim to wounded sensibility on the 3d of March, 1774.

In a letter from the Earl of Dartmouth, granting Governor Hutchinson's wished-for permission to visit England, dated April 9, 1774, he says:—

"It is impossible you can have any doubt of the light in which your conduct on the late trying occasion is seen by the King and his servants. I cannot, however, content myself without repeating to you what cannot fail to give you the strongest consolation and satisfaction, that it is his Majesty's intention to testify his approbation of your services to all mankind by an early mark of his favor.[2] This expectation will contribute much to alleviate the anxiety of your mind, and to support you under any difficul-

[1] See Supplement.

[2] A baronetcy was offered Governor Hutchinson, and declined, which ought to satisfy his countrymen of the uprightness of his political motives.

ties you may yet have to encounter; but you will allow me to say, that to a mind like yours there are secret sources of tranquillity that are superior to such great and encouraging considerations. The conscious sense which you possess of an upright and unifrom regard to the duty of your situation, joined to a dispassionate and real concern for the welfare of the people over whom you preside, which equally appear throughout the correspondence that I have had with you, do at this moment, if I am not deceived in my opinion of you, supply you with that steadiness and fortitude which discover themselves in your firm and temperate conduct, and which, under such support, it is not in the power of the most unreasonable prejudice, or even of the most inveterate malice, to shake or intimidate."

General Gage having arrived, with power to administer the Government, Governor Hutchinson sailed on the 1st of June, 1774, for England. Before his departure, he had received addresses from a hundred and twenty merchants of Boston; from all the gentlemen of the law, with few exceptions; from the magistrates of Middlesex and Plymouth, and the principal gentlemen of Salem and Marblehead, all expressing entire approbation of his public conduct, and their affectionate wishes for his prosperity. These addresses gave great offence to the disaffected portion of the community, and many of those who signed them, afterwards stigmatized as "*Addressers*," were compelled by the people to make public recantations in the newspapers. Mr. Curwen, who had subscribed the Salem Address, declined to obey the popular voice, saying that the prescribed recantation contained more than in conscience he could own; and that as to live under the character of reproach which the fury of party might throw upon him, was too painful a reflection to suffer

for a moment; he therefore resolved to withdraw from the impending storm. He accordingly embarked for Philadelphia on the 23d of April, 1775, and thence for London on the 13th of the following month.

Of the families of the exiled Loyalists, scattered as they have been over the world, it is no small matter to obtain information. While some grace the peerage and baronetage of England, of many of the exiled Refugees scarce a descendant, even in a collateral branch, is to be found. Of the Loyalists that remained to run the risk of the spirit of the people, the task has been less difficult.

Of the three hundred and ten that were banished by the Government of Massachusetts, upwards of sixty were graduates of Harvard College. And of the five Judges of the Supreme Court of that Province at the commencement of the difficulties, the Hon. William Cushing alone was of patriot principles, — who was afterwards on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States.

JOURNAL AND LETTERS.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1775-1776. Causes of the Author's Departure. His Arrival in Philadelphia. State of Affairs in that City. Perplexities of the Author. He meets Col. WASHINGTON. Reception of Hancock and Adams. The Author sails for England. Arrives at Dover. Proceeds to London. Dines in company with Mrs. Copley, mother of Lord Lyndhurst. Samuel Quincy, Jonathan Sewall, Benjamin Pickman. Letters to Rev. Thomas Barnard, William Pynchon, &c. Dines with Gov. Hutchinson. Visits Bow-street, Hampton Court, Windsor, Twickenham, Newington, &c. Destruction of Falmouth (now Portland), Maine. New England Club in London. Meets Sir Francis Bernard. Attends Oratorio of Messiah at Covent Garden. Lecture at Salters' Hall by Dr. Price. Visits Chapter House. Doomsday-Book. Portuguese Synagogue West's Pictures. Tylney House. Lord Mansfield's Seat at Caen Wood. Great Bed of Ware. Rye House. Westminster Hall. Maddock's Garden. Pinchbeck's. Boar's-head Tavern. British Museum. Duke of Bedford's Seat at Croydon. Rev. Dr. Apthorp. Rev. Mr. Peters.

Philadelphia, May 4, 1775. Since the late unhappy affairs at Concord and Lexington, finding the spirit of the people to rise on every fresh alarm, (which has been almost hourly,) and their tempers to get more and more soured and malevolent against all moderate men, whom they see fit to reproach as enemies of their country by the name of Tories, among whom I am unhappily (although unjustly) ranked, and unable longer to bear their undeserved reproaches and menaces hourly denounced against myself and others, I think it a duty I owe myself to withdraw for awhile from the storm which, to my foreboding mind, is approaching. Having in vain endeav-

ored to persuade my wife to accompany me, — her apprehensions of danger from an incensed soldiery, a people licentious and enthusiastically mad and broken loose from all the restraints of law or religion being less terrible to her than a short passage on the ocean, — and being moreover encouraged by her, I left my late peaceful home (in my sixtieth year) in search of personal security and those rights which, by the laws of God, I ought to have enjoyed undisturbed there, and embarked at Beverly on board the schooner *Lively*, Captain Johnson, bound hither, on Sunday, the 23d ultimo, and have just arrived, hoping to find an asylum amongst Quakers and Dutchmen, who, I presume, from former experience, have too great a regard for ease and property to sacrifice either, at this time of doubtful disputation, on the altar of an unknown goddess, or rather doubtful divinity.

My fellow-passengers were Andrew Cabot,[1] his wife and child, and Andrew Dodge.[1] My townsman, Benjamin Goodhue,[2] was kind enough to come on board, and having made my kinsman and correspondent, Samuel Smith, acquainted with my arrival, he was pleased to come on board also, and his first salutation, "*We will protect you, though a Tory*," embarrassed me not a little; but soon recovering my surprise, we fell into a friendly conversation, and he taking me to his house, I dined with his family and their minister, Mr. Sproat, suffering some mortification in the cause of truth. After an invitation to make his house my home during my stay here, which I did not accept, I took leave, and went in pursuit of lodgings, and on enquiring at several houses, ascertained they were full, or for particular reasons would not take me; and so many refused as made it fearful whether, like Cain, I had not a discouraging mark upon me, or a strong feature of Toryism. The whole city appears to be deep in congressional principles, and inveterate against "*Hutchinsonian Addressers*." Happily, we at length arrived at one Mrs. Swords', a widow lady, in Chestnut-street, with whom I found quarters, rendered more agreeable by S. Waterhouse's company, who also lodges here.

[1] Merchants of Beverly.

[2] See Supplement.

May 5, 1775. I find the drums beating, colors flying, and detachments of newly raised militia parading the streets; — the whole country appears determined to assume a military character, and this city, throwing off her pacific aspect, is forming military companies, a plan being laid for thirty-three. Composed of all ranks and nations, uniting shoulder to shoulder, they form so many patriotic bands to oppose, like the invincible Macedonian phalanx, the progress and increase of Parliamentary authority. The Quakers, not to be behind in manifesting their aversion, have obtained permission of the city committee to make up two companies of *Friends*, exclusively, and they are to be commanded by Samuel Marshall and Thomas Mifflin,[1] both of that persuasion.

So powerful is the love of liberty, and so great the dread of Ministerial designs, that the strongest prejudices and habits have given way and are controlled by the former.

The House, this day, having received a message from the Governor, with Lord North's conciliatory plan, has, on a full debate, rejected it, being resolved to adhere to the Union.

Joseph Lee,[2] hearing I was in the city, came to see me, and advised my going to London.

May 6, 1775. Saw Pelatiah Webster,[3] who, at the instance of Mr. Goodhue, treats me civilly. Having had several intimations that my residence here would be unpleasant, if allowed at all, when it shall be known that I am what is called "*an Addresser;*" besides, solicited to sign "*a recantation,*" which may contain more than in conscience I can subscribe; and, after all, with the uncertainty whether it will answer the purpose, or, should it barely, to live and die under the character of reproach and ignominy, which the outrageous fury of party may throw upon me, is a reflection too painful for a moment to support. I have, therefore, consulted the few friends I think it worth while to advise with,

[1] See Supplement. [2] Ibid.

[3] In July, 1774, this gentleman directed his correspondent at Boston to pay £10 to the committee for the relief of sufferers by the Boston Port Bill.

and, on the result, am determined to proceed to London in the vessel in which I came here.

On the credit of Samuel Smith and Sons, I have, with their assistance, procured flour to freight a vessel.

May 7, 1775. — *Sunday.* Went with Mr. Smith to Arch-street Meeting-house; Mr. Sproat entertained us with a truly American patriotic sermon, pathetically lamenting the evils we are suffering from wicked and tyrannical Ministers, exhorting us manfully to oppose them.

At 2 o'clock, at the wharf, a large collection of people were waiting news from London, — Capt. Robinson having just anchored. The only news was, that the Restraining Bill respecting New England, and the other respecting the Southern Colonies, were passed.

Dr. Franklin arrived last night, which was announced by ringing of bells, to the great joy of the city. I cannot but promise myself some good, as his knowledge and experience must have influence in the approaching Congress, which will, I doubt not, listen to his judgment. He is, it is said, to return to England again soon, at Lord Chatham's instance, who tells him he must be on the spot at the opening of Parliament.

May 9, 1775. Dined with Stephen Collins; passed the evening at Joseph Reed's,[1] in company with Col. Washington, (a fine figure, and of a most easy and agreeable address,) Richard Henry Lee, and Col. Harrison, — three of the Virginia delegates. Besides Mr. and Mrs. Reed, were Mrs. Deberdt,[2] Dr. Shippen, and Thomas Smith. I staid till twelve o'clock, the conversation being chiefly on the most feasible and prudent method of stopping up the channel of the Delaware, to prevent the coming up of any large ships to the city. I could not perceive the least disposition to accommodate matters.

Col. Caswell and Mr. Hewes, the North Carolina delegates, arrived this day, and are at our lodgings.

[1] See Supplement.

[2] The mother of Mrs. Reed, and widow of the Massachusetts Assembly Agent to the British Government.

May 10, 1775. Early in the morning a great number of persons rode out several miles, hearing that the Eastern delegates were approaching, when, about 11 o'clock, the cavalcade appeared (I being near the upper end of Fore-street); first two or three hundred gentlemen on horseback, preceded, however, by the newly-chosen city military officers, two and two, with drawn swords, followed by John Hancock and Samuel Adams, in a phaeton and pair, the former looking as if his journey and high living, or solicitude to support the dignity of the first man in Massachusetts, had impaired his health. Next came John Adams and Thomas Cushing in a single horse chaise; behind followed Robert Treat Paine, and after him the New York delegation, and some from the Province of Connecticut, etc., etc. The rear was brought up by a hundred carriages, the streets crowded with people of all ages, sexes, and ranks. The procession marched with a slow, solemn pace; on its entrance into the city, all the bells were set to ringing and chiming, and every mark of respect that could be was expressed: — not much, I presume, to the secret liking of their fellow-delegates from the other Colonies, who, doubtless, had to digest the distinction as easily as they could.

May 11, 1775. Col. Caswell was inoculated for the small-pox. Mr. Lee again repeated his advice of my going to London. Dined with J. B. Smith; rode with him to his farm, six miles out. Drank tea with Mr. Lee and Startin.

May 12, 1775. Sent my baggage on board the *Lively;* received a letter from Stephen Collins to Mr. Neat, of London; paid my respects to Mrs. Deberdt, and received a letter to her son. Received my invoice of flour from Samuel Smith and Sons. Mr. Startin presented me with an open letter on Wilkinson and Co., Birmingham, and Mr. Reed and lady gave me letters to their brother, Dennis Deberdt, London. From Post-office took Rivington's two last newspapers, and received from the publishers all the present week's Philadelphia papers. Messrs. Lee and Webster took leave, and with my fellow-passenger, Mr. Webster's son Pelatiah, I went on board the *Lively.*

May 16, 1775. Spoke Capt. Waterman in a schooner from Nantucket, who brought me a letter from Nathan Goodale, stating that his family, Mr. Pynchon's, and Mr. Orne's, had arrived there, to which I replied.

TO NATHAN GOODALE, ESQ.

IN THE DELAWARE, *May* 16, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

You can scarce conceive my joy at hearing that my neighbors, suffering in the same cause as myself, and for whom I sincerely profess a friendship, were in a secure retreat. Continue there by all means, safe from the alarms and dangers you have fled from.

Philadelphia is wholly American, — strong friends to Congressional measures; at least, no man is hardy enough to express a doubt of the feasibility of their projects. Mr. Joseph Lee leads a recluse life there. The inhabitants are displeased that the New Englanders make it their city of refuge. The new established post (instead of the old Eastern one which is stopped) admits no letters to pass but those franked; the contents of which must be known to one of the committee to be entitled to that benefit. Yours, truly.

SAML. CURWEN.

June 1, 1775. At sea. The *Otter* sloop-of-war, from Boston, brought us to at 9 o'clock, and informed us all was quiet when she left. The Provincial forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, were waiting the determination of the Congress; that forty-five transports with the three Generals, had arrived there eight days ago; and that a great fire happened there, beginning at the barrack stores on the docks, and consuming all from thence to King-street. She detained us two hours in order to send letters to England.

July 3, 1775. Arrived at Dover, England, at 11 o'clock, A. M. Mr. Webster and myself concluded to take coach for London after visiting the Castle. We first ascended to one of the square towers, in height 134 steps, from which in a clear day the French shore is to be seen, and a most agreeable view into the country. The town of Dover seems under

foot, and even the steeples scarce as high as the foot of the hill. We next visited Julius Cæsar's Tower, (said to have been built by him,) old and in ruins; on the plains of it is a battery of twenty-four pounders, — one of brass, 24 feet long, called Queen Elizabeth's Pocket-piece, given her by Holland at the time of its emancipation from Spain. It is curiously ornamented with the Arms of England and Holland, was cast in 1544, weighs six tons, and carries a twelve-pound shot seven miles. The well is 375 feet deep. The original key, supposed to be eighteen hundred years old, is 21 inches long, and weighs three or four pounds. We also saw a sword of state five feet long, the handle twelve inches. At the Coffee-house met James Teal, a son of the widow of the late Gov. Belcher, of Massachusetts, by her first husband. He wished to convey intelligence of his residence here to his mother in New England; his letters have miscarried for some time past.

London, July 4. Arrived at the New England Coffee-House, Threadneedle-street, at 7 o'clock, P. M., July 5. Met my townsman and friend, Benjamin Pickman, which rejoiced me; we walked to Westminster Hall; in Chancery, saw Sir Thomas Sewell, Master of the Rolls, sitting with his hat on; at Common Pleas, saw Judge Blackstone and Sergeant Glynn; and the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield and Mr. Sergeant Wedderburne. Lord Mansfield's manner is like the late Judge Dudley's, of Massachusetts. His peering eyes denote a penetration and comprehension peculiarly his own. Mr. Wedderburne spoke, but at no great length.

July 9, 1775. Went to Old Jewry Meeting-house, where I met Gov. Hutchinson, his son and daughter, — a cordial reception and invitation to visit him. Mr. Isaac Smith and Mr. Deberdt sat in the pew next me.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ., SALEM.

LONDON, *July* 7, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

I am glad for the calm season at Salem; — could I have been safe on the same conditions I find my friends permitted

to reside at home, I would joyfully have accepted them. However, this calm I fear cannot last long; for if Congress does not offer terms that Administration think they can in honor accept, I have good grounds for saying the most vigorous measures will be pursued, which I fear will cause the destruction of my country. There is an army of New Englanders here. My old friend Mr. Sayre, a city banker, married to a lady of fortune, invited me to dine with him, in company with my friend Mr. Deberdt.

Let Mr. and Mrs. Cabot know that her niece, Mrs. Copley,[1] with whom I dined yesterday at Mr. Bromfield's, Islington, is well, and expects her husband on his passage from Italy.

Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

July 11, 1775. Waited upon Governor Hutchinson, (in company with B. Pickman,) for the first time; were well received, and invited to dinner for Saturday.

July 18, 1775. Evening to Vauxhall Gardens; fine gravelled walks, shrubbery, and covered alcoves lighted by lamps, and rendered a most enchanting spot. Tables spread under the trees for entertainment. In one of the open retreats is a most finished piece of statuary of Handel, sitting on a harp, in a loose dress.

July 20, 1775. To J. Lane's house with B. Pickman; passed the evening there in company with Samuel Quincy, Jonathan Sewall, and David Green.

July 21, 1775. By boat from Temple Stairs to Ranelagh; a numerous company of well-dressed people there; among them the Duke of Gloucester and French Ambassador.

July 22, 1775. Spent the day at Hempsted, in company with Isaac Smith, Samuel Quincy, David Green, and P. Webster.

[1] Wife of the great artist.

TO REV. THOMAS BARNARD, SALEM.

LONDON, 22*d July*, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

The dissipation, self-forgetfulness, and vicious indulgences of every kind, which characterize this metropolis, are not to be wondered at. The temptations are too great for that degree of philosophy and religion ordinarily possessed by the bulk of mankind. The unbounded riches of many afford the means of every species of luxury, which, (thank God,) our part of America is ignorant of; and the example of the wealthy and great is contagious. Ten miles round is filled with pleasant villas, and Sunday is allotted to visiting them. The congregation at Old Jewry Meeting-house, respectable for its appearance, did not exceed a hundred. The preacher is called a Presbyterian, and all of that denomination here are on a broader and more liberal plan of divinity than those who go by the name of Independents, such as the "Pinner's Hall Divines" and their associates. The style of the preachers in London (of our way) is more just and correct than ours in New England. To my surprise I saw an auditor taking notes. Notes for prayer or thanksgivings are never read, and the mention of such cases is deferred to the last prayer. Admission to the pews is by a female, who unlocks the doors, (all having locks); strangers are conducted to the table-pew in the centre, where the sacrament is administered.

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TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ., SALEM.

LONDON, 25*th July*, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

I dropped in at Guildhall, where Judge Nares was sitting at the City Common Pleas; on his cushion were worked the city arms, and also on the Recorder's, — I presume to remind them of the city rights. I was fortunate in procuring a seat just behind Sergeant Davy, and heard as far as my imperfect organs (and the noise and confusion) would admit. While he was opening the case, he was obliged to

rise out of his seat, step forward, and lean down to hear, in a manner unbecoming the dignity of a Judge. Every fact of importance delivered by a witness was noted down by the Judge as well as counsel. The noise was much greater than would be allowed in our American courts.

I have seen the Lord Mayor in his court; but this court seems more like a reference business than anything else. Through uncommon good fortune, I have, without the customary delay of two or three weeks, been admitted into the British Museum, Montague House, a truly royal institution for the preservation of the productions of nature and art. Saw the first Bible printed by authority, on vellum, and turning to the 91st Psalm, 5th verse, instead of "*Thou shalt not be afraid of the terrors by night*," etc., I saw the following: "*Thou shalt not fear the bugs and vermin by night*," etc. There are many other as remarkable differences, but had not time to examine many texts.

I am just informed of a most melancholy event, the destruction of Charlestown, in Massachusetts, by the King's troops, which all agree in; the other parts of the story are told differently. Mr. Brecknock says the King's troops would not fight, but laid down their arms, which is the reason of the great carnage among the officers. My distress and anxiety for my friends and countrymen embitter every hour. May it please God to inspire men of influence on either side the Atlantic with juster sentiments of the real interest of Great Britain and the Colonies than they seem to have possessed hitherto. Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

July 27. Dined at Mr. Sayre's, in company with four gentlemen and Lady Francis Sherard, only daughter of the late Earl of Harborough; returned home in Mr. Sayre's coach.

July 28. By invitation, dined at Grocers' Company feast, at their hall in the Poultry. A procession was formed after dinner (band playing), and halted behind the chair of the new elected master, when the secretary put a tiara on his

head, while another officer held a large golden cup filled with wine, drank to him, and delivered it; and the master, on taking it, drank to the prosperity of the company. The ceremony was also had towards the newly made wardens.

July 29. Dined with Governor Hutchinson, in company with Mr. Joseph Green, Mr. Mauduit, and Mr. Ward Nicholas Boylston; the latter gave us an entertaining narrative of his travels through Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

July 30. Sunday attended worship at Dr. Fordyce's meeting-house, Monkwell-street. He discoursed with great energy and pathos, abounding with flowers of rhetoric, metaphor, and with uncommon theatric gesture, equal if not beyond Mr. Whitefield.

In the vestry-room is hanging the original license from Charles II. to Mr. Doolittle for this present house of worship. Took tea with Dr. Fordyce, at Mr. Kennedy's, and passed an agreeable hour in conversation.

August 3. Walked along Hyde Park wall till arrived at the turnpike between that and the Green Park; at the gate of the former stands a noble house, built by the present Lord Chancellor Apsley,[1] on ground taken out of the park, and given him by the King for that purpose. Saw their Majesties returning from the drawing-room: the King in a sedan chair surmounted by a crown, dressed in very light cloth with silver buttons; the Queen carried by two porters in a chair, dressed in lemon-colored flowered silk, on a light cream-colored ground. They passed between two lines; observed, smiled, and bowed as they passed.

TO DR. JOHN PRINCE, HALIFAX.

LONDON, *August* 4, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

I presume you little expected to hear from a fellow sufferer in the cause of loyalty, a whole army of whom are here lamenting their own and their country's unhappy fate. I heard of your escape, and a circumstance connected with it, that must render your existence more tolerable, viz.: that

[1] Afterwards Earl Bathurst.

you were accompanied by your wife and children; and I cordially rejoice in your and their deliverance from the evils which attend our common friends in Salem, and elsewhere in New England. What melancholy scenes they and we are to go through before this unnatural controversy is ended, God only knows! — May you and I be prepared for the worst events. If any of our common friends are in Halifax, be pleased to remember me to them in the kindest manner. Our old friend, Ben. Pickman, desires to be remembered to you. With much regard, etc.,

S. Curwen.

August 4. At Mr. Boylston's saw many curiosities he brought from Egypt, the Holy Land, etc. Amongst others the locust in pods, the supposed food of John the Baptist.

August 5. Dined at Gov. Hutchinson's, in company with Joseph Hooper, Benjamin Pickman, Joseph Taylor, Isaac Smith, Mr. Silsbee, and the Governor's family.

August 6. At Old Jewry Meeting-house — communion day — in which service Governor Hutchinson, his son Elisha, Mr. Pickman, and myself participated. The minister brought the elements, and repeated to each communicant some pertinent expression of Scripture, waiting till each had received.

TO NATHAN GOODALE, ESQ., NANTUCKET.

London, *August* 8, 1775.

Dear Sir:

It really appears to me that Administration will proceed to such extremities as will terminate in the ruin of England and the Colonies. It is a capital mistake of our American friends to expect insurrections here; there is not a shadow of hope for such an event. The manufactories are in full employ, and one of the warmest of the friends of America told me that letters from Manchester expressed joy that no American orders had been sent, otherwise there must have been disappointment somewhere. What effects may follow in the spring if orders from Russia and Spain are not re-

ceived, I cannot foresee: — some foretell discontent in the country which will affect the stocks; whether these will happen depends on contingencies of which I am not a judge. There appears to be a tenderness in the minds of many here for America, even of those who disapprove of the principles of an entire independence of the British Legislature, and ardently wish an effort may be taken to accommodate. It is said most vigorous measures will take place in the spring if no offer be made on the part of the Colonists.

With much regard, etc. S. Curwen.

August 23, 1775. Went to Sir John Fielding's office, Bow-street; — examination of prisoners for robberies, assaults, etc. He is a venerable gentleman and blind (as justice is represented); his queries manifested a mild deportment, ready apprehension, and great penetration. Visited Hampton Court and Gardens, which are exceedingly beautiful, although deserted by the Royal family. Here are chairs of state with rich canopies, tapestry in gold and silver grounds, containing Scripture and ancient stories of Greece and Rome — adorned also with reigning beauties of the Court of Charles II. — of the founders of the different Orders of monks, friars, nuns, etc.; of former kings, queens, etc.; Madonnas, the Supper, etc. The ceilings in high coloring and fine preservation, by Verrio, were as pleasing to me as any part of the ornaments, as they referred to incidents in Charles II.d's story. This palace consists of several squares, mostly old, and in same state (decay of time excepted) as in Henry VIII.th's time, when by the envy of the courtiers Cardinal Wolsey (who built it for his own use) was obliged to present it to the King. The front on the garden facing the river is magnificent and in good repair.

Thence to Windsor; — St. George's Chapel in excellent repair. Here are deposited the bodies of Henry VIII. and one of his queens, and Charles I. in the midst of the choir. In the side aisles are funeral monuments of former kings, of which I recollect Edward IV. and VI.; some ancient nobility, and many canons of the Roman Church, with their

images in sacerdotal garments cut in brass, let into flat gravestones on the floor; stalls for the knights of the garter; the choir decorated with carvings, and the windows filled with oil paintings of Scripture stories. We then ascended the royal apartments in the castle, consisting as at Hampton Court of an armory, the walls being covered with pikes, halberds, matchlocks, small arms, etc., disposed in a variety of figures. Over the mantel-piece a fine full length of George Prince of Denmark (husband of Queen Anne) on horseback; the horse seemed alive. The other rooms hung in rich tapestry on gold and other grounds, with paintings, originals, and copies of the best masters. In Queen Anne's china-closet were wooden sconces gilt, on which are set china porcelain jars of various shapes up to the ceiling. In a small apartment is to be seen a table fastened to the wall, whereon is a little flag of white satin, with the banner of France worked into it, fastened by silver clasps to a slender reed of black ebony capped with silver, which the Duke of Marlborough is obliged to present, and lay on that spot on the 2d of August annually, before twelve o'clock at mid-day, on forfeiture of his palace of Blenheim and the manor belonging to it; this being the tenure by which he holds them, agreeably to Act of Parliament. From the terrace we saw almost under feet Eton College, another noble monument of Gothic architecture. In a square stands a brazen statue of Henry VI., the founder, in royal robes.

Visited Welbore Ellis's seat at Twickenham, formerly Pope's; the *grotto*, being arches under the house about a man's height, (admitting a prospect into the longest shady contemplative walk, five feet wide, in the garden,) filled with small flint-stones, Bristol and other kinds in mortar, a few pieces of glass on the top and sides: two or three niches filled with the busts of Pope and others; — there is also in a cross alley a statue of Terence, and in an addition (made by Mr. Stanhope, late owner,) over the centre of an arch, is a niche filled with a bust of Pope, and underneath are the following lines: —

"The humble roof; the garden's scanty line,
Ill spoke the genius of a bard divine;
But fancy now displays a fairer scope,
And *Stanhope's* plans unfold the soul of *Pope*."

Mr. Stanhope's addition is by far the most elegant part, wherein are many foreign trees, such as the cedar of Lebanon, weeping willows, etc.; also a green-house filled with flowers, plants, and fruits. In a retired part of the grounds stands a plain obelisk, eighteen feet high, dedicated by Pope to his mother, with the following inscription: —

"AH EDITHA!
MATRUM OPTIMA,
MULIERUM AMANTISSIMA,
VALE!"[1]

TO HON. WILLIAM BROWNE, BOSTON.

LONDON, 31*st Aug.* 1775.

DEAR SIR:

As far as my experience reaches, I have observed that the upper ranks, most of the capital stockholders, and I am told the principal nobility, are for forcing supremacy of Parliament over the Colonies; and from the middle ranks down are opposed to it. America furnishes matter for disputes in coffee-houses, sometimes warm, but without abuse or ill nature, and there it ends. It is unfashionable and even disreputable to look askew on one another for difference of opinion in political matters; the doctrine of toleration, if not better understood, is, thank God, better practised here than in America; otherwise there would not be such numbers of unhappy exiles suffering every disadvantage.

Incredible quantities of ammunition and stores shipped and shipping from Tower-wharf for America, manifests the intention of administration to prosecute the plan of subjection of the Colonies to the authority of Parliament; for that is the only dispute, as it is understood here. Administration would gladly have met the Colonies half way or more, had

[1] "Alas! Editha, best of Mothers, most affectionate of Women, Farewell!"

there appeared any inclination to accept terms in any degree consistent with the honor and dignity of the mother country. Now, no alternative; an absolute independence of the Colonies on Great Britain, or an explicit acknowledgment of the British Legislature over all the dominions of the empire. The proclamation which you will receive by this conveyance was published the day before yesterday at the Royal Exchange, with all the circumstances of indignity the Lord Mayor could throw on it.

Instead of the languid measures hitherto pursued, more active ones will succeed, and then woe to poor Massachusetts, which, like the scape-goat, must bear the sins of many. Do urge our remaining friends to flee from the destruction that will speedily overtake that devoted Colony.

You will not wonder at the luxury, dissipation and profligacy of manners said to reign in this capital, when you consider that the temptation to indulgence, from the lowest haunts to the most elegant and expensive rendezvous of the noble and polished world, are almost beyond the power of numbers to reckon up.

Please make my compliments to Judge Sewall, and all other friends and acquaintances with you; and in the kindest manner remember me to Mrs. Browne.

Very truly your friend,

S. Curwen.

Sept. 17. Attended public worship at the "Reformed Liturgy Assembly," Essex House, Essex-street, Strand; heard Rev. Theophilus Lindsey, the Unitarian reformist, who gave up a living in Yorkshire, (worth three hundred a year,) on the rejection of the petition to Parliament for a revisal and amendment of the Common Prayer. Preacher serious, style good, discourse useful.

Sept. 20. At the Charter House, a foundation by Thomas Sutton, Esq., at a cost of £12,000 sterling, for classically educating forty boys, and supporting eighty old bachelors and widowers, who are to receive yearly a black cloak, without which never to appear at meals, nor with it without the

walks; — besides ten pounds in cash, house-rent, food, and firing. They have about forty acres (enclosed by a brick wall twenty feet high) laid out in gardens; at the entrance are the arms of the donor, formed by small pebbles of the size of acorns.

Sept. 21. At the Disputation Club, Queen's Arms; question debated, "*Is it not injustice in the Administration to pursue measures at the cost of the price of blood, without any benefit to the nation?*" — which was voted in the affirmative, but not without a few dissentients.

Oct. 11. Governor Hutchinson came in his coach with Mr. Copley from Mr. Bromfield's, and took Mr. Pickman and myself to his house, where we dined in company with Mr. Bliss, Mr. W. N. Boylston, Mrs. Copley, and the family.

Nov. 18. News by a packet from New York that Gov. Tryon and Gov. Campbell are obliged to retreat from their respective Governments on shipboard; and that Dr. Franklin had arrived at the Provincial camp at Cambridge to advise Gen. Washington to attempt the lines on the Neck; — and that Samuel Adams and Mr. Dickinson were at odds.

Nov. 29. Saw Mr. Garrick in Hamlet, at Drury Lane; in my eye more perfect in the expression of his face than in the accent and pronunciation of his voice, which, however, was much beyond the standard of his fellow actors.

Dec. 1. At great St. Helen's, Bishopgate-street, where I saw a monument to Sir Thomas Bancroft, a Lord Mayor's officer, and an oppressive knave, who had heaped up much wealth, which he left with trustees to be improved till his rising from the dead; which he imagined would take place after a certain period, when his wealth was to be returned to him. In the mean time, he ordered that his corpse should be laid and kept in a coffin, (with a lock which he could draw back,) and deposited in a tomb with a glass window and a glass door, to be opened once a year on a given day, to be shown to any spectator; all which has been complied with hitherto. But his trustees have with these ill-gotten gains erected an alms-house at Mile-end, for the support of poor women and children.

Made another unsuccessful attempt to enter the gallery of the House of Commons, to hear the third and last reading of the bill prohibiting all commerce with America; learned at the door that it is to remain shut to strangers, for the pretended reason that the floor of the house is too small and the gallery necessary for the use of members; confirmed by Mr. George Hayley, a city member, whom I met in the Strand.

Thence to Herald's office, where Parson Peters, with his friend Mr. Punderson, lodges; the latter has lately arrived from Boston, having escaped by rowing himself in a cock-boat eighteen miles into the Sound from his native place, Norwich, Connecticut, and being taken up by a vessel and put on board the *Rose* man-of-war, Capt. Wallace, and conveyed to Boston. It seems he was harshly dealt with by the "*Sons of Liberty*," being obliged to make two confessions to save his life; notwithstanding which he was hunted, pursued, and threatened, and narrowly escaped death, (or the Simsbury mines, to which he was finally adjudged, and he thinks with the loss of his eyes,) which would have been his fate but for his seasonable and providential retreat.

TO HON. WILLIAM BROWNE, BOSTON.

LONDON, *Dec. 4th*, 1775.

DEAR SIR:

Yours of 7th Oct. affords me a pleasingly sensible proof of the truth of King Solomon's observation: "News from a far country is as refreshing as cold water to a thirsty soul."

Uncertain what may be the fate of this, I am restrained from writing what might prove amusing, perhaps informing; should it fall short of its intended destination, and get into the hands of the Provincials, though containing nothing prejudicial to the interests of America, even in their own view, nor reflecting on the character of any individual, the most innocent expressions, by the force of party prejudice, might be construed into a sense entirely foreign to one's intention, and render one obnoxious or ridiculous. Were I ever so

much of a mind to write on politics, I profess not to have such connections as to justify any positive declarations concerning the determination of the Cabinet Council, and whoever does, you may be assured, if he writes more than the Court pleases to publish in the "Gazette," arrogates pretensions, to which he has no claim.

I will just hint what appears to be a matter of notoriety here: the opposition in Parliament is too inconsiderable in numbers, weight, and measures to hinder the progress of Administration in their plans respecting America. Both Houses repose entire confidence in the King and his Ministers' resolution not to relinquish the idea of compelling the submission of all subjects within the limits of the British Empire to the authority of the supreme legislature: preparations for which are making for increasing the number of troops, to be sent over in time enough for a vigorous push next season. The events of war are uncertain, and victory is by many thought doubtful, — yet it is more than whispered by some that America had better be dispeopled than remain in its present state of anarchy, — much more independent. Should this idea regulate future measures, and should Government despair of subduing them, one may, without the spirit of prophecy, see beforehand what terrible destructive evils will then befall our poor, devoted, once happy country. "O fortunatus," etc.

Very truly yours,

S. Curwen.

Dec. 12. To Newington to view the house and grounds of Dr. Watts' friend Gunston, celebrated in his poem "*Sacred to Virtue*," now owned by a daughter of Lady Abney, a niece of Gunston.

In the hall is a half-length of Caryl, the commentator on Job, and by his side his wife, mother of Mr. Gunston and Lady Abney; also Sir Thomas Abney and his lady. To Dr. Watts' study, being occupied by the lady, we could not gain admittance. From the balcony we had extensive views of the town and country, and through and over the whole, as well as the house, are spread a neatness and arrangement superior to any spot I ever beheld.

Dec. 15. At Covent Garden, to see Mrs. Barry as Constance in King John, — a fine person, and esteemed the best actress now on the stage.

Dec. 17. At Foundling Hospital Chapel. Mr. Bromley preached. Compared the example of Jesus with that of the most perfect of heathen antiquity, Zeno, founder of the Stoic sect, in whose honor Athens declared by public edict, that he had exemplified in his life the precepts he taught, but of whose inconsistency the preacher enumerated several gross instances, not much to the credit of mere human reason, in comparison with the most eminent and brightest of mere men recorded in the Scriptures, in whom great infirmities and even follies are to be perceived; his example only, pure and spotless, being fit to be proposed to mankind for their practice and imitation.

Dec. 18. At New England Coffee-House, where I read in the New-York paper that forts St. John and Chamblé had surrendered to the Provincials, commanded by Col. Montgomery, formerly a captain in the regular service, and well esteemed. The garrison was commanded by Major Preston, with six hundred Regulars and Canadians. The Provincials immediately investing the fort were only two hundred in number. The officers are to be sent home or down to General Gage, the Commander-in-Chief in America, in order to be transported. The Provincials are supposed to be designed for Montreal, Gen. Carleton retiring there after a defeat. News of a contrary kind is, that Falmouth,[1] in Casco Bay, consisting of 139 dwelling-houses and 278 stores, warehouses, etc., together with many vessels, was burnt by Captain Mowatt, of the *Canseau* sloop-of-war, after two hours notice to remove, for joining, as the captain was pleased in his letter to the inhabitants to term it, with the Rebels; the particular crime or crimes not mentioned.

Dec. 22. Walked to Brompton-Row with B. Pickman, to dine with Judge Sewall, who, meeting us in the Strand two days ago, appointed this day. The family, besides Samuel Quincy, who attended Mrs. Sewall and Mrs. Green home,

[1] Now Portland, Maine.

having been to see the King robe and assent to the American Prohibitory Bill from the throne. After dinner, Governor Hutchinson entered and invited Judge Sewall, B. Pickman, and myself to dine with him to-morrow.

Dec. 23. At Temple Bar took coach to Governor Hutchinson's, where dined in company with Mr. Joseph Green, Mr. Copley, the limner, and lady with family, and his children. In our way through Clerkenwell Green we saw five couple of young persons chained together, going under care of tipstaves to Bridewell prison. The news of the taking of St. John and Chamblé on Sorel River confirmed by an arrival from Quebec which left 14th November.

Dec. 25. At Chapel Royal, St. James's; saw the King and Queen, who joined in the services with becoming devotion. Bishop of London preached.

Mr. R. Clarke arrived from Boston yesterday, only twenty-one days' passage. All safe at Salem. The Provincials have seized a ship with five hundred casks gunpowder, cannon, mortars, and stores *de guerre et de bouche ;* their activity and success is astonishing.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, IN LONDON.

ISLINGTON, *December* 27, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR:

I last evening received your favor of the 24th inst., and it afforded me great pleasure to observe that a weekly New England Club was likely to be made up; and I am mortified that the extreme coldness of the weather, and the indisposition I have labored under for several weeks, prevent my being in town this day. Be pleased to make my compliments to my brother exiles. Yesterday I received letters from Salem of 18th and 20th November; all was well and quiet there, except a small fracas on account of an expression said to have been uttered by Mr. Timothy Orne, which gave offence to the ruling powers of the town, who assembled and by force took him out of his house into School-street in the evening, designing to inflict the modern punishment of tarring and feathering on him; but by the influence of the

Committee of Safety and his promise to appear before the Committee next morning, he was suffered to depart. Accordingly, the next morning, he appeared in person; and he to whom it was reported he had used the expression appearing and denying it, promising to submit to the present Government, pay the taxes required for support of it, and demean himself quietly and submissively, and take care to avoid for the future making use of unadvised expressions, his present offence should be forgiven.

Mr. Lowell, of Newburyport, is an acting Justice, the only one of the "*Addressers*" commissioned. The Inferior Court Bench in Essex is filled by Caleb Cushing, B. Greenleaf, Timothy Pickering, Jr., and Dr. Samuel Holton; the last but one is the only acting Justice in our part of the county. Joshua Ward and John Gardner are in commission of the peace. On the Supreme Bench, John Adams, William Cushing, William Reed, and Peasely Sargent, all of whom, 't is said, accept. Major Hawley refuses all employment, saying what he did was purely to serve his country.

Very truly yours,

S. Curwen.

Dec. 31. Went to Holloway Mount, passing through King John's palace-spot; nothing standing but the original front gateway, under an arch and two pieces of old stone wall, man-height, making part of the wall of stable. Evening at Silver-street Meeting-house lecture; Mr. Smith pathetically addressed the young, middle-aged, and old, on the close of the year.

May the afflictions I have suffered the past year, in an unhappy banishment from my family, friends, and country, be the means of increasing my reliance on, and submission to the all-disposing hand of the wise and righteous Governor of the universe.

Jan. 1, 1776. May the events of the following year, however unfavorable to the pride of my heart, be productive of more moral improvement than the last.

Jan. 5. Visited Joseph Green — afterwards to Samuel

Quincy's, where I met Mr. Flucker, Judge Sewall and lady, Samuel Sewall, and Harrison Gray, who are bound to the theatre to see the "Jubilee," which is to be exquisitely decorated in the scenery.

Jan. 20. Accompanied by B. Pickman and Wm. Cabot, went to Panton-street, Haymarket, to see Mr. Fisher, lately arrived from America; he had gone out as well as Mr. Flucker. From thence we went to Gov. Hutchinson's, and after a short stay departed through the Park to Samuel Quincy's and David Green's lodgings, Parliament-street, where we met Judge Sewall, Mr. Samuel Sewall, Mr. Flucker, Mr. Harrison Gray, and Mr. Oxnard; R. Clarke, and Jonathan Clarke going out of the door, whom I saw for the first time since their arrival.

Jan. 26. Received a line from Mr. Isaac Smith, inviting me to a dinner at the Adelphi Tavern, designed as an introduction to a New England Club, which I have been long desirous of establishing.

Jan. 28. Almost as cold as ever I felt in New England.

Jan. 29. Cold without abatement from yesterday, which will ever be known as the cold Sunday; $8\frac{1}{2}$ by Fahrenheit. The Thames passed over on the ice: generous collections for the suffering poor. The gains of the laborer are almost always spent on Sunday at furthest; foresight and provision for a future day is not a virtue known among them. The fires here not to be compared to our large American ones of oak and walnut, nor near so comfortable; would that I was away!

Feb. 1. To the Adelphi, Strand, where by appointment met twenty-one of my countrymen, who have agreed on a weekly dinner here, viz.:

Messrs. Richard Clark, Joseph Green, Jonathan Bliss, Jonathan Sewall, Joseph Waldo, S. S. Blowers, Elisha Hutchinson, William Hutchinson, Samuel Sewall, Samuel Quincy, Isaac Smith, Harrison Gray, David Greene, Jonathan Clark, Thomas Flucker, Joseph Taylor, Daniel Silsbee, Thomas Brinley, William Cabot, John S. Copley, and Nathaniel Coffin. Samuel Porter, Edward Oxnard, Benj. Pickman, Jno.

Amory, Judge Robert Auchmuty and Major Urquhart, absent, are members of this New England Club, as is also Gov. Hutchinson.

London, Feb. 9. Passing through Westminster Hall, I stopped for a small space at the Courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench; at the former were sitting the Chief Justice De Grey and his associates, one of whom was the famous Sir William Blackstone, author of the well-known Commentaries on the Laws of England; but no cause of importance, or lawyer of note speaking, I proceeded to the latter, where was sitting that excellent useful Judge, but mischievous politician, Lord Mansfield. For the same reason as the former, I quitted my stand here, and retreated to the House of Commons' commitee-chamber, where for an hour or two I was entertained at the examination of witnesses in the Worcester contested election. The committee sat on an elevated bench, and looked like a court of sessions; the causes managed by advocates with regularity and decency. One of the committee was Sir George Saville; the chairman, Ferguson; all took minutes as is usual in all the courts. Thence to Judge Sewall's, Brompton-Row, where we met a few New England friends at dinner; among them Mr. Thomas Robie, whom I was very glad to see, he having arrived in England from Halifax but three days since. By him I received a letter from Dr. John Prince in answer to mine dated in August.

FROM HON. WILLIAM BROWNE.

BOSTON, *Jan.* 8, 1776.

* * * * * * *

George Dodge, in a schooner from Dominica, and Ingersol, in a schooner of Hasket Derby's, from Jamaica, were lately sent in. The property of both vessels was transferred to merchants in the West Indies to cover their interest.

James Grant is here from Halifax; he has the promise of a commission in the army, and to keep his rank. About two months ago Mr. Marston, of Marblehead, came by night from Col. Fowles' farm. He knows nothing about Salem. His wife died last summer.

The other day Gen. Robinson showed me the devices upon the denominations of the Continental bills. On one is represented a heavy shower of rain falling on a new-settled country, motto around it "*Serenabit;*" on another, a hand plucking the branches from a tea-plant, with the motto "*Sustine vel abstine;*" on a third, a hawk contending with a stork, motto "*Exitus in dubio est;*" on a fourth, an ancient crown on a pedestal, motto "*Si recte facias;*" on a fifth, a beaver gnawing down a full-grown oak, motto "*Perseverando;*" on a sixth an Irish harp, motto "*Majora majoribus consonant.*" They are the inventions of Dr. Franklin.

When I wrote to you in October, I forgot to send you the following list of officers in part of the Rebel army, found in the pocket of one of their sergeants, who was killed on the 17th June, on the heights of Charlestown, viz.: —

Col. Gerrish, Newbury.
Lt. Col. Parker, Chelmsford.
Major Bigelow, Worcester.
Lt. Col. Henshaw, Leicester.
Maj. Brooks.
Lt. Col. Holden.
Adjt. Green.
Col. Whitney.
Col. Woodbridge.
Major Buttrick.
Col. Porter.
Major Miller.
Col. Doolittle, Petersham.
Adjt. B. Moore.
Col. Frye.
Gen. Whitcom, Bolton.
Col. William Prescott.
Gen. Ward, Shrewsbury.
Col. Peirce.
Gen. Pomeroy, Northampton.
Col. Patterson, Richmond.
Adjt. Guager.
Col. Nixon, Framingham.
Col. Ward, Southborough.
Maj. Sawyer.
Adjt. Warner.
Maj. Wm. Moore, Paxton.
Maj. Cady.
Adjt. Hunt.
Adjt. Holman.
Adjt. Hart.
Col. Mansfield.
Adjt. Putnam.
Maj. Jackson.
Lt. Col. Hudson or Hutchins.
Adjt. Hardy.
Col. Gardner, Cambridge.
Col. Bridge, Chelmsford.
Lt. Col. Brickett, Haverhill.
Lt. Col. Clark.
Major Stacey.
Major Wood, Pepperell.
Lt. Col. Powell.

Adjt. Holden.
Adjt. Gen. Js. Keith, Easton.
Col. Green.
Maj. Baldwin.
Adjt. Woodbridge.
Secretary J. Ward.
Adjt. Montague.
Adjt. Fox.
Lt. Col. Robinson, Dorchester.
Adjt. Febiger.
Adjt. Stevens.
Col. Bond, Watertown.
Col. Simmons.
Lt. Col. Whitney, Harvard.
Lt. Col. J. Reid, near Manadnock.
Adjt. Marston.
Maj. Brigade, Samuel Osgood.
Lt. Col. Moulton.
Maj. Putnam.
Lt. Col. Putnam.
Maj. Poor.
Maj. Durkee, Norwich.
Capt. Butler, Peterborough.
Joseph Trumbull, Judge Advocate, Norwich.
Adjt. Handy,
Lt. Col. Storer.

Those who have obtained leave to exchange the town for a country residence the last two months, are taken on board an armed ship at Hancock's Wharf and are landed at Point Shirley, where they are cleansed and aired for the benefit of their brethren who have not had the small-pox.

I sent a verbal message to Mrs. Curwen by Bella McLeroy, informing her of your safe arrival and health; but was discouraged by Mrs. Gardiner from trusting her with your letter, which I still have in my desk with those lately received, and know not if I can ever send them until you will suffer them to be inspected at head-quarters on both sides the lines. Mrs. Browne and William desire their best regards. Pray present mine to all friends with you, and if you ever desire to hear from me again, give me reason to think so by sending me a circumstantial account of yourself and of what passes on your side of the water.

I am your affectionate friend,

Wm. Browne.

London, Feb. 15. Dined with New England Club at Adelphi Tavern; was introduced to Sir Francis Bernard, and saw there, for the first time since his arrival, Mr. Fisher, who

promises to spend a day with me soon. Received a letter from Col. Browne, at Boston, acquainting me of the sad destruction of wooden houses for want of fuel, till of late thirteen vessels arrived with coals, &c., raising the despondency of the people.

Feb. 27. The city polled for a chamberlain; candidates, Aldermen Wilkes and Hopkins. The latter succeeded, to the no small mortification of the Wilkites, who exceed in numbers, among the lower classes, the friends of Hopkins. Mr. Wilkes must look upon himself as one of the people, and lost henceforth to all importance.

Feb. 29. Dined with Mr. Gilbert Harrison, and delivered my letter of credit from Mr. Timmins to Messrs. Harrison and Ansley.

March 2. At Parson Peters' saw Mr. Troutbeck, lately arrived from Halifax, and Mr. Wiswall; mutually invited each other to visit, and gave cards.

March 4. James Russell, and his friend Mr. Newman, dined with me; received a card from Messrs. Clarke excusing themselves, being preëngaged.

March 10. To Tichfield-street to pay my respects to Gov. Oliver's lady; thence to Judge Sewall's, Brompton-Row, where dined.

March 13. At Covent Garden, obtained a very convenient place in the first front seat, lower gallery, when the oratorio called "The Messiah" was performed; the whole stage an orchestra; in the centre a spacious organ embellished by a portrait of Handel surrounded with a glory, or such rays as are placed round the heads of the saints of the Romish calendar — our musical saint's performances being as much read and studied here as their manuals of devotion are by their admirers. The form of the orchestra amphitheatrical and the seats concentric, except of the vocal performers, who sat in chairs in front. The leading singers were Mrs. Wrighton, Mrs. Weischell, Mr. Leoni, etc. — nearly eighty performers in all. The first violin, Professor La Motte; the first flute, Mr. Florio. The music was noble, grand, full, sonorous, and awfully majestic; the whole assembly as one,

rising, added a solemnity which swelled and filled my soul with an — I know not what, that exalted it beyond itself, bringing to my raised imagination a full view of that sacred assembly of blessed spirits which surround the throne of God.

March 14. Surveyed the New River Works at Spafields — thence to see the ravages of the late fire at the Savoy, and through to the gardens belonging to Somerset House, now about to be pulled down, and the ground between it and the river filled up. I cannot but think with regret on so many noble and royal apartments in good repair, to be destroyed to build offices for the army, that bridle of the nation, its scourge, and will be its future ruin.

March 19. Attended lecture at Salters' Hall. Dr. Price gave an excellent sermon from "*Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors.*" He observed that this was the only original part of the Lord's Prayer, (the rest being found in the Jewish liturgy,) and was designed to inculcate the distinguishing characteristic of his religion, universal love and good-will to all mankind, making it the very condition on which our hopes of forgiveness are suspended. As forgiveness of injuries and love of all mankind are the most amiable of all virtues, so are they the most difficult to be practised, and ought therefore to be the more endeavored after; and nothing can recommend us better to divine favor and acceptance.

March 21. Mr. Heard, Norroy king-of-arms, having given me a letter to A. Farley, Esq., Chapter House, I went, accompanied by William Cabot, Samuel Porter, Judge Sewall and his kinsman Samuel Sewall, and I. Bliss, and presenting my letter, we were admitted to a sight of Doomsday Books. One, in the fold of a folio, contained a valuation or estimate made for an equal tax of all the counties of England in the time of William the Conqueror, except the three northern counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, and the three counties of Essex, Sussex, and Kent, which are contained in a smaller fold or large octavo. Sussex contained but nine landholders *in capite;* all tenures being then

from the Crown, all the rest being mesne lords or tenants under them. The writing is fair and well preserved, but difficult to be read from its abbreviations in a multitude of places. The initial letters stand for words. The spelling of that age is very different from ours; many terms not known now being then in common use. The Chapter House is of a peculiar construction, and was formerly the Parliament House in the time of the Edwards, etc., and contains Rolls of Court of King's Bench, Exchequer, etc., for many ages back. Evening, at a show called *Les Ombres Chinoises*, at which saw Earl Temple [supposed author of "Junius"] and lady, with several well-dressed people of fashion — about forty spectators in all. The "*Ombres*" were awkward and unnatural except the puppet dancing — an insipid show.

March 24. Heard Dr. Fleming preach at Pinners' Hall; his ideas clear, and his delivery moderate and devout. He complained of those mystics who denied the use of reason in matters of religion; said it was subversive of it, and contrary to the whole tenor of the canon of Scripture, and rendered as useless and unmeaning the motives and threatenings proposed to us therein for our obedience, and progress in virtue and holiness; declared mankind free agents, endowed with the power of volition and choice, which was the foundation of all religious obedience, and without which we were not accountable. He denied the merit of Christ's sacrifice to render us objects of divine acceptance, which, he said, by the divine promise was to be obtained by man's own serious and diligent performances.

March 25. Drank tea at Mr. Green's in company with Gov. Hutchinson, whom I had not seen for some weeks, and who expressed an uneasiness at my neglect to call, which I accounted for as arising from concurrent disappointments.

March 31. At Joseph Green's in the evening, where I met Samuel Quincy.

April 1, A. M. At Gov. Hutchinson's; he was alone, reading a new pamphlet entitled "*An Inquiry whether Great Britain or America is most in fault.*" I accepted an invita-

tion to return to dinner: taking leave for the present, I departed, walking through the palace and park to Mr. Bliss's lodgings, where I met Judge Sewall, Mr. Oxnard and Mr. Smith; returned to the Governor's, with whom only young Oliver and myself dined. From thence, in passing through Leicester-Square, I called in at Mr. Copley's to see Mr. Clarke and the family, who kindly pressed my staying to tea; and in the mean time amused myself by seeing his performances in painting. He was then at work on a family-piece containing himself, Mr. Clarke, his wife and four children, of all of whom I observed a very striking likeness. At tea was present Mr. West, a Philadelphian, a most masterly hand in historic painting; author of the well known and applauded piece, now in print, called "*West's Death of Wolfe*," and taken from his painting. He is now at work on a piece called the "*Death of Stephen*," for the King, and for which he is to have one thousand pounds. Mr. West is the King's history-painter, and was kind enough to put me into a way of obtaining a sight of the Queen's palace, which he tells me contains, except Houghton Hall, the finest collection of capital paintings of any house in England. Returned with Mr. Clarke, who was going to see his son Jonathan, sick.

April 3. Breakfasted with Smith and Oxnard, where I found Samuel Quincy and David Green, Judge Sewall and a Lieutenant Merrick. Bought Dr. Price on "Civil Liberty and the American War."

Went with Mr. Clarke to procure more convenient lodgings for his sick son, which we found, as recommended by Dr. Pitcairn, in Cross-street, in what is called the Queen's House, said to be a palace of Elizabeth's, on a small scale, low, and in the taste of the sixteenth century. The remains of the porter's lodge at the bottom of the garden, in a peculiar style, are yet seen. In one of the lower rooms is a painting on the windows, with the date of 1588.

April 4. At our New England Club dinner; twenty-five members present.

April 6. At Portuguese synagogue; a master informed me that the common people cannot read the Pentateuch with-

out points, although it contains only alphabetic characters; that the points were invented about the time of Christ, in the reign of Tiberius, and that they are necessary to ascertain the sense, which in many places would be wholly unintelligible without them, and that it would cost six months' study to understand the language so as to follow them in their prayers.

April 7. Dined with Gov. Hutchinson, and we took tea at Mr. Joseph Green's.

April 10. Took a view of West's pictures: amongst others, which filled two rooms, were the original of the Death of Wolfe, sold to Lord Grosvenor for six hundred guineas, about seven by five feet, in high estimation, although censured by an anonymous writer in yesterday's "Advertiser;" Lord Clive's receiving the Dewannah from the Nabob, figures about twelve inches high, and likenesses well preserved, — fifteen feet by eight; and many other groups of modern persons in ancient characters. Likewise the Death of Stephen, the proto-martyr, and at the period of his being received after his death by his friends; the figures seven feet, the size of the picture about sixteen feet by seven; designed for the altar of St. Stephen, Walbrook — six hundred guineas to be received for it, which Mr West esteems so small a price that he considers it a gift to the church.

April 11. Visited Tylney House, Epping Forest, in company with Messrs. Flucker and Hutchinson. The walls of the ball-room covered with tapestry of the most lively tints, being the story of Telemaque — the ceiling covered with paintings by Mr. Kent. The state dining-room is adorned with copies of capital paintings, three of Titian. The state bedchamber hung with crimson damask, lined with deckered silk, which I am told is India work, and cost two thousand pounds. Two other rooms hung in figured velvet on satin ground, and crimson velvet with broad gold lace.

Dined at Mr. K.'s with five of my countrymen, among them a Mr. Bourne, lately arrived from Halifax; he appears a grave, solid man, whose acquaintance I think I shall esteem.

April 14. Attended public worship at Dr. Price's in the afternoon, and, in company with Benjamin Pickman, took tea with him. Mr. Pickman had a long conversation with Dr. Price on American affairs, but their sentiments were widely different.

April 15. Mr. Boylston called, and we went to Parliament-street to see the procession of the Peers to Westminster Hall to attend the trial of the Duchess of Kingston; the lords wore their robes. The queen, two princes and two princesses, and the peeresses and ladies in great multitudes attended, and made a most brilliant appearance.

April. 17. Went with B. Pickman to Highgate, where dined with Mr. Boylston, and after dinner to Caen Wood, the seat of Lord Mansfield. The house elegant, not large: — the centre is a noble portico, the walls of the hall, saloon, chambers, etc., covered with paper of India or Chinese figures; the library a beautiful room, (having a fine prospect of St. Paul's, distant about seven miles, through a wood, over a lawn, and ending in a fine piece of water,) contains the largest mirrors I ever saw, being seven and a half feet high by three and a half in breadth. In the hall are two tables of jet-black marble. The walls hung with portraits of Lord Mansfield and lady, who was a daughter of Finch, Earl of Nottingham.

April 22. Visited Mr. Hughes, seventeen miles out, at Hoddesdon, Herts; the grounds laid out with great taste.

April 23. Walked to Ware, which contains five hundred houses, besides a great curiosity called "the great bed of Ware," which is twelve feet square; — the posts, which are of uncommon size, are carved with white and red roses, built, it is said, at the union of the houses of York and Lancaster; the date, 1463, is painted on the centre of the headboard, which, with the tester, is of wood, in the same style, laid out in compartments and surrounded with roses. The whole weighs half a ton; twenty persons can repose comfortably on it.

April 24. Walked through the Rye-field to the Rye House, famous as the rendezvous of those who concerted

the plot of that name: — the room in which they met was once a chapel; indeed, the whole appears as the remains of a famous seat. The walls brick, and moulded round, forming two high round towers, joined together by a line of defence; holes in the walls for arrows, etc.

On returning home, passed a farm called Nether Hall, belonging to a Mr. Archer; here are the remains of a palace, said to have been King Harold's before the Conquest. The house, which was very large, has been pulled down; two lofty brick towers remain, with a wall of equal height crowned with battlements, and within a moat surrounding an acre of land covered with ruins. In one of the angles is a watch-tower, now converted into a hen-roost. Arriving at home, found John Inman, brother of Ralph, our countryman, who dined with us; he is of a blunt humor, easy and jolly; with him and a Mr. Musgrave we set off to Mr. Dauteville's, at Brocksburn, by invitation; passed an agreeable evening at Mr. Hughes'.

May 1. The young chimney-sweepers, with their sooty and chalked faces, are dressed out with ribbons and gilt paper; a grotesque and merry-andrew appearance. With their brushes and scrapers they made a kind of musical sound, raising contributions on their employers and others. The milkmaids appeared in fine and fantastic attire, and carried on their heads pyramids of three or four feet in height, finely decorated. In Ave-Mary Lane saw the milkmen and maids again, with a *garland*, so called; being a pyramid consisting of seven or eight stories, in the four angles of which stood a silver tankard, and on the sides, between each, lessening in height as the stories rose, stood a silver salver, the top crowned with a chased silver tea-kettle, round which were placed sundry small pieces of plate; the whole adorned with wreaths and festoons of flowers, gilt paper, etc., carried on a bier and hand-barrow, it being a custom amongst them to collect of the customers a yearly contribution. The wrought silver appeared worth many hundreds of pounds, and is borrowed for the occasion.

May 3. Dined with H—— H——, Esq., Capt. T——,

and B. Pickman, at Jerusalem Tavern; on my way meeting Mr. Elisha Hutchinson, who informed me of Col. Browne and son's arrival.

May 4. Called on my friend Browne, who had sent a message last evening by Mr. Pickman to invite his three countrymen to his lodgings. Col. Browne acquainted me with some facts relative to the unfortunate abandonment of Boston by the King's troops; which after all has the appearance of being forced. Would to God this ill-judged, unnatural quarrel was ended, but I fear thousands of useful innocents must be sacrificed to the wickedness, pride and folly of unprincipled men. Many of our countrymen called during our stay.

May 5. To Magdalen Hospital; heard the Rev. Dr. Dodd preach from John xv. 17, "*These things I command you, that ye love one another.*" — A most elegant, sensible, serious and pathetic discourse, enough to have warmed a heart not callous to the impressions of pity. I own my eyes flowed with tears of compassion.

May 7. Attempted to get into Drury Lane Theatre, to see Mr. Garrick in the character of Archer, but the crowd was so great, that after suffering thumps, squeezes, and almost suffocation for two hours, I was obliged to retire without effecting it. Went to Mr. Silsbee's lodgings to tea.

May 8. Visited Mr. Fisher, who very politely received me, and appeared glad to see me; from thence to Gov. Hutchinson's, who was alone—having before called at Col. Browne's (my townsman and friend) lodgings, whom I did not see, being gone abroad. Thence to Judge Sewall's in Brompton-Row, but meeting Mr. Harrison Gray near the house, was told that neither he nor Mr. Porter were at home. Called again at Col. Browne's, where I found Col. Saltonstall; they both agreed to dine with me.

May 9. With Col. Browne went to St. Paul's to hear the music for the benefit of the sons of clergy. Dr. Porteus[1] preached to a crowded assembly. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, in their formalities present.

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Chester.

May 10. Met at Col. Browne's Gov. Hutchinson, Judge Sewall and Col. Saltonstall; proceeded to Westminster Hall, heard opinions from Judges De Grey, Gould, Blackstone and Nares respecting a verdict.

May 11. Advices of the arrival of a vessel which left Philadelphia by consent of Congress, on the owner's paying them as duty one third the cost of vessel and cargo; and that Arnold is appointed a Major-General, and still remained before Quebec, five thousand men having been sent from Philadelphia. Took tea with Mr. Copley and Mr. Clark.

May 13. Walked to Walworth, the gardens of a Mr. Maddocks, a noted florist, wherein I saw the greatest variety of finely variegated tulips I believe in England.

May 14. Went to the Exhibition-room in the Strand, where were more than fifty people viewing the pictures, models, etc., as contained in a book delivered to each at entering. There were many performances and some very excellent in their kind, of which the view of the Eruption of Vesuvius and a few night-pieces struck me most.

May 15. Visited Pinchbeck's to view stained glass; most elegant figures, finest tints, in the new revived art, by a Mr. Jervais; among which were two full lengths of Christ and Moses, bought at seventy guineas by a clergyman, and presented to Westminster Abbey. From thence to the Exhibition-room of the Royal Academy, in Pall-Mall, where were to be seen a most curious collection of elegant and capital performances in oil, crayons, enamel, sculpture, etc.; a great number present. Meeting Colonels Browne and Saltonstall at the door of their lodgings, agreed to meet them at the Exchange and dine together at three o'clock.

May 17. Took tea at Mr. J. Green's; Harrison Gray and other company there; having dined with eleven New Englanders at St. Clement's Coffee-House.

May 20. Took lodgings with a Mr. Palmer at the Herald's office.

May 21. Visited the Boar's-head Tavern, Cannon-street, to view the very room or rather spot in which Prince Harry with Falstaff used to assemble with their friends Nym, Bar-

dolph, etc., to hold their nocturnal frolicks. Agreed to make a company, (if feasible,) to dine next Thursday. Returned home, where found Richard Routh, who came with B. Pickman.

June 2. Called at Mr. Copley's, Leicester-Square; afterwards at No. 11 Haymarket, the lodgings of Col. Browne and Col. Saltonstall.

June 5. Walked to Mr. Green's; Major Brattle entered, and we three took coach to Drury Lane, to see for the last time Garrick in Richard III. by command of their Majesties, but were too late — house filled.

June 6. To Westminster Hall to hear the sentence of Gen. Smith and Mr. Hollis for bribing a borough, who are to be imprisoned six months, and pay one thousand marks.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, EXETER.

LONDON, *June* 6, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

We have received advices from America, though not authenticated enough to find a place in the "Court Gazette," still generally believed; there are some who doubt the whole.

Gov. Tryon in his letters by the packet from New York, which left 2d May, writes that "Arnold having received a reinforcement, made a second attack on Quebec, but finding it impracticable to take it by storm, he, on the 19th April, after five days' attempt, retreated; in the mean time, the *Isis*, with eight hundred men on board two transports which arrived with her, having landed, immediately joined the garrison and issued out, disturbing them on their march, and destroying seven hundred and fifty men." It is reported that eighty men, taken last February, on Montgomery's defeat, from the New England regiments, incorporated with the garrison and behaved bravely; on the contrary, seventy of the Regulars entered among the Provincials, and turning against them when hard pushed, occasioned the carnage stated above. Gen. Lee is said to be taken with seventy men by a party of Gen. Clinton's, as he was reconnoitering, without firing a gun; the story is told in three different ways,

but finds credit. A vessel from Halifax has arrived, bringing their Governor Legge to answer complaints. Gen. Washington has issued a proclamation, forbidding all rapine and plunder in Boston, a source of comfort to our friends here. There is a long list of military stores in the papers, said to have been left at Boston by Gen. Howe, but it is thought to be a false account.

London, my favorite place of abode, is, as the peasant said, "*a sad lickpenny*," and truly one cannot breathe the vital air without great expense. The numerous applications to the treasury by Americans whose pretensions are so much beyond mine, exclude the most distant hope of relief for me, should inadvertence or more unjustifiable principles of conduct reduce me to the necessity of asking a favor, which I am determined at all events to defer to the longest period, if it please the great Disposer of events to prolong my uneasy abode in this country of aliens for many days yet to come.

To communicate with a friend is almost the only relief from distracting thoughts; for the harmless amusements in which I was engaged last summer and fall, and which served to dissipate uneasy reflections, now having lost their novelty, delight no more.

Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

June 8. Dined with Judge Sewall at Brompton-Row; and with him, his wife and sister, Mr. Blowers and wife, Samuel Sewall and William Browne, was admitted to the Queen's palace in St. James's Park. The rooms are large, lofty, and extremely well filled with pictures; many of them said to be originals of the best masters: amongst them are seven cartoons of Raphael, and a large collection of miniatures in gilt frames and under glass. From thence to tea at Col. Browne's, afterwards to the Opera House; entertained with the opera of "Antigono," the Signors Rousini and Gabrieli, principal performers; interludes of exquisitely fine dancing.

June 10. Read "Common Sense," published in America,

and republished here, in favor of American independence; and also "Plain Truth," an answer to it; and Provost Smith's oration on the Quebec heroes, Montgomery, etc.

TO DR. CHARLES RUSSELL, ANTIGUA.

LONDON, *June* 10, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

I congratulate you on your retreat from the land of oppression and tyranny; for surely, greater never appeared since the days of Nimrod. I sincerely wish well to my native country, and am of opinion that the happiness of it depends on restraining the violences and outrages of profligate and unprincipled men, who run riot against all the laws of justice, truth and religion. Sad and deplorable is the condition of those few that like Abdiel, amidst hostile bands of fallen spirits, retain their primitive loyalty. So strangely unprosperous hitherto have been the measures of administration in America, that the active Provincials have taken courage, and accomplished what in contemplation would have appeared morally impossible. Gen. Burgoyne sailed from hence ten weeks ago for Canada with four thousand Brunswickers and seven or eight regiments; Lord Howe, in the *Eagle*, about a month since, and the first division of Hessians, consisting of eight or ten thousand, about a fortnight before him. Gen. Howe, his brother, with nine thousand, was at Halifax the beginning of April. The second division ('tis said) will sail this week, consisting of four thousand, which completes the whole number of foreign troops. The whole of the regular army on the Continent will not be short of forty thousand men. It is surprising what little seeming effect the loss of American orders has on the manufactories; they have been in full employ ever since the dispute arose; stocks are not one jot lessened, the people in general little moved by it; business and amusement so totally engross all ranks and orders here that Administration finds no difficulty on that score to pursue their plans. The general disapprobation of that folly of independence which America now evidently aims at makes it a difficult part for her friends to act.

By letters from Salem to the 16th April I find they were in a quiet state there, and hugging themselves in the fatal error that Government had abandoned the design of reducing them to obedience. Six vessels laden with Refugees are arrived from Halifax, amongst whom are R. Lechmere, I. Vassal, Col. Oliver, Treasurer Gray, etc. Those who bring property here may do well enough, but for those who expect reimbursement for losses, or a supply for present support, will find to their cost the hand of charity very cold; the latter may be kept from starving, and beyond that their hopes are vain. "*Blessed is he* (saith Pope) *that expecteth nothing, for he shall never be disappointed;*" nor a more interesting truth was ever uttered.

I find my finances so visibly lessening that I wish I could remove from this expensive country, (being heartily tired of it,) and old as I am, would gladly enter into a business connection anywhere consistently with decency and integrity, which I would fain preserve. The use of the property I left behind me I fear I shall never be the better for; little did I expect from affluence to be reduced to such rigid economy as prudence now exacts. To beg is a meanness I wish never to be reduced to, and to starve is stupid; one comfort, as I am fast declining into the vale of life, my miseries cannot probably be of long continuance.

With great esteem, etc.

S. Curwen.

June 13. Went early to call on my townsmen Messrs. Dalglish and Hastie;[1] met Capt Poynton; Mr. Hastie delivered me a letter from Mr. Pynchon. Mr. Thomas Danforth, late from Boston by the way of Halifax, and Mr. R. Russell, called and staid with me till eleven o'clock at night.

June 15. Accompanied Mr. Danforth to Gov. Hutchinson's and Judge Sewall's.

June 18. Called on Mr. Hughes, who invited me to a second visit to his seat at Hoddesdon; showed me a Massachusetts libel for a transport from London, signed by the

[1] Importers of Salem.

new Judge of Admiralty, Timothy Pickering, Jr. Dr. Sylvester Gardner bitterly laments his unhappy situation at Halifax, with a deplorable account of his losses at leaving Boston, etc.

June 19. To the British Museum, accompanied by Mr. Danforth. In the library I saw King John's original charter, called Magna Charta; a book of prayers of Queen Elizabeth, executed finely by herself, the writing very plain, letters fair and well preserved, the covering of red velvet worked in flowers her by own hand. The Alexandrian manuscript copy of the Bible, said to have been written in the fourth century, containing the Gospel of Nicodemus, a forgery composed in that age; all written on parchment, in capitals, without distinction of words, or verse, or sentences. Also many of the letters of Charles I., amongst which the original of his to Glamorgan, a papist, in Ireland, promising to make good his engagement to him in establishing the Roman Catholic religion there, and toleration of it in England.

Thursday, *June* 20. Accompanied Mr. Danforth to Judge Oliver's lodgings, in Jermyn-street, and with him and his son proceeded through the Park to Westminster Hall, expecting to hear Lord Rochfort and Mr. Sayre's case, but it did not come on. Just looking into Chancery, I observed the Judges as they were going out of King's Bench turned about and saluted with a bow. Chief Justice Lord Mansfield's train borne up by a gentleman. Chief Justice of Common Pleas, Sir William De Grey, made a speech on a trial between a Mr. Popham, etc., on an election affair.

Met my townsman, Samuel Grant; the first time I have seen him since his arrival from Mississippi.

June 21. Called at Messrs. Browne and Saltonstall's lodgings, where I saw Col. Morrow and Mr. Johonnot, of Boston, Refugees, for the first time since their arrival.

Mr. Bourne, one of my countrymen, brought me a letter which came by a Cape Ann schooner, dated Salem, 21st April — when all was well. My friend's advices concerning the discipline and number of the Provincial troops, and the number and strength of the American navy, will prove,

when put to the test, to be a delusive fancy: civil wars in time make good generals and soldiers, but the immense inequality will, I suppose, put an end to this war before they will have time to qualify; in any case, America must be ruined, perhaps desolated. I pray God inspire all with a spirit of moderation and wishes for a reconcilement and oblivion of past confusions; and may the righteous flourish as the palm-tree, and the wicked wither and their root consume away.

June 23. At Rolls' Chapel. Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, preached an ingenious discourse. Mr. Browne, R. Clark, E. Hutchinson, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Johonnot, Judge Oliver and son, accompanied me.

TO MR. ISAAC SMITH, EXETER.

LONDON, *June* 26, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

I have received a letter from Rev. Thomas Barnard, of Salem, filled with American fancies; their power, strength, grandeur, and prowess, by land and sea; their policy, patriotism, industry, progress in the useful arts, and their fixed determination to withstand the attacks of tyranny, etc., etc. All these fanciful notions will, (too soon, alas! to their sorrow,) like Ephraim's goodness, "vanish as the morning cloud and early dew," and prove to be fatal delusions.

Two or three companies of Bostonians are lately arrived from Halifax. I am determined to take a journey westward, and shall stop as near you as possible. I shall, however, depart hence as Abraham did from the land of the Chaldees, not knowing whither I go; fain would I trust in the same kind protecting hand that guided that good old patriarch; would to God I had his faith, but fear my future allotments will be poverty and pilgrimage.

Your friend, etc.

S. CURWEN.

London, June 27. At Westminster Hall to hear Lord Rochfort, Secretary of State, and Mr. Sayre's case, for false

imprisonment and seizing the latter's papers. Verdict, one thousand pounds for the latter. Tried before Chief Justice De Grey.

July 1. Breakfasted with Col. Saltonstall; afterwards to Judge Oliver's, to have a sight of Dr. Elliott's letters, conceived in the Whig strain.

July 3. With Mr. Browne visited Bunhill Fields burying-ground to view Judge Chambers Russell's grave — passed John Bunyan's tomb, 1688.

July 5. At Croydon, where the Duke of Bedford has a hunting-seat. In this place he and the Marquis of Blandford,[1] youths of twelve and thirteen, are at a boarding-school. I arrived at Mrs. Grosvenor's, the lodgings of the two Ingersolls, D. and J., and to the latter I had a letter from D. Deberdt, recommending me to the house, which I found full, and am therefore disappointed. Thence to the church; the vicar is Dr. Apthorp, my countryman; it is in excellent repair; in a separate corner are the tombs of six archbishops, viz. Grindall, Whitgift, and Sheldon, with statues over them and placed against the wall, and in decumbent postures, in episcopal habits and crowns, the latter of white marble polished, and on the entablature the emblems of mortality in middle relief, executed in a masterly manner in Italy; the three others are Wake, Potter, and Herring, in flat tombs, and their names, &c., inscribed. Dined with the Ingersolls at Mrs. Grosvenor's.

July 8. Paid visits to Mr. Fisher and Col. Saltonstall; left a card at Gov. Hutchinson's, who is in the country. Took tea at Mr. Blower's in company with Judge Sewall and family.

July 10. At Guildhall — Court Common Pleas, in which sat Chief Justice De Grey — King's Bench, Lord Chief Justice Mansfield — the former addressed the jury in a case of slander in a most agreeable manner.

Speaking of the Standard in Cornhill sometimes referred to in books relative to distances, I called on an inhabitant there, but could get no satisfaction, he telling me he had him-

[1] Afterwards Duke of Marlborough.

self inquired about it to no purpose. But very few are acquainted with the curiosities, etc., the knowledge being confined to those skilled in city history.

July 13. Breakfasted with Mr. Oxnard and Mr. Silsbee. Asked a man how far it was to Chelsea, and was answered, in the true New England style, "*I don't know — about half a mile.*" This I note as the first instance, to my remembrance, of the like I have met with on this side the water.

Had a free conversation with a couple of conversible gentlemen, not commonly to be met with; the better sort or gentry being too proud or reserved to mix with those they don't know, or to indulge a promiscuous chat.

July 14. Worshipped at All-Hallows, Lombard-street; the officiating priest was Mr. Peters, the Refugee from Hebron, Connecticut;[1] his text 2 Peter, chap. iii. verses 1 and 2: "*But grow in grace,*" etc. Mr. Peters dined with me.

[1] Author of a travestied History of Connecticut.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1776. Leaves London for the Country. Visits Salisbury. Stonehenge. Exeter. Sidmouth. Rev. Isaac Smith. Letter to Thomas Danforth. Visits Bristol. Birmingham. Tewksbury. Gloucester. Returns to Bristol. Ratcliff Church. Admiral Penn. Clifton Grotto. Shepton Mallet. Lord Arundel's Seat. Cabinet of Pope Sixtus V. Alfred's Tower. Spinning-jennies.

London, July 15. Walked out with the intention of paying my respects to Gov. Hutchinson before leaving London — met him in the Park with Mr. Flucker, and took leave; receiving copies of two letters with leave to show them to Mr. Isaac Smith, one being to himself and the other to Mr. Hollis, both from Dr. Elliott, and intercepted by Gen. Howe.

Tuesday, July 16. Left home at an early hour in the Salisbury coach. On Hounslow Heath, through which we passed, three monuments of human folly and divine justice — as many gibbets with the remains of so many wretches, hanging in chains; a little beyond, a high obelisk, crowned with a large gilt ball, erected by the late Duke of Cumberland at his lodge in Windsor Park. On the other hand, at a distance of twenty rods from the road, another obelisk, ending in a blunt point; two miles further stands a more lofty one scarcely finished, of four stories, illuminated by square windows, the design of the present Duke. The road from Wallop to Salisbury is delightfully pleasant, and hard as a garden gravel-walk; at four miles' distance is to be seen the spire of the cathedral, supposed to be the highest in England. The land rising gradually from the plain till the sight is bounded by a ridge of high hills, from the rising filled with enclosures, rows and clumps of trees, and many farmhouses; alighted at Salisbury at seven o'clock in the evening.

Salisbury, July 17. Started for Stonehenge, a distance of eleven miles, the first five through highly cultivated grounds. At the distance of three miles from the city, on the right, is to be seen an eminence, apparently of an oval figure, lying beyond the improved grounds, enclosed with hedges, etc., which seems to be raised by art, or formed into its present shape or figure, at least, by the hands and industry of man; the ascent to the plain on which its base stands is above the level of the improvements on the hither side; it is an easy slope at an angle of 45°, and measures round one mile; on the rim of the first slope are cornfields; within is a slope of the same figure as the lower, rising nearly to the same height; in a plain on one side is planted a small group of trees; this spot in former days was the site of *Old Sarum*, containing about sixty acres, unless I am misinformed, without one house on it, now entitled to send two members to Parliament. On the lower plain, and bordering on the slope, stands one house, where dwells a family supplying the curious who visit there with punch, wine, and tea. The view under this long range of hills presents a most pleasing and variegated prospect.

Turning out of the road over the lawn, void of trees, bushes, stones, and as even as a bowling-green, we soon arrived in sight of the object of our pursuit, STONEHENGE: its first appearance resembled a company of men; in different views it assumed very different shapes. About a mile from this place, encompassing it in a circular line, stand many of those bodies of earth called barrows, or tumuli, supposed burial places of the Druids; their form is globular, from nine to twelve feet in height, and from thirty-five to forty in diameter: — their surfaces smooth, all of the same shape, and not very different in size. I viewed them well, and remembering that they never could be counted, I nevertheless set about the task with confidence of success; — my first enumeration was eighty, second eighty-two, third and fourth different, so that I was convinced of the difficulty of the task and gave it up; — almost imagining that the Druid presiding over these sacred ruins puzzles and confounds the minds of all who make the iniquitous attempt. The outside row of stones

is an imperfect oval, eighteen in number; those upright are about seventeen feet high and about four feet wide. Eight very large, but not of so great length, lying flatwise on the tops of the outside row — nine on the tops of those within; fourteen small uprights stand within, in different directions or lines; twenty-eight, perhaps more, lying out of the ground — two lying in the ground, that look as if in their natural bed. Two columns, of the largest size and of an uneven surface, stand upright; in one of these, near the end, is a small hollow, the size and shape of what Don Quixote took for Mambrino's helmet. In the other, near the ground, is a small hollow of the size of a pint basin, said to have been impressed when the devil threw the rock at the friar and struck him on the heel. Many other traditions, tales and follies, are related by the credulous and superstitious vulgar about this wonderful pile. There is no appearance of the chisel or hammer; but one of the rocks, which is very large, has on each end an excavation about fourteen inches long and about seven deep, designed to be placed on the upright ones. The upright one, of which the former lies at its foot, has on top a circular rising just the size of those below, and seems as if intended to be let into the hollows to keep the arch-stones and those lying on the tops of the uprights steady and secure. And I doubt not the cross-stones lying still on the tops of the uprights are secured the same way. This pile stands on a lofty eminence of great extent, and has on it neither tree, bush, shrub or stone within many miles on either side, and is called "the Plain of Salisbury." Thence, at a distance of seven miles, I was admitted to Lord Pembroke's seat. In the court are fine busts and statues. The house is a noble building, round a square; the front is a plan of Inigo Jones, looks over a lawn, through which is a natural river improved by art; through the lawn are interspersed clumps of trees, statues and bustos, vases and obelisks, rendering the spot delightful beyond description. The rooms are filled with antique statues, busts, vases, urns, sarcophagi without number. Among other things a *curalis sella* made of iron and brass — the stone-coffin that Terence's re-

mains were deposited in, and the urn that contained the ashes of Horace; — also an exact model of the Venus of Medicis and the Apollo Belvidere. Was it not for the complaisance due the fair sex, I should prefer the latter to the former, and believe it is to that principle alone that antiquarians are so lavish in their praises of the goddess. On returning to Salisbury, three miles, after dinner I strolled to the cathedral; the pulpit of stone is in the body of the church, the reading-desk is in the choir; the ceiling curious and finely painted and gilded, laid out in compartments of many figures, with roses, &c., in the centre. The windows filled with paintings; the buttresses, pillars and decorations are similar to Westminster Abbey. This cathedral is supposed to be five or six centuries old; it stands in a place called Salisbury Close, surrounded by walls, having three gates that are shut every night. It has privileges distinct from the town, and is the residence of the bishop and his clergy, besides private families.

Took coach for Exeter.

July 27. Two despatches from America on their way to London, with advices that an engagement had happened between Gen. Howe and the Americans, with a loss of 18,000 men on both sides, and so great was the carnage that one regiment had but five men left. On inquiry I believe the account cannot be true to the extent of loss.

July 28. — *Exeter.* It is remarkable that in many of the churches of this city are placed in compartments, or tablets against the walls in many places, collections of texts of Scripture. It is believed that the cathedral has been standing nine hundred years, and its ancient appearance justifies it; the military garb some of the statues are dressed in is of the period of the ninth and tenth centuries.

July 30. Attended divine service in the cathedral, to hear, as is the custom, the assize sermon preached before the Judges, who were Barons Eyre and Hotham; the preacher, a Mr. Simmons; a sensible and serious discourse from Proverbs xiv. 34, "*Righteousness exalteth a nation.*"

TO THOMAS DANFORTH, ESQ., BROMPTON-ROW, LONDON.

EXETER, *July* 30, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

* * * * * * * * * *

Dined at Whitchurch; we were joined at table by five gentlemen of the turf, going to the Andover races in this vicinity: the jokes flew freely, and excited laughter among themselves and afforded me some amusement, although conceived in terms to which I was unaccustomed; — their boisterous mirth and manners brought to my mind the descriptions to be met with in books, of gentlemen of that character, and is a proof that they have justly copied the originals. Again we took fresh horses, and in an hour measured eight miles, passing the Earl of Portsmouth's seat, remarkable for nothing that I could see, (but yet it covers more ground than the neighboring farm-houses,) lying just before we entered the Andover race-grounds, an extent of two or three miles, under a range of naked hills on one side, and on the other by enclosures beyond which the road runs, and on which we met and overtook multitudes of each sex, every rank and condition, dressed in their best attire, to partake of the diversions of the race; being too early, we missed a sight I would gladly have enjoyed. At a distance of three miles we descended into the town of Andover, which, like the situations of most towns in England, is in a bottom, containing two hundred houses, a church and town-hall, with open market under it, and adorned with a spire on the top, and a modern structure, as many of the houses are.

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At the distance of eight miles from Salisbury, we passed through five or six villages of houses with mud walls and thatched roofs, such only being seen for many miles in the West. Alighted at last at the Red Lion, in Salisbury, having rode eighty-three miles in fifteen hours. The houses in Salisbury are in ancient style of building, and contain five thousand inhabitants. I peeped into the cathedral during service;

the worshippers were the dean, five or six ecclesiastics, eight singing-boys, and eight as miserable looking wretches as ever entered the doors of a hospital; they were literally, as the Gospel says, of those who are called "the blind, the halt," &c., and are hired to attend: and without this expedient I fancy the lay hearers would be as few as Dr. Swift's congregation. The ceiling is as gaudy as gold and paint can make it, and in the taste of Henry VIIth's chapel, but not open work, and by it appearance has been neglected for some centuries. In short it looks like an old neglected military officer out of service, with his regimentals worn threadbare and soiled. Indeed the whole church is so slovenly and dirtily kept, that a stranger would judge that these stewards of the Lord's inheritance regarded the revenues more than the repairs of the mansion-house. The pews or seats are in a declining, and if not soon propped up, will be in a decumbent state; — the pulpit of stone, perhaps to denote the blockish quality of its possessors. A curious statue of St. Osmond is here, said to have been brought from old Sarum, and supposed of the eleventh or twelfth century; but where he lived or died is not within the compass of my reading.[1]

Having performed a ride of ninety miles in seventeen hours, alighted in this city of Exeter, my distance from London being one hundred and seventy-two miles. The number of inhabitants is scarcely seven eighths as numerous as at Boston in New England; standing on much less ground, and on an eminence in the centre of a bottom, encompassed by distant high hills; on one side runs the river Exe, over it a bridge some centuries old. The streets narrow and dirty — houses of ancient style. The city is encompassed with a wall, in some places almost entire, very high, and crowned with battlements; — perhaps more gates, gateways and arches here than in any other place in England. I was told that forty years ago there was not a coach to be seen in the city. Here are nineteen parish churches, not one with a spire, but having large towers and battlements; and eleven

[1] Chancellor of England and Bishop of Salisbury under William the Conqueror.

meeting-houses for Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, Catholics, and Jews. The castle lately demolished to make room for a court-house. The cathedral front is *adorned* with sixty mutilated statues, having the appearance of a thousand years. Among the various monuments within, is one erected many ages since, to perpetuate the remembrance of an enthusiast, who died a martyr to his folly in presuming to fast in imitation of our Saviour; being a just resemblance of a body wasted by hunger to a skeleton.

I am, with great regard,

S. Curwen.

Exeter, August 1. Attended the assizes at the castle; the cause before Baron Eyre was a suit of Lord Clifford, a Roman Catholic peer, against a Mr. Prode, for encroaching on the rights of his manor of Ringmoor, within which is part of the town of Teignmouth, lying on the river Tyne. Lord Clifford claimed up to high-water mark, below which for 178 feet he had built and enclosed; but on the trial Lord Clifford made an offer to compromise the claim, allowing Mr. Prode to enjoy one half his encroachment for three lives or ninety-nine years, paying yearly ten shillings, and surrendering the other half, which terms were acceded to, and the trial was quashed.

August 5. Removed to Sidmouth, a watering-place, where I propose to reside some time with my friend, Rev. Isaac Smith, who officiates as minister to the Dissenting congregation, partly made up of the company resorting hither for the benefit of sea-bathing and drinking the waters. I am now at Mr. Follet's.

August 12. Sidmouth consists of about a hundred houses, built of mud walls and thatched roofs, except a very few with Cornish tile and with shingles, very low, situated in a bottom or vale; the lands about are under good improvement. On each side stand two ridges of hills, ending in cliffs, the foot washed by the tide. In the town is an old church with a clock and a meeting-house. The inhabitants chiefly hired out to the Newfoundland traders, and for the

most part in low circumstances. The town is within the manor of Sir Wilmot Prideaux, whose ancestor having mortgaged the estate to the ancestor of a person now insane, the leases cannot be renewed, and therefore the houses are going to decay, none inclining to repair more than necessary at an uncertainty.

TO DR. CHARLES RUSSELL, ANTIGUA.

SIDMOUTH, *August*, 14, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

Your letter has given me great pain; people in similar circumstances of distress must be brutal not to feel for one another. Let us endeavor to fortify our minds against despondency; perhaps our prospects will brighten; if not, reason and a submissive disposition may greatly alleviate, though they cannot wholly remove the weight of trouble. I sincerely wish you and your connections a removal of the sufferings you are at present under.

You are candid enough to place my demand to the right account. I would sooner have endured hunger than needlessly add to any one's distresses, much less those for whom I am bound by many ties to promote their happiness and interest. Do not remember the demand, consult your convenience; I have not wanted, although I am reduced to a rigid economy, which you know was not my case in New England. This watering-place, the resort of much genteel company for sea-bathing, is the most frugal place in England; it is in Devonshire, in the neighborhood of Exeter, and about two hundred miles from London.

Your favors, ever esteemed, I ask a continuance of, and remain, etc. S. CURWEN.

FROM THOMAS DANFORTH.

KNIGHTSBRIDGE, *August* 18, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR:

Since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were. I have received your two epistles, though the last but two or three days ago, it having lain some time at Palmer's,

from whence I removed a fortnight this day to Mr. Pemberthy's, in Queen's Row, six or eight houses north of Judge Sewall's, where I have very agreeable lodgings. I neglected answering particularly your first letter, expecting every day a second, and having nothing particular by way of news. I have now determined to write, news or no news, and as you know it is not against my conscience to affirm that I saw the same velvet in the loom, for the same reason I think it very innocent to make a small budget of news. You will therefore be pleased to understand and be informed, that, a few days ago, the Commissioners, with Nathaniel Coffin, Mr. Porter, the Comptroller, the Inspector-General, Col. Leonard, Mr. Barrick, Mr. Mather, Mr. Faneuil, etc., etc., arrived from Halifax; what reception they will meet with is uncertain. You see without doubt in the papers the news from the army at Staten Island. Sheriff Loring writes Col. Hatch, that he expects to spend the winter in Roxbury, and shall clean up his house there for his place of residence.

Col. Tyng writes to Judge Sewall, that when he is settled in his house, which he proposes to take at Amboy, he shall be more particular. It seems that the accounts they have from the deserters are very encouraging; that they are much divided upon the matter of independency. I think that the enemies of opposition to Parliament may regard the matter in that light, and appear openly; that this will be a lucky handle, and will finally be the means of oversetting the combination. It is said that there is a large party in South Carolina, Maryland, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, in opposition; these will assist the King's troops when they are well warmed in dispute with their brethren. It would not be strange if the rebel interest should melt like snow in a hot sun, when once it begins to fail. All but the Congress have an excuse for revolting, and think that they save their honor. Thousands will revolt from them upon a specious pretence, who never would if such could not be found. You have seen in the papers an account of the Yankee privateer brought into the river; one Johnston, of Boston, is master, and Downer, of Roxbury, surgeon. The prisoners are now

on board of a 74 gun-ship at Sheerness. They give a more favorable account of the situation of the friends of Government than we have before had, but some allowances must be made. Daniel Bliss writes from Quebec, that they have reason to think that above a thousand men about Albany are ready to join Gen. Burgoyne; he makes the loss of the rebels in that expedition to be 2000 men, killed, prisoners, and by sickness, upon a moderate computation. The 400 men, inhabitants of Staten Island, with others as they come in, are put under command of Gen. Ruggles, who is to keep possession of the island. I am much obliged by your agreeable account of your journey, but an account of your journey to London again will be more agreeable, which I hope will be soon. Our friend Bourne is gone into the country, so that I am at some loss to give you so particular an account of the lottery as I could wish. There is much about Molesworth's Plan in the "Ledger" of this day. I shall examine it, and if it does not contain the whole matter, will insert the remainder before I close this letter. Bourne said that he discouraged him from purchasing chances. Brattle, Boylston, etc., have returned from France. I have heard nothing farther of Porter. Treasurer Gray, Abel Willard, of Lancaster, and I, have just come from Salters' Hall Meeting-house, where we heard a Mr. Pickard, of Carter-street, near St. Paul's. Being down in the city, I took up Molesworth's publication, and found it to be the same with what is contained in the "Ledger." I see that there is an order in the papers for all the militia of New-York to be in readiness to march. There will probably be warm work. I find that you give no account of your situation in your letter. I suppose you have found the diamond mine, and choose to engross the whole profits. I have paid Col. Pickman as you desired, — he made no observations. Mrs. Bray did not know how to direct me to pay for the wine and ale, so that remains as it was. I should copy all your excuses for your letter, were it not that I suppose they are fresh in your memory. I hate both writing fairly and copying my own letters particularly. I think I have covered the same quantity of paper, and have

therefore a right to close. To conclude, therefore, please remember me to the Doctor. Salute Priscilla and Aquila, and all the pretty girls who are in Exon.

Your very humble servant,

THOS. DANFORTH.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

BRISTOL, *August* 24, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

The regret with which I left Sidmouth was in some measure balanced by the agreeableness of the day. To pass by our first stage, the least amusing, our second, — to moisten our driver and horses, for both often want watering, — was on the borders of Blackdown, at a place called Southhast, and at "*the sine of George Inn, heer all sorts of leckers are sold;*" besides the peculiar taste of the painter in spelling, the letters were of so doubtful a form that my fellow-traveller, Mr. Davis, chose to read "*leckys*," which word, (if to be found in the Devonshire nomenclature I am ignorant of its meaning,) he, being skilled in provincial dialects, may be acquainted with. Our third stage was at the Castle Inn, Taunton. On our way hither we saw a hill called *Quantook*, so like our Indian names I could not help remarking it. After a small delay we proceeded to Hillbishop, and dined at the hospitable table of Mr. Jirrald;[1] his good husbandry is fully repaid by a plentiful harvest of apricots, nectarines and apples; nor is his table without the best cider England affords, which is scarcely equalled by the most sparkling champagne. Our next stage was at Bridgewater. From the inn we walked to Miss Sealy's garden, planned to promote the wise purposes of thought and meditation. Here we regaled ourselves with green gages and gooseberries, the boughs being loaded. At the bottom of the garden is a small piece of water filled with large carp, brought to the surface by pieces of bread thrown in, which they rose to catch; a pleasing sight I never before had. Our next stage was eighteen miles to Cross, where we were told the beds were full, and they had no horses; so we could

[1] A Dissenting minister.

not pass the night nor be carried further. However, we met a friendly stranger in Mr. Cornelius Frye, of Bristol, who gave up his room. Here we supped all together, and passed our time sociably, talking treason and justifying American independence. Next morning we left at seven, and passing Clifton, on the left, covered with excellent improvements, arrived at Bristol, the Bush Inn, opposite the Exchange. Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

Bristol, August 24. Called at Mr. Waldo's; he being absent, I left a card. Soon after he came and carried me to his house to dinner, in company with John Boylston and Mr. Browne; — after dinner walked over Kingsdown Hill to the Hot Wells, on the banks of the Avon, where I took a glass of the water and returned to the inn. Soon after left for Birmingham, through Newport, Gloucester, and Upton, which latter reminded me of the incident of the amiable Sophia Western's muff, which Tom Jones picked up in his own bed. There are many originals of Squire Western, but I am told Mr. Allen, late of Bath, was the character from which Mr. Allworthy was drawn. Hence to Worcester, a handsome town, wide streets, a fine cathedral in good repair, but not abounding in funeral monuments. At last we arrived at Birmingham, which, in its general appearance, looks more like Boston than any place in England.

Birmingham, August 26. Hearing that Judge Oliver and Mr. Lloyd were in town, I repaired to the inn, but they had departed. I met them soon after, as they were leaving town for London *viâ* Woodstock, and gave a letter to Mr. Danforth.

August 28. Walked out and met a Quaker at the door of his house, near the outskirts of the town, on the Litchfield road, commanding an agreeable prospect bounded by distant hills in an amphitheatric line; engaged him in conversation, and by invitation went in for half an hour; found him a sensible man and a *warm American*, as most of the

middling classes are through the kingdom, as far as my experience reaches. Beyond the Tweed, I know not; however, the Scotch within, to my knowledge, are antiministerialists. Passed an agreeable day at Mr. Russell's, two miles out of town; he is of the house of Smith, Son & Russell, who ship largely to New York and Boston. He has been in America, and is her steady and ardent advocate.

August 31. Stepped to a gunmaker's to see a rifle, (the first I ever saw,) and many other pieces of peculiar construction I was a stranger to; the master is to make six hundred rifles for Government, but is in principle an antiministerialist, as is the whole town.

Sept. 6. Sir William Meredith the other day declared, at Matlock, that he looked on the violent measures against America to be very impolitic, and that Lord North was of the same mind, and only joined out of respect for the King, who was warm, and determined to pursue such at all events, even though with the loss of a hundred thousand men. It will be well if a pertinacious adherence to a certain plan of conduct respecting that unhappy country be not productive of evil fruits to the interests of the King and empire. May it please God to infuse wisdom, prudence, and moderation into the breasts of those on whose counsels the fate of both depend.

Sept. 9. A letter in the "London Chronicle," said to have been brought by the *Isabella*, an advice-boat from Quebec, relates a defeat of the Provincials before Crown Point, with the loss of eight hundred killed, eight hundred wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners; and that the garrison is in Gen. Carleton's hands, — said to have been obtained July 23d; a story well told, but which wants proof.

Sept. 10. Was told, as we passed Castle Inn, that Lord North was momently expected there from Sandwell, the Earl of Dartmouth's seat.

Sept. 11. Took coach for Bristol by the way of Tewksbury; met an officer who gave himself great liberties respecting America, to which I took the freedom of giving several severe checks, and my companion spared not till he was

thoroughly silenced and humbled; he said many ungenerous, foolish and false things, and I did not forbear telling him so.

Sept. 16. At 11 o'clock, P. M., departed from Birmingham for Bristol; at Worcester took a relay of horses, and arrived at Tewksbury at breakfast; went to the church, almost the magnitude of a cathedral, which contains many curiosities. In a flat grave, just before the choir, is buried Prince Henry, son of Margaret of Anjou, widow of the unfortunate King Henry VI., who was slain by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, after the defeat of the Queen at "the battle of the bloody meadow," so called from the tradition that it overflowed with the blood of the slain on that occasion. Here is, also, in a kneeling posture, a statue of George, Duke of Clarence, who is said to have been drowned in a butt of malmsey; Richard, Earl of Warwick, the king-maker; Osrick, a king of Northumberland, who founded a church on the spot where this church stands. In two hours after leaving this place we arrived at Gloucester, and in the cathedral saw among many monuments that of the unfortunate King Edward II., who was murdered at Berkeley Castle. Here also lies another unfortunate prince, Robert, Duke of Normandy, whose younger brother, William Rufus, seized the crown of England during his absence on a visit to the Holy Land. He was imprisoned many years in the Castle of Cardiff. Over his grave is a statue in a decumbent posture, made of Irish oak, which, when struck, sounds as if of metal. This cathedral is kept in fine order; has a vaulted choir, and the most elegant cloisters of any in England. Arrived at Bristol at 8 o'clock, evening.

Bristol, Sept. 18. To Ratcliff Church, supposed to be the first in point of elegance and magnitude of all the parish churches in England. It has not in its construction one nail or piece of iron, being built and supported by stone and marble only. It consists of three aisles, besides two projections which give it the form of a cross; in one stands a great font, and in the other several funeral monuments. Over the altar are placed three masterly paintings by Ho-

garth, on the subject of the burial, resurrection, and ascension; for which he received a thousand pounds.

In this church lies buried Admiral Penn, with an inscription recounting his exploits on a pillar; and suspended on the same pillar below are his military garb, sword, cuirass, helmet, gloves, etc. This gentleman's services were rewarded by the royal grant of Pennsylvania to his son William Penn, the founder of that Province.

Took tea and passed the evening with Mr. Eveleigh, a native of Charleston, South Carolina; educated at Harvard College, three or four years after me, who on hearing my name recollected it, having been schooled at Cambridge under Master Coolidge and boarded at the President's house. He and his family are hearty in the cause of America,

Sept. 19. Accompanied Mr. Bourne, one of my countrymen, to the crown-glass manufactory, where the whole process was shown. On 'Change met my countryman, Mr. Joseph Waldo, who procured tickets for our admission to Mr. Gouldney's grotto at Clifton, with whom, Francis Waldo, and Capt. Aldredge (brother of the late Col. Bradstreet's lady, and born in Nova Scotia,) we proceeded over Brandon Hill, the summit whereof yields the most ravishing view that imagination can form, having a large portion of the city under foot; and a finely cultivated country for an amazing extent has the appearance of a continued village, interspersed with towns and seats; the prospect enlivened with live hedges, lofty trees, Dumday Tower, Kingwood, and the river Avon, running through the city and joined with another called the Frome, over both which are bridges; on the latter are the larger ships, and on the former only smaller craft. Just as we arrived at the gates, there passed by in his solitary walk, whom accident threw in our way, a countryman, Mr. Harrison Gray, son of our late (Massachusetts) treasurer, who, with his wife, had for a season left London and retired to this place, and whom I was glad to see. Parting at the gate, we were soon admitted, and, attended by the gardener, were conducted through the gravel-walks, kept in the nicest order, the whole bearing the appearance of care and indus-

try. It is on a moderate scale, but well filled with orange and lemon-trees, etc.; and a small piece of water, abounding in gold and silver fish, supplied from a natural fountain so lofty that a fire-engine is erected at one end of the terrace. The stream runs under ground for a distance and discharges itself through an urn, on which a Neptune rests with his trident. The ground between it and the engine is made rough, scraggy, and woody, to resemble a wilderness, which I passed going through the main walk. We arrived at the door of the grotto, situated under the terrace. The object that presented itself to our view was a lion, in a sitting posture; and behind, in a dark cave, a lioness, — the latter so like life that I could hardly persuade myself to the contrary. The form of the grotto is octangular, its roof a semicircle, having a dome with a round window in the centre; the diameter about twenty feet on each side, from the door in front to the mouth of the cave in which the lioness is sitting; to the right and left of the entrance the roof is supported by pillars. Covered as its roof and sides are with a variety of shells, stones, spars, petrifactions, etc., the mountains, even the bowels of the earth and the bottom of the sea, seem to have been pillaged to furnish materials to adorn this curious subterraneous recess. On the left hand, beyond the dome and under a rough, cragged stone arch, is a small quadrangular stone basin of water supplied by small streams, issuing through almost imperceptible channels, over which, in a lying posture, is a female deity. On the other hand stands a door, the light and shade of which is so artfully painted that it deceived the company, who thought it a passage into the garden on a flight of stairs; the most perfect deception I ever saw. On the door was a ministure of a female face with a seemingly broken glass covering it, in the same style and manner, and producing the like effect. From hence we ascended the terrace-walk four hundred feet in length, the front of the garden raised forty feet supported by a brick wall; the rear bounded by a border of flowers, and behind a shrubbery of lofty trees. On the right is an octangular structure ending in a dome eighteen feet in diameter, with

seats all round, and having as many windows as it has sides, which affords as many prospects, except on the side of the garden, where they are darkened, yielding three delightful perspectives.

Leaving this charming spot and Clifton, I bade adieu to my companions, and after dinner I departed for Shepton Mallet, and on my arrival met my friend and countryman, Mr. Isaac Smith. Thus ends my ramble for a few weeks.

Shepton Mallet, Sept. 20. Walked to the market-cross, an open structure supported by Gothic arches and pillars, and ornamented in front by a few mutilated statues, but whether of saints or heroes of antiquity, I know not. A few gentlemen of fortune live here, but many worthy clothiers; there are two places of worship, an Episcopal and a Presbyterian, and the number of inhabitants is said to be seven thousand. A Mr. Ames, with whom I am acquainted, lives here on his six hundred a year.

Sept. 23. Rode through Lord Ilchester's park, passing by the late Lord Berkeley's estate, and through a vale to Lord Arundel's. One passes on a flight of noble steps to the centre door letting into the hall; — the walls are adorned with paintings of the most celebrated artists. There is a cabinet of Pope Sixtus Quintus, which stands on a mahogany frame; the front is of ebony; and amber pillars, set with sapphires, emeralds and other precious stones, and miniatures of all the Perotti family from which he sprang, — elegantly executed in white alabaster. In the drawers are prints of the principal royal and noble families of Europe, in metal frames.

In these grounds is an airy cross, bought of the city of Bristol and transported here; in the Gothic style, four stories; in each are four niches filled with kings in their regalia, supposed to have been benefactors to the city; the names in part are, Henry VI., Edward IV., John, Charles I., and II., and Queen Elizabeth. It is finely decorated, and in the highest preservation.

Procured a guide to attend us to Alfred's Tower, which we intended to visit before taking leave of Stourton. We

soon arrived at Inson Hill, on whose summit stands the tower, and which is said to be the spot on which Alfred erected his standard against the Danes; mostly a terraced walk. The tower, an open triangular structure, the angles covered by round towers; in one is a flight of 221 steps, making 155 feet in height; on this is a sound balcony of 20 feet high; on the top a kind of cross standing on a globe. The entrance into it is through a Gothic arched door; ten feet above is a stone niche under a finely ornamented arch. In the centre is a Saxon crown supported by double Gothic pillars; on each side stands the statue of Alfred in military habiliments and larger than life, holding a sceptre in his right hand, his left resting on a sword. Below is a tablet, on which is the following:—

IN MEMORY OF

ALFRED THE GREAT,

WHO ON THIS SUMMIT ERECTED HIS STANDARD AGAINST DANISH INVADERS.
HE INSTITUTED JURIES, ESTABLISHED A MILITIA,
CREATED AND EXERTED A NAVAL FORCE;
A PHILOSOPHER AND A CHRISTIAN;
THE FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE,
THE FOUNDER OF THE ENGLISH MONARCHY AND
LIBERTY.

Leaving this grateful monument, dedicated to the memory of the most deserving monarch England ever saw, I returned home.

Sept. 25. To the Poor-House to see the *spinning-jennies*, which of late, through the folly and madness of the spinners and weavers, have been the occasion of a riot in this town, which a party of dragoons were called in to quell, who are yet continued to prevent future ones; three were killed and a number wounded, and but for the Government orders to avoid bloodshed, more would have been. These machines are to twist the threads after the first course run from the common wheels, which despatch about three or four times as fast as by hand in the customary way. They have been in use some years in the North, and a premium obtained for

them from the Society of Arts and Sciences. They contain thirty-six spindles turned by a common axis, communicating with a wheel placed horizontally.

Sept. 28. Walked with Mr. Morgan over the hills to the remains of a Roman-way; the ditch continues, although in an imperfect state, and is carried over Mendip Hill, running from north to south, and from shore to shore.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1776. Visits Bath. Meets Col. Saltonstall and Mr. Boylston. Longleat, Seat of Lord Weymouth. Glastonbury Abbey Ruins. Bridgewater. Enmore Castle, Seat of Earl Egmont. Taunton. Sidmouth. Slade. Dr. Shebbeare. Supposed Danish Encampment at Hembury. Admiral Graves. Exeter. News from New York in "Bristol Gazette." Election of Member of Parliament at Exeter. Candidates Baring and Cholwich. Visits Lord Courtenay's Belvidere. Birthplace of Sir Francis Drake. News from America. Rumors of War between England and France. Electioneering in England. Remarks on Election at Exeter. Baring elected. Advices from Gen. Burgoyne. Report of Washington's Defeat at Kingsbridge. Remarks on the Tone of Englishmen towards America, and Vindication of the Latter. Letters to George Russell, William Pynchon, and Judge Sewall.

Shepton Mallet, Oct. 1. Rode to Bath; large meeting of clothiers from neighboring towns in Somerset and Wiltshire, to concert measures to establish, if practicable, the use of the spinning-jenny in these parts, which the weavers raised a mob to prevent. Two companies of dragoons are posted in this town for security of the manufacturers against the infatuated multitude. Met Col. Saltonstall, who, with Mr. Boylston, has taken lodgings here for some time past. Departed for Lord Weymouth's seat, called Longleat; his grounds contain the whole parish of Horningsham. Over the entrance in front is the date, as follows: — "*Erected by Sir John Thynne*, 1569." The front is an addition to the old structure, the remains of a Carthusian monastery standing round a large square court. Within are pictures of Henry VIII.; Sir Thomas Overbury; Lord Strafford, beheaded in the time of Charles I.; Henry IV. of France; Charles I. when Prince of Wales, and his brother James II. when Duke of York; General Monck; Charles II. and his Queen;

Archbishop Juxton; Mary Queen of Scots; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Lady Nottingham; Archbishop Laud; Cardinal Richelieu; Sir Thomas Graham; Count Tekeli and lady.

Oct. 11. Visited Glastonbury Abbey ruins, attended by a guide named Thomas, who is as great a curiosity as the ruins; for we had no sooner entered on the holy ground than he doffed his beaver and hugged it under his arm, while with a solemn tone and manner indicative of unshaken faith in the legendary tales which the folly of credulity and superstition have handed down, by oral tradition as well as books, through a long succession of ages, he began by informing us of some circumstances relative to a chapel standing entire, which I had no wish to enter, nor do I remember the tale. Proceeding on we approached the walls of the chapel in ruins, but not so much as to prevent a perfect idea of the size. Making a sudden stop, our guide told us, with a solemn voice, that the ground we stood on was twenty-two feet above the natural surface, raised by the rubbish from the monastery; which, if true, is a proof of the immensity of the building and the uncommon thickness of its walls, the site of which covers fifteen to twenty acres. Descending to the lower chapel, at present filled with dirt to the capitals of the pillars, eight feet, this he told us was the spot where Joseph of Arimathea built a chapel of hurdles and boughs of trees, twenty-three years after the crucifixion. In the upper chapel remain the niches and pedestals on which stood the images of saints, of solid gold.

After hearing many tedious stories and incredibilities, we proceeded to survey the outside, dormitory, chapter-house, etc. In the centre of the east end stood the chapel of the first Saxon Christian King of this island; from whence through the ruins, at a considerable distance, is to be seen the further or western end of the double chapel we first entered; both side-walls are standing up to the roof, and part of the eastern wall, under an arch of eighty feet in height, and fifty in width, entire all but the crown. The sight of this brought to my mind the magnificent ruins of

Palmyra, although its ornaments were not of such exquisite workmanship; these being Gothic, but highly finished. Near an angle at the eastern end stands a small room; lately this was turned into a cow-house, but not one of the brutal intruders survived a year, as the guide informed us of his own certain knowledge.

Within this holy ground is the holy thorn-tree. I had liberty to pluck a branch, proposing to preserve it till my arrival in America, (if it shall please God to grant me that favor.) The three trees now standing, blossom yearly within the Christmas holy-days, which it is the peculiar quality of this species to do, without supposing a miracle; but the craft of these reverend impostors knew very well how to turn a natural event into something miraculous, and the superstitious folly and ignorance of the multitude for a long course of ages has confirmed them in the same groundless notions.

We arrived soon at a pleasant road, having in view extensive prospects of waste lands, called moors; ascending a lofty ridge on the left, lay that called King's Sedgemoor, remarkable for the defeat of the Duke of Monmouth by his uncle, King James the Second. From hence, on one of these hills, is to be seen the obelisk erected to the memory of the late Sir William Pynsent by the Earl of Chatham; a cheap purchase of an estate of eighty thousand pounds, besides ten thousand in money, left to a man the testator never saw. The stage from Glastonbury to Bridgewater throughout, extremely pleasant; the distance of fifteen miles we passed in an hour and a half; thence to Enmore Castle about four miles, a seat of the Earl of Egmont, which is built in the form of the ancient baronial castles. Leaving this imitation of old English architecture, we rode to Castle Inn, Taunton, where we lodged: next day to Sidmouth.

Sidmouth, Oct. 13. Attended worship at my friend Mr. Isaac Smith's, who preached from these words, "*The Lord is my portion,*" which was the last sermon he preached in America; the congregation the largest I had known since my residence here.

Oct. 17. Rode to Slade, the seat of a Mr. Lee, one of

Mr. Smith's hearers, who purchased of the father of the famous Dr. Shebbeare, one of the writers for the Court against America. Took a stroll to the cliffs on the seaside, yielding a delightful prospect.

Oct. 18. Rode out to view an ancient encampment, supposed Danish, and is called Hembury, about fourteen miles. Fording the gentle stream of Syd, we pursued our course over Cove Hill, so called, being a lofty range, affording on each side very pleasant views of a finely improved country; here we met a number of huntsmen on foot, with their long poles and a great number of dogs, at default, unable to recover the track of the hare, which had found means to elude the dogs' scent. A little beyond the village of Burcherton is the seat of the well-known Admiral Graves, whose base, unworthy conduct in America has justly brought the curses of the people on his head, displeased his sovereign and the ministry, and rendered himself deservedly the contempt of all. His house is at the foot of the hill on which Hembury fort stands. This fort is situated on the extremity of a lofty ridge of hills, in a parish of the same name, four miles north of Honiton, and is supposed to have been a Danish encampment, (formed in one of their incursions, about a thousand years ago,) from its roundish form, the Roman being all angular; there are many such in these parts, though few so entire. Its form is a very long oval; and measures, from the low parapet or line of raised earth on the northeasterly quarter at its further end, to the edge or brow of the ditch at the southwesterly, (in which direction it runs exclusive of the ditches athwart the hill, to defend or secure the centre enclosure,) about a thousand feet; and the width of the hill on its summit on which the encampment stands, with the middle included, is about a hundred feet. It stands very high, and commands a view of the vales on each side to a great extent. From the foot of the hill in front, for a considerable distance on either side, it is of a quick ascent; but from the foot of the hill in front there is an easy slope, as regular as a glacis, although of ten times its length and breadth; the rest of this long range, in a cir-

cular form, rises from the plains below as far as the eye can discern, regularly and sudden, rendering the approach difficult, except from the summit, which is continued to a great extent. There are three fosses carried nine feet round the encampment, the last deeper and wider than the rest; the slope is about sixty feet. The earth-wall, if it may be so called, contains fifteen to twenty acres. Here may be traced the foundations of one or two buildings, which spot, I presume, was the officers' tents, the place of arms and magazine. The avenue on the south side, for there is but one, communicates with a walk running the whole width of the hill, and is bounded by a parapet of raised earth, at twenty feet from the entrance into the middle enclosure; between this and the brow of the hill at the southwest, is, I suppose, the encampment of the army, and here may be seen the effects of labor; but what were the works, enough does not remain to enable us to judge. Having surveyed these remains of ancient military defence, we descended by the common road, and arrived at home in about three hours.

Oct. 20. Mr. Samuel Follett drank tea with us; he is an old Newfoundland trader; was in New England in 1726, and built a ship at Charlestown.

Exeter, Oct. 26. In the "Bristol Gazette" is the following: — "Gen. Howe had landed the British Army on the island of New-York on the 15th September; the Provincials had fled from the city, with great precipitation and much loss, towards Kingsbridge, where they were entrenched, to the number of twenty thousand. Gen. Howe, having taken possession of New-York, was encamped with his army of twenty-two thousand within cannon-shot of the Americans, and it was hourly expected he would make a grand attack upon them." This intelligence came by the *Hanover Planter* to Bristol, who spoke with the *Galatea*, Capt. Jordan, who left New-York the 17th of September. The unaccountable story of abandoning New-York, without a formal attack made on it, needs explanation; no doubt there were justifiable reasons for it.

Oct. 29. A busy week here, many persons daily arriving

from all quarters, at the instance and charge of the competitors, Baring and Cholwich, who are up for the representation of this city in Parliament in room of Mr. Waters. The hands of the city officers are fully occupied in making out freedoms to those who have a right to it. The dispute runs high: "*Cholwich forever!*" momently bawled; "*Baring!*" not so often, though many think he may carry his election; papers are printed and public houses kept open by both, at great expense. The joke would be complete should an unthought-of rival step in and succeed.

Oct. 30. Rode out to Lord Courtenay's Belvidere, (about seven miles,) a triangular structure of Portland stone; from the top is an extensive prospect, having on one side Exeter, Topsham, and several seats; on the other, Lympstone, Exmouth, Star Cross, Lord Courtenay's seat, Gov. Pawke's, a nabob late of Madras, the river Exe from near its mouth, and vessels in the channel; and, what is more curious, the house wherein the great Sir Francis Drake was born and lived, situated on the other side of the river, opposite the Belvidere.

Oct. 31. Mr. Shepard tells me there is great danger of a French war; may the nation be preserved from this dreadful calamity.

TO THE HON. JUDGE SEWALL, BROMPTON-ROW, LONDON.

EXETER, *Oct.* 31, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

By a letter from Mr. Danforth I was informed some of my countrymen were about to apply to the Administration for relief. As my residence has been much longer than the most, and the suddenness of my departure from home rendering it morally impossible for me to become possessed of much money, and my pretensions, for aught I know, being as good as any and better than many, I presume I shall not be the only exile left in a forlorn condition if any provision be made; and if never made, forlorn I shall truly be, my finances every day very sensibly lessening. Had I received Mr. Deberdt's letter in time I should have returned

to London, but it was otherwise; and if my presence now can be dispensed with, it will be more agreeable, as I live pleasantly enough among a few acquaintances, at the rate of twenty guineas a year, in a state of rigid economy that I never before was reduced to the necessity of putting in practice.

In my answer to Mr. Deberdt, I referred him to you, whose friendship on this occasion I doubted not; nor need I now repeat my request of your assistance if that shall be necessary. With great regard, etc.

S. Curwen.

Nov. 1. I was informed that a messenger from General Howe had just passed through the city, with advice that the Provincial entrenchments, containing nine thousand men from New York, were forced, General Washington wounded and taken, and ten thousand men on both sides killed; some other circumstances are brought, but not to be divulged till six hours after the messenger's departure from Exeter. Should this news prove true, I wish it may not puff the British General with pride, and fill him with false notions of the unequalled prowess and invincibility of the British troops, nor indispose him to offer moderate terms; and I trust Congress may be willing to prevent further effusion of blood and destruction of property, by hearkening to reasonable proposals, which I hope the House have authority to make.

Nov. 2. It is obvious the Government is apprehensive of a rupture; saying, "it is expedient we should be in a respectable state of defence." The truth is there have been some discouraging accounts from France for this week past, respecting the intentions of that Court to assist the Colonies, and advices from Spain say their ports are declared open to the English Colonists. Upon these events press-warrants are dispersed through this kingdom, and eight hundred were taken on the Thames in one day into the service, and five pounds per man are offered for able-bodied sailors. The report of yesterday is contradicted in part; Gen. Washing-

ton is not taken, but six thousand Americans, and but two thousand British. This wants confirmation. It is also added that part of the Provincials only were engaged; a lame account. The fears of some and the hopes of others, dispose the people to the belief of any improbabilities, nay, self-evident falsehoods.

Nov. 6. The important day has at length arrived — the election of a Member to Parliament; the city alive, except myself, who am dead to curiosity. Interest, and the hope of victory, have inspired all here with ardor. It is amusing to see how warmly their passions are engaged.

Read "Sharp's Travels in Italy;" entertaining enough; his style not above mediocrity; his picture of the country, if just, must render his own more dear to those who know how to make a just estimate of all the valuable enjoyments of life. In reading the above I learn that in the State of Florence are nearly twenty-seven thousand of the holy order, or if you please, the ecclesiastical troops, who are under a solemn vow of obedience to a foreign potentate; these, with their connections, relations and dependencies, render the authority of the civil power extremely precarious in case they unite with a discontented party.

Amongst other instances of management in electioneering, is the practice of closeting and locking up, — beds being provided in secure apartments to prevent the voters being spirited away to the other side, of which there have been some instances, after the expense of fetching them in from distant parts. To prevent confusion and injustice, in the present election, it is agreed to vote by tallies, that is, each candidate to present by turns a certain number, say ten or twenty. The majority of the City Chamber is for Cholwich; the Church for Baring, whose managers are the most opulent, active and knowing; the contest fierce, some wounds and broken heads, but no deaths; enough to convince me of the deplorable venality of the nation, and the high expectations derivable from a seat in that Assembly of untutored, inexperienced youths, (for half, I believe, have not seen thirty,) called the Parliament of Great Britain, or the great Council

of the nation. The number of voters in this city is about fourteen hundred; and I am told two hundred of the most solid, judicious and prudent, thinking neither of the candidates suitable, decline any concern, it being immaterial to them whether Baring or Cholwich be the tool of Administration. The charge on each side, five thousand pounds, is doubtless intended to be reimbursed from the national fund, for (not their services but) their votes! Would to God this great source of ministerial power and influence, and the increasing cause of our public evils, the national debt, was reduced to a moderate sum. A sponge is dreadful in thought, and would be the ruin of some millions of innocent widows and orphans. May that be prevented by a wise and prudent expedient, if within the compass of human knowledge and power. May a public and disinterested spirit spring up and yet be the stability of our times.

Nov. 8. By the "Gazette" the wonderful account brought from America is, as usual, greatly diminished respecting the valor and bravery of one side, number of slain, etc. on the other; 6000 Provincials and 2000 Regulars are reduced to 400 Provincials and 15 Regulars!! However, by the same intelligence, it seems one quarter of New York is burnt, and some lurkers menace the destruction of the whole city, to prevent which Gen. Howe is using assiduous endeavors to discover these incendiaries and prevent the intended conflagration.

Nov. 9. Walked out to the Guildhall to see the conclusion of the poll, ended by the sheriff's declaring Mr. Baring duly elected; the excess being one hundred and one votes. The unsuccessful candidate, Mr. Cholwich, supported by the City Chamber, went home to put as good a face on their disappointment as they could, amidst loud huzzas, flags displayed, having various devices, of which two were as follows: — the one divided into four compartments, between each half the word "*Cholwich*," and in the compartments "*No bribery;*" the other was the coat-armor of his father-in-law, (that is to be,) Sir John Duntze, properly emblazoned, and in a scroll underneath, these words, "*Free and independent.*" Mr. Baring, as is usual, was accompanied by a numerous

crowd, said to be ten thousand, huzzaing, clapping hands, etc. The house he adjourned to was in the yard next to ours; and, to honor him, variegated lamps were suspended in front, forming these words, — "*Baring forever!*" surmounted by a crown. The evening closed with a grand display of fireworks.

Nov. 11. Mr. Baring's friends wear favors of blue and purple ribbons, and some ladies wear an emblematical device, in allusion to the successful candidate's name, *being a bear with a ring in his nose*, enamelled, pendant on a blue ribbon. The day was ushered in by music and a procession, with flags inscribed "*Baring and Trade!*" The inhabitants of this city appear proud, unsocial and solitary, neither conversable nor hospitable; but a few unceremonious, hearty friends will render any place tolerable, and such for that reason is this city for the present.

Nov. 26. A report prevails that Gen. Burgoyne has destroyed all the Provincial forces on the lake.

The later advice is, that Gen. Burgoyne became master of the lake by taking, burning and destroying the naval force on the 12th ult.

Dec. 3. This day is published a single sheet letter from a master of a transport, giving account of the defeat of Provincials at Kingsbridge by Gen. Howe, he having forced the entrenchments, killing, wounding and taking eight thousand with a loss of two thousand only, on the 17th October; the remainder supposed to be fled to Philadelphia.

Sunday, Dec. 8. Mr. Towgood preached an excellent discourse, from Isaiah lvii. 15. In his prayer the most just and proper expression for the King and Royal family, and all in authority, both as ministers of state and executive officers; and although a warm and hearty advocate for America, and her claims of exemption from British legislation, right of taxation, yet moderate and dutiful enough for me, who am far removed from wishing its entire independence; for it is my firm belief it would sooner bring on oppression and tyranny there than the former right allowed in its full extent. May it please God to prevent both; may the unreasonable

and baneful wishes and attempts of all violent men be disappointed.

Dec. 13. The State fast, appointed by the King's proclamation, on account of the American war. Bishop Keppel preached from Deut. xxxiii. 27, "The eternal God is thy refuge," etc.; a seasonable and candid discourse. He calls this "*a Civil war*," and the Americans "*our unhappy fellow-subjects:*" attempted no justification of the measures of Government. I was pleased with his candor and judgment.

Dec. 18. By a Mr. Lloyd of the 20th Regiment, just arrived in the *Lord Howe* frigate from Quebec, and who was on the lake with Burgoyne and Carleton, a report is brought that a merchantman met the *Active* frigate at sea, and learned that Gen. Washington had abandoned the lines at Kingsbridge, left his cannon and stores, and that his army is mouldered away; that New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland have deserted the Union, and declared for Government; speaks of the Yankees, as he is pleased to call them, in the most contemptuous terms, as cowards, poltroons, cruel, and possessing every bad quality the depraved heart can be cursed with; and says the Regulars at Trois-Rivieres took five hundred prisoners, killed one hundred, and lost only three men, who were killed by Yankees, who had got upon trees and fired down on them.

It is my earnest wish the despised Americans may convince these conceited islanders, that, without regular standing armies, our continent can furnish brave soldiers and judicious and expert commanders, by some knock-down, irrefragable argument; for then, and not till then, may we expect generous or fair treatment. It piques my pride, I confess, to hear us called "*our Colonies, our Plantations,*" in such terms and with such airs as if our property and persons were absolutely theirs, like the "villains" and their cottages in the old feudal system, so long since abolished, though the spirit or leaven is not totally gone, it seems.

TO MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, AT MOSELEY WAKE GREEN, NEAR BIRMINGHAM.

EXETER, *December*, 20, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

I have delayed answering you till this time from an hourly expectation of hearing some important advices from New York; but in this I have been hitherto mistaken, the season having too far advanced to expect any military achievements by the British forces, and the Americans you know have formed no active plan of operation by land; confining their views of activity to the depredatory naval department. As to a treaty, I am without the smallest hopes of its taking place at present; the Americans do not despair of maintaining their independence, and the Court, I am told, has not given up its view of laying America at its feet, for such is and has been the Court language, and the intention to force her to submit to the unconditional authority of Parliament; — however, should Gen. Washington be beaten out of his entrenchments, it would be but one advantage out of a score that must be gained to make them "lower their topsails." The Americans are not without resources, whatever may be thought on that subject in England.

Among others France and Spain are no idle lookers on; resentment as well as political reasons influence them to keep the trammels on the neck of our Court till a favorable opportunity may offer to strike a blow which shall effectually humble the pride of Great Britain, perhaps destroy her independence, or at best reduce her to a state of as little importance in the grand political balance of Europe as Portugal or Genoa now holds; and that is the general opinion here, whatever may be the opinion elsewhere. As to the objects of the impolicy of our Court, we know from history, that statesmen to gain a present purpose sometimes disregard the true interests and honor of the nation and all distant consequences. The King of Spain is England's avowed enemy; the Court owes this country a grudge for her success against her commerce and garrisons last war; nor does France love her better; and ever since her open opposition

to the ambitious views of that Court in the beginning of Louis XIVth's reign, who aimed at universal empire, has looked on her rising greatness with a jealous, not to say envious eye. It is no proof of want of bravery in the Americans not to face the Regulars; many good reasons may be assigned to justify their conduct, and though it be the ground of much reproach here, I see in it the effect of sound judgment. That little dependence can be placed on newly raised troops is well known the world over. On account of the amazing expense with which Great Britain carries on a land war in America, unless she can command the troops of Europe and the wealth of the Indies, men and money must in a few campaigns be wanting. With regard to the insidious offers made to America, as the warm partisans against the Court call them, I pretend not to such acquaintance with Court measures to determine about it; if they be so, the greater is the pity. They may, however, if that should be the case, be taken in the snares laid for others, and if good be derived from evil, thanks to an overruling Providence, who sometimes makes itself subservient to the happiness of society. That more treasure must be consumed and more blood spilled before this impolitic, destructive and fatal war is ended, will, I trust, not prove a melancholy truth.

The accounts of the burning of the city of New York in the "Gazette," are full, explicit and intelligible; more than one fourth is destroyed, beginning at the fort and all along the Broadway, taking in the college, etc.; and that it was fired by some Northern man, is undoubted. A Mr. Smith, son of a clergyman of Weymouth, in Massachusetts Bay, whom and whose family I knew very well, was concerned, taken, and I believe executed on due proof.

I remain, truly yours,

S. Curwen.

Exeter, Dec. 21. I am informed that, by a letter from an officer of character, Arnold and the Provincials are represented as behaving with great intrepidity and good con-

duct; and their defeat was owing to the superior weight of metal on the side of their enemies. I am rejoiced to find justice done my countrymen, and that there are those who can look through the vista of party, see truth and speak it. The news of the defeat of General Washington at Kingsbridge is confirmed.

Dec. 22. The above defeat is not very important, save the loss of cannon; few prisoners taken, fewer killed, the retreat not deficient in military skill on the side of the Provincials, nor much to the reputation of the British General; a rencounter not badly nor unsuccessfully conducted on the American side.

Dec. 23. The unimportant, insignificant, fribbling Governor of Virginia is come back to England.

Dec. 26. Lord Barrington in his private judgment condemns the present war as unjust, and will prove ineffectual, but votes with Government, as a Minister of State.

TO THE HON. JUDGE SEWALL.

EXETER, *Dec.* 31, 1776.

DEAR SIR:

My little bark is in imminent hazard of being stranded unless the wind shifts quickly, or some friendly boat appears for its relief. In plain English, my purse is nearly empty; which circumstance has of late frequently reminded me of an emblematical device in the beginning of "Fuller's History of the Holy Wars," wherein on the right is a purse distended with gold and standing upright, on the left the same turned upside down, in a lank condition, emptied wholly of its contents, with these words under the former, "*we went out full*," and under the latter, "*we returned empty.*" I do not know but I am departed from my country, family and friends, on as foolish and fantastic grounds as the misguided devotees of that time did to rescue the Holy Land from infidels, though on opposite principles, I confess; they to fight, I to avoid fighting. I now begin to tremble lest the same fate awaits me that befell them. I dislike the motives of the chief agents in America, and their whole system from its first

small beginnings to its full monstrous growth of independency; and I trust from a very just motive, *love of my country;* which this place I am convinced has no tendency to promote the welfare of. But what of that? It is my duty, and sure the State is not to reward the loyalty of every subject; the Court in this case would have more than enough to do to satisfy the demands of all claimants.

I cannot foresee what I may hereafter do, but easily that I must suffer hunger and nakedness in the comfortless mansions of the wretched. These ideas I have not been accustomed to associate. Seneca and many moral writers, heathen as well as Christian, with all the fathers of the Church, luxuriating in the midst of plenty, have furnished the world with elaborate, entertaining, and edifying treatises on contentment, and the duty of submission and resignation under pain, sickness, and poverty with her long train of horrors, and really they are amusing to a mind at ease and free from the apprehensions of suffering, and make a pretty figure on paper; but book philosophy and practical philosophy differ from each other widely. Let Seneca and the long list of moralists be brought to the mouth of the cave of poverty; let hunger, thirst and nakedness, in all their grisly, terrifying shapes stare them in the face, then let them, if they can, exemplify these ideal doctrines; let a man pricked, torn, goaded, and surrounded by the briers and thorns sown thick in the path of poverty, take out his table-book and write a treatise on contentment and submission to these severities of his lot, and with a face of composure be able to recommend the pleasing doctrines by his own example, I will believe the existence of such a singular phenomenon; but till I can see such an instance in real life, which I never yet have seen, I must doubt the existence of it anywhere but in books and systems. Human practice knows no such airy notions. History tells of savages singing amid tortures, but the instances of unfeeling savages are the instances of unfeeling savages only; civilized societies furnished with the means and comforts and elegancies of life, afford no instances of such barbarous insensibilities. Job, indeed, is recommended

as a pattern to be imitated for patience under the grievous sufferings of loss of property and pain; but he, as was natural to expect in his wretchedness, cursed the day of his birth, and who can express himself with more impatience? Poverty with all her attendant evils, to one unaccustomed to her presence till old age, is too formidable to be vanquished by philosophy and religion; nor is there a mind in such a situation, in its own natural forces, capable of supporting itself, and not bending under the weight of grief and despair. My doctrine perhaps you may refuse your assent to, but I have said nothing my reason doth not dictate in the coolest hours of reflection. On the present occasion I feel the force of these truths in a much more striking manner. With respect to my circumstances, I will just add that several of my letters containing orders for remittances were intercepted, by order, I suppose, of the Amphyctionic States of America, or the lesser *hogan mogans* of some particular colony, by which manœuvre my friends knew no more of my circumstances than if I was in the region of the moon.

The melancholy event in your family drew from my eyes the tears of sympathy, well knowing the grief of a tender parent for the loss of a beloved offspring; and if you will not apply to me Augustus's answer to the Trojan ambassador, I will add, you may believe with sincerity, my real and unfeigned grief at the loss, which I pray God to support you under. Yours, etc.

S. Curwen.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1777. Author completes his Sixty-first Year. Remarks on the Commencement of the New Year. Letters. Dr. Dodd's Case. Visits Plymouth. Exeter. Bristol. Journey to London. Engages Lodgings at Brompton-Row, near London. Dines with Gov. Hutchinson. Meets B. Hallowell. Thomas Russell. Visits Christ Church Hospital. The Institution described. Visits Cromwell's Garden in company with Judge Sewall and Abel Willard. Attends New England Club at Mr. Blowers's. Dines with Harrison Gray. Letter to Rev. Isaac Smith on American Affairs.

Exeter, Jan. 1, 1777. This day is very near the commencement of my sixty-second year, being three days later; my birthday was the 28th ult.; may this year be more productive of moral improvement than my last was, and if it shall please the righteous Disposer of human events to continue the dark cloud now hanging over me another year, may He support me under the dispensation, and enable me to discharge my duty, if not with alacrity, with composure and an unreluctant temper.

Jan. 5. Attended worship at Bow-church. Mr. Manning preached a pleasing discourse on "*friendship*," which, like all fine pictures, was too highly colored and above life.

TO THOMAS DANFORTH, ESQ., LONDON.

EXETER, *Jan.* 11, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

The success of the British arms does not raise my hopes; the political States of America have resources much greater than you and I may be acquainted with. The courts of France and Spain are too vigilant to let slip so fair an occasion of revenging themselves for the losses and disgraces of

their fleets and armies, sustained from British troops last war, not to avail themselves of this conjuncture. The advices from both countries but too justly afford shrewd suspicions of their unfriendly designs towards Great Britain, and God only knows the consequences; the Colonies may be lost, and Great Britain, perhaps, in the event, may be very well off if she can maintain her own independence. These are suggestions of a mind in quite a different state from your "head-quarter" folks, who, in our country language, count their chickens before they are hatched. If they would deign to take me into their counsels, I should advise them to be more sure of a victory before they celebrate the triumph. The continuance of our evils is, to my sickly imagination, much longer than the Court conceives; but what is to become of me in the mean time? I need not take a peep into futurity to know. * * * * * * * * *

I want to know a thousand things, and ask a thousand questions, which you at the source of intelligence are acquainted with, relative to America and American exiles, but of which I am as ignorant as if in New Zealand. If I continue here much longer, I shall be fitter for a hermit's cell; indeed I have thought, nay, often wished for one, which, at my time of life, and with my prospects, would be a most welcome retreat. I remain yours,

S. Curwen.

TO HON. JUDGE SEWALL, LONDON.

Exeter, *Jan.* 19, 1777.

* * * * * * *

Dear Sir:

So little did I know myself, so ignorant of consequences I might have foreseen and avoided, had I possessed common discernment, that, for what now appears to me a chimera, I abandoned my dwelling, friends and means of life, which you know I possessed in no small degree, and might, as the event proves, have retained on the comparative trifling condition of insults, reproaches, and perhaps a dress of tar and feathers; — an alternative I now see much to be preferred to the

distresses of mind I am daily suffering. The licentiousness of an unruly rabble, (saving personal outrages,) with a plentiful purse, is an envied state to liberty, in the mildest government on earth, if attached to poverty with its horrid train of evils; this you may regard as a paradox, and so will all who are at ease.

I think it is Lucan who says, a good man struggling under the storms of fate in adverse fortune is a noble sight, and well pleasing to the gods. It may be so — may it be his condition on whom the gods have bestowed fortitude enough to oppose the storms; for myself I had rather sail on a pacific ocean, and would willingly dispense with some degree of honorable exaltation hereafter for a more favorable state of trial here. But enough of this; — to come to matter of fact.

* * * * * * *

With great esteem,

S. Curwen.

Jan. 31. Lord Chesterfield being asked what he thought of the three Georges, answered, — "1. George the wise; 2. George the prudent; 3. George the unfortunate." I am afraid his inflexible temper, and the falling off of one of the richest jewels from his crown on the day of his coronation, forebodes a dismemberment of the most rich and valuable of the English dominions; — whether Ireland, America, or the East Indies, I pretend not to foretell, but fear one or the other, perhaps all. France and Spain will not fail to avail themselves of our national folly to revenge their former losses and disgraces. The English, though brave, are not discerning; they every day increase the relative strength of the enemy by lessening their own real power. The end may possibly be, instead of securing the dependence of the American Colonies, the loss of their own independence. May God in his mercy prevent this mortifying event, if it shall be for the general good.

TO HON. JUDGE SEWALL.

EXETER, *Feb.* 5, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

Accept my sincere thanks for your last kind and friendly favor, and for the prospect it afforded me of hearing again soon. * * * * I presume the * * * * are too full of more important concerns to attend to these lesser matters; however if it be * * * * and we may rely on a * * * * I can cheerfully dispense with a few weeks' delay; * * * * but such is the whirl and impotence of human affairs, that while we are on this stage we are often obliged to play different parts. I wish never to act an unworthy one; my only solicitude now is to pass off with decency, and escape without a hiss: but enough of this.

May the possession of Rhode Island, without loss of blood, be attended with better consequences than my gloomy, foreboding mind suggests. I fear France and Spain too closely watch the motions of this nation to suffer us to avail ourselves of the advantages gained over the foolish, deluded countrymen of ours, which, but for the duplicity of those courts, would yield me a pleasing prospect. * * *

I often think of our common progenitor, Father Adam, on his being driven out of Paradise by an angel with his flaming sword:—

> "The world was all before him, where to choose
> His place of rest, and Providence his guide."

With this difference between us, his banishment was by an angel, and for a transgression; mine by men almost as bad as devils, and for none. I am afraid our lot is also different in a third respect, he had Providence for his guide, and I seem to be left to an ill-judging, foolish mind! * * * * * * * * * As you are at the source of intelligence, shall be glad to be favored with an answer to the following queries, viz:— Is there a probability of a French or Spanish war? And in that case, will Great Britain send more troops to America? Will General Clinton be rein

forced? Will any Americans be allowed to depart for America, and in what character? And if so, will it be prudent for me to embrace the opportunity and depart? Have you seen the Articles of Confederation? Are they real, or fictitious and made here? Is there any late news from Generals Howe or Clinton? And if so, what is it?

* * * * * * *

Very truly yours, S. CURWEN.

Feb. 13. A reverend, known by the name of the *Macaroni Doctor*, is in Poultry Compter for forgery, and has confessed to the sum of £4200 sterling; his real name Dodd; he figures in the *tête-à-têtes* in the magazines, and unless defamed, is a worthless character, though noted for some serious publications in the common routine. He has two chapels and the Magdalen under his care.

It is reported that six hundred Hessians, in an engagement with the Provincials, are slain, and many wounded.

Feb. 20. The American high treason bill having passed through two readings and to be printed, giving the King power to imprison any person suspected of favoring, aiding or abetting the Americans, without liberty of bail or mainprise, has raised an alarm in people's minds universally, as it suspends the *habeas corpus* act, that great bulwark of English liberty, as it is called; and it is supposed to aim at some characters obnoxious to Administration. Such is the language of those who do not affect the present ministerial measures respecting America, while the advocates on the other hand plead the necessity of such a bill to render Government secure, as without it those who are and shall be hereafter taken, cannot be kept in custody and brought to trial for what they call piracy and treason. May the remains of English liberty and the Consitution not be overlooked and lost in this fatal quarrel. Charles James Fox said on this occasion, that four acts were over, and this was the first scene in the fifth act, (alluding to the enormous power given the Crown,) and shows the precarious tenure on which the liberty of England is held.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

EXETER, *Feb.* 20, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

I have received a long letter from Judge Sewall, in consequence of which I am going to London, and shall depart from hence next week. God bless you, and succeed your pious endeavors to reform a very wicked world. May we preserve ourselves unpolluted from the defilements thereof. Pray don't neglect to write to your old friend and companion. S. CURWEN.

TO THOMAS DANFORTH, ESQ., LONDON.

EXETER, *Feb.* 20, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

Your information of * * * * * puts into my memory many proverbs, of which, if it did not look too like Sancho Panza, I could string near a dozen *apropos*. You tell me it is owing to my being considered a merchant simply. Truly I think I have proved myself a very simple merchant, and brought my wares to a wretched poor market — thanks to the kind misadvisers of * * * * but they forgot or perhaps never knew that I had been in the commission of the peace more than thirty years; nearly the same period was impost officer for the county of Essex, and a captain in the first Cape Breton Regiment, for which I have never received any gratuity or recompense: but no matter; past services are easily forgotten, and the *novi homines* are like to reap all the emoluments.

Please put the inclosed into a bag for Bilboa, at New Lloyd's Coffee-House, Exchange; be assured it contains no love or treason; the times admit of writing on neither.

As to my return to London, I must not think of it, for the operation of this new law, like the fifth act in the reign of Charles II., banishes me effectually and of course from every corporation in England, and will oblige me to take up my residence from henceforth in some village.

I remain, etc. S. CURWEN.

Exeter, Feb. 27. Set off at six o'clock in the diligence for Plymouth; at ten alighted at Ashburton, nineteen miles, for breakfast; at three arrived at Plymouth.

Feb. 28. Having taken a view of Catwater Harbor, Plym River, etc., I proceeded to the citadel, standing on an eminence, being the eastern extremity of a range of bluff highlands commanding a fair prospect of the entrance from the Sound, in the middle whereof is an island, fortified; the town appearing almost under foot. Procuring a coach, rode to the Dock, lying at the distance of two miles, passing through a settlement of a hundred houses on the hither side of a stream dividing Lord Edgecombe's estate from Sir John St. Aubin, on whose land the Dock is built, and of whom the ground is rented, paying him yearly as lord of the manor. There are many ships in the yard, chiefly on the Tamar River, (to the east of which the dock-yard lies,) amongst others the *Royal Sovereign*, the *Queen*, the *Augusta*, the *Invincible;* and at the quay lay the *Blenheim* of ninety guns, on board of which I was; and on the stocks three large ones, and the *Royal George* of one hundred guns. Passed from thence to the Dock, compassed by hewn stone, into which the water flows to the height of twenty-six feet in some and less in others; the water is measured by pillars, whereon figures are marked, and is admitted by great gates, open and shut as needed. The rope-walks are of stone, of a thousand feet in length; the work is wrought under cover, the pitch and tar being in vaulted cellars run athwart the building, having no communication with each other. Each particular department has its place detached from the other, and each store distant from another. The stores are immense, and nothing less than the riches of the whole earth seem capable of supporting such an expense. The numbers daily employed in the various branches are, I am told, ten thousand in the yard, and regularly called over three times a day. The great regularity with which business is conducted is very observable, and, indeed, considering the incredible variety of branches, and immense quantities of stores, the most perplexing confusions would otherwise ensue. I did

not hear an oath, nor see any rudeness, during my stay in the yard. Within the walls are the officers' houses, and many very genteel, particularly the row in which the commander lives, with a handsome avenue and a decent chapel. At twelve o'clock the workmen regularly go out in order, two and two, to their dinner, and the axemen are suffered to take as many chips as they can carry, furnishing families with fuel, and the unmarried with pocket-money. A little beyond the yard, containing fifty or sixty acres, inclosed with a high wall, is the gun-dock, a square where the artillery apparatus is lodged, and a small commodious armory, but very much inferior to that of the same size in the Tower of London. On our return took the route through the quarter called the Storehouse, detached from the Dock by a river, over which is a bridge, and belongs to Lord Edgecombe, consisting of a hundred houses, and additions are daily making; in this is a building called the Long-Room, appropriated to tea, punch, wine, etc., for private companies and public assemblies; and there is an elegant room, with drawing-rooms adjoining, nearly fifty feet long, about thirty wide, and twenty-five high, with two handsome glass chandeliers and a music-gallery; not far from this is a building, with large areas encompassed by high stone fences, called the Old Mill Prison now fitting up to receive American prisoners. From this we ascended a high bluff-head reaching to the citadel; whilst here, was not a little mortified to see an American privateer prize coming into the harbor from Dartmouth, nor were my ears a little wounded to hear another sold by auction.

Plymouth, March 1. Being called at six o'clock, I arose and entered the vehicle alone, taking up a country couple at Squire Parker's lodge; first stage at Ivy Bridge, eleven miles, where breakfasted, and from thence alighted at 12 o'clock at Totness, from whence I departed to Mrs. Wingate's, late Sophia Reed, who kindly received me; from thence, after an hour's rest, set off for Newton Abbott and Newton Bushel, separated only by a bridge, the former being the name the whole goes by: passing by Mr. Coxe's seat

called Penmore Park, and at six o'clock alighted in the churchyard, Exeter.

Exeter, March 7. I received a letter from London informing me of my wife's health and welfare in November last, and that she had been obliged to pay ten pounds sterling to find a man for the American army in my stead. This intelligence I received by a letter from Doctor John Prince, at Halifax. Left for Bristol in the diligence, and arrived at the Bush Tavern, opposite the Exchange, at eight o'clock, evening.

Bristol, March 8. Entered the diligence for London at one o'clock at night, — the frost was so intense that our breaths formed a hard cake of ice on the glass, scarce to be taken off by the nails. At the city of Bath we arrived, a distance of twelve miles, almost stiffened with cold; here I attempted to thaw myself, but this expedient, I fancy, only rendered my body and feet more susceptible of the cold; suffering, till the sun arose and chased away the frost, inconceivable pain. At Calne we changed horses again, and attempted a second thaw with better success than the first, being aided by the sun, then beginning to bless the upper hemisphere, shining in a cloudless sky. From hence to Marlborough the road lies over a place called the Down; at the entrance is a hill, insulated in the form of a half egg, with the summit cut down to a plain, and is called Silbury, supposed to be made by art or the hand of man, on which are some of the bodies of earth like those surrounding Stonehenge, called *tumuli;* conjectured to be burying-places of the ancient Druids. Hence to Froxfield, on the borders of which is an almshouse for the reception of forty-five tradesmen's widows; it has two fronts, each one hundred and fifty feet long, of brick. The next town is Hungerford; hence to Newbury, a town larger in extent and more numerous in inhabitants than Marlborough. Near this town are many single houses, which have the appearance of wealthy persons' residences; and on a pleasant plain, commanding also a view of Newbury, lying to the right as one comes from Bath, is a parish called Speen; at the entrance is a

lofty building to be seen about half a mile distant, on a ridge of hills, having a round tower called Dunnington Castle; the road lies through a street built on what is called Speen Lands, belonging to the parish of that name, but is connected by buildings continued to Newbury town, spreading to a great extent on a low plain in a bottom. Here we took fresh horses, passing through two or three villages to Reading, the distance of which from London is thirty-nine miles; this, the chief town of Berkshire, contains between two and three thousand houses; from a little beyond Marlborough to Reading the land is a continued flat, much of it improved, the roads like garden gravel-walks, and very pleasant. At Bayswater we again shifted horses, and again at Hounslow; between those two places lies the noted heath called by the name of the latter, which we passed over with a slow, solemn pace in the dark, being more than an hour in crossing it. We arrived safe at eight o'clock, evening, at the Swan-with-two-Necks Inn, Doctors' Commons.

London, March 9. Set forward for Judge Sewall's, where I dined and passed the evening, — Colonels Saltonstall and Phipps being of the company: from thence I proceeded to Brompton-Row, where Thomas Danforth, Edward Oxnard, and Jonathan Clarke lodged, and here I engaged lodgings.

March 10. Walked out to Judge Sewall's, he having the day before engaged to accompany me to the Treasury, where after a compliment I received information of a hundred pounds down, and a hundred per annum during the troubles in America, which I esteem as a providential provision procured by the friendship of my respected friend Judge Sewall. I received an order on the bank. Accompanied by him and Mr. Thomas Danforth, I took a note at the cashier's office for seventy pounds payable to myself on demand, and thirty pounds in cash, departing very joyous, and I hope grateful to that Being who has, by friends, been pleased in the midst of gloomy prospects to set my feet on firm ground and establish my goings: may I wisely improve this gracious indulgence.

Brompton-Row, Kensington, March 11. Took an early walk to London, and meeting Governor Hutchinson, was invited to dinner, which I accepted, and receiving his address (147 New Bond-street) arrived at it; company beside myself, his son Elisha and daughter, was Mr. B. Hallowell. After dinner repaired to Haymarket Theatre, where was entertained in a very full house by the humorous George Alexander Stevens's lecture on heads.

March 12. Spent the evening with the Club, consisting of twelve American exiles, at the Treasurer's house, Mr. Harrison Gray's.

March 31. Rode to Hackney with Judge Sewall to see his son Jonathan at school; returned to his house to dinner, where I passed the evening.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

No. 23 Brompton-Row, *March* 19, 1777.

Dear Sir:

I am at length at my moorings in this port, not much to my content except in this one circumstance, the early receipt of the *unum necessarium;* this, though it chases away all apprehensions of future want, does not in every situation yield positive happiness; perhaps I am enigmatical, — the solution must be deferred to a personal interview hereafter.

The only article of political news is that Gen. Washington was, about the beginning of the present year, declared Lord Protector of the thirteen United States of America. Mr. Timmins is arrived from Boston *viâ* Cork; he left Plymouth about the first of February; says the affair of the Hessians was brought to Boston in four days and put them in high spirits; that the harbor of Boston is strongly fortified from the lighthouse and Point Alderton to Fort Nell; the people sanguine in their expectations of a French war, encouraged in their errors by the Danish, French, and Spanish traders, who are numerous in the port. King-street (Boston) almost as much thronged with people of all nations, etc., as the Strand or Cornhill; two hundred and eighty-three prizes carried in by the 23d December; four vessels with goods from

France, with powder, small arms, clothing and other articles; one with twenty thousand suits of military clothing, an article not a little wanted among them. Young R * * * S * * * has made twenty thousand pounds sterling by privateering, and S. A. Otis, the most important, busy man, as well as one of the richest there. * * *

I fancy I shall take my flight northward, as birds of passage you know do, on the approach of spring. There are twenty Americans going out with goods to New York and Rhode Island in the spring; I think the adventures rash. Mr. Amory is delayed by his wife's illness, which it is judged will soon end in mortality. I have received a letter from Thomas Russell[1] of Boston, and Russell Wyer of Salem, written in the beginning of February; all well.

Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

Kensington, March 20. Evening at Club at Mr. Harrison Gray's.

Sunday, March 23. To Christ Church Hospital to see the children, to the number of eight hundred, sup; admitted by a ticket signed John Lane, one of the governors. The hall is a hundred feet in length, and twenty feet in height, — on one side of which are three pictures, the middle one sixty feet long and fifteen high; in the centre King William; on the same range, courtiers, Life-Guardsmen, etc. In the foreground, on one hand, hospital children of the males, and on the other, females, and all in their proper garbs: — on the left, or the first from the door, of the same length is a painting of King Edward, surrounded by his Court, with a roll, by me supposed to represent the first charter of this institution, he being the founder thereof; and on the other, a piece of the same size as the last, with a full-length of Charles II., with astronomical and mathematical apparatus, perhaps to denote him to be the founder of the mathematical

[1] An opulent and distinguished merchant of Boston, whose widow married Sir Grenville, son of Sir John Temple, first Consul-General from Great Britain to the United States.

school here. Three tables were spread, on each side of which, benches; on a raised platform are circular seats for the spectators, in the centre front a two-armed chair for the Governor, or Treasurer, whose name in Burford. Prayers are read by one of the upper boys, in a pulpit erected against the wall; then singing by the boys, accompanied by an organ; afterwards supper, consisting only of bread and butter; grace before and after, by one of the boys in the pulpit, and service concludes with an anthem. The boys come up in pairs to the platform to make their bow, and retire, some with large pitchers, others with small wooden bowls, others with table-cloths folded up under their arms, others with large baskets in which the bread was brought, and others with lighted candles.

March 27. Walked out with Judge Sewall and Mr. A. Willard to Cromwell's Garden, which is in ill repair; drank tea at the house of the former, and passed the evening with the New England Club, say, "*Brompton-Row Tory Club*," at Mr. Blowers's.

March 31. Evening with the Club at H. Gray's.

April 3. Dined at Treasurer Gray's with Col. Browne and John Sargent.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

23 Brompton-Row, Kensington, *April* 6, 1777.

Dear Sir:

I have nothing to communicate worth a minute's attention. The various news that each morning produces, the following day contradicts; however, in general, perhaps it may be new to you to know that the Tories here, believe the American game of independency is nearly up; not so your doubting friend. Nay, so very sure are some, that there is no small talk of going off in August. You will scarce meet one that entertains the least shadow of a doubt that Government must succeed in the utmost extent of its views before the fall; the reasons and probability of which I have not discernment enough to see. I wish the old Latin prov-

erb may not with too much propriety be applied to these implicit believers, — "*Canunt triumphum ante victoriam.*" [1]

I wrote you in my last that several, to the number of twenty, were going off to New York. I now add that another cargo of twelve or fifteen, among whom is young Chipman, is to depart in a vessel of 250 tons, laden with goods to the amount of £80,000 sterling, defended by a force of 17 guns and 17 men, in ten days. It is reported that the new levies, British and German, going to General Howe, are in number eight thousand, and that General Burgoyne is already gone, and is to take with him from Canada, by way of St. Lawrence River, the greater part of the troops at present stationed there; no further attempts being to be made on the lakes this season. Our head-quarter folks say that Lord George Germaine declared to Col. Phips, who is going this day to Halifax with Admiral Montague *viâ* Newfoundland, that the first advices from America, he doubts not, will be joyful. All here are expecting to hear that General Howe is in possession of Philadelphia. On the contrary, the Philadelphia papers are full of the great exploits of the American troops against the Royal Army, and the promising appearances of affairs on their side; and if Gen. Washington and Gen. Gates's letters are genuine, Gen. Howe and his forces are not in so fair a way to possess themselves of that capital as our folks seem to fancy. Mr. Dickinson's defection has proved a false alarm, he being only retired to his estates seventy miles from Philadelphia, for what reasons politicians disagree. His brother Dickinson and his brother-in-law Cadwallader, are both commanders in the American Army. Last night I heard read the following, from a letter dated Portsmouth, April 10, viz: "Two thousand Anspachers sailed for New York under convoy of the *Somerset* and *Mercury:* three thousand more Germans are expected here to sail directly, under the *St. Albans.*"

Yesterday morn the late Right Reverend the Bishop of London's corpse was carried by our door on a hearse to its place

[1] They celebrate the triumph before the victory is gained."

of interment at Fulham, — successor unknown; probably the bench of bishops will take care that the See of London do not stand long vacant, under the modest pretence of *Nolo Episcopari.*

Yours, truly, S. Curwen.

April 11. Drank tea and passed the evening at Mr. and Mrs. Savage's, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Carpenter[1] and Judge Sewall.

[1] Of Salem.

CHAPTER V.

A. D. 1777. Journey from London to Ipswich, in company with Judge Sewall and Abel Willard. Passes through Rumford, Ingatestone, Witham, Colchester. Description of Colchester. Roman Antiquities. Arrival at Ipswich. An unpleasing Town. Leaves it for Cambridge. Newmarket Races. Description of Trinity College. River Cam. University Library. Returns to London. Journey to Oxford. Visits Queen's College. Jesus's College. Merton College. Christ Church College. Library. Allsouls. Meets Sir F. Bernard. Leaves Oxford. Visits Blenheim House at Woodstock. Bicester. Buckingham. Stow Gardens. Lord George Germaine. Earl Temple. Coventry. Birmingham. Leasowes of Shenstone. Hagley, Lord Lyttelton's Estate. Hales Owen. Fair. Returns to Birmingham.

April 17, 1777. At seven, A. M., departed in company with Judge Sewall and Mr. A. Willard, on our intended journey to Ipswich. Our first stage at Rumford, a distance of sixteen miles. This town consists of about two hundred houses, some few modern. The next stage at a town called Ingatestone, not unlike the former for size and style, distance twelve miles. Witham was our third stage; our fourth Colchester, famous for the manufacture of baizes; and here oysters are taken from the sea and put into pits, in order to give them that coppery taste so grateful to an Englishman's palate, and so disgustful to a New Englander's. The streets are ill-paved with smallish pebbles, to my feet so harsh and hurtful as to occasion frequent complaints. In our progress came to the castle, built in form of one of the old barons, — not improbable to have been one; it is a square; the angles defended by round towers, pierced, like the body of the castle, with narrow and long holes, through which the inmates were wont to defend themselves by arrows; the whole crowned with battlements formerly, the remains being still to be seen.

The parade contains a quarter of an acre, and is now cleared of the barracks it was once encumbered with ; in a room up one flight of stairs, is the library, belonging to a Mr. Grey, minister for the town, consisting of about two thousand old books. Here a weekly society meet ; its institution, orders and purposes, my curiosity did not prompt me to make any inquiry into : — hence to the chapel so called, an empty room, containing only a reading-desk, with a large folio Bible and a large wooden chair. This castle was in the time of the civil wars defended by Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle for the Royal cause, who were, after its surrender, shot on the parade and buried under a small church in the road; the precise spot on which they stood is carefully preserved in memory, and told the curious visitant. The only inhabitants are a family in one of the round towers, and the rooks who occupy the holes on the outside in great numbers. The site of the castle is somewhat high, has pleasant walks round, planted with trees, and commands the neighboring grounds that lie below it, except on the town side. On the same plain from this spot we passed through the streets to another quarter of the town, in which lie the St. John's Abbey Gardens, now known by the name of the Pinnacle Gardens, for reasons unknown to us, and are surrounded by a lofty brick wall, and strengthened by buttresses in good repair. These, I suppose, are the walls of the ancient monastery grounds, embracing twenty acres. Hence we proceeded home, and, attended by our complaisant landlord, were admitted to a sight of a tessellated Roman pavement lately discovered in a gentleman's garden, supposed by antiquarians to have been the pretorium of an old Roman encampment, it being a known fact that Julius Cæsar landed, in his second invasion of Britain, in the neighborhood of this place. It is probable hereabouts was a Roman station, and the discovery of this piece of Roman work renders the conjecture not improbable.

From hence we proceeded over to a Mr. Great's, to see the portraits of Sir John Jacquey and his lady, some of the first establishers of the baize manufactories here. These pieces are executed on wood, by Vandyke, in 1623; we were

told they are judged to be capital paintings, and it is highly probable they are, if our information be true that the possessors, descendants of this couple, have been offered a thousand guineas for them.

Colchester, April 18. Departed at nine o'clock hence for Mistley, a village on the lands of Richard Rigby, Esq., who is lord of this manor. In two hours we alighted at his gardens, in extent four acres within the walls; his hot and green-houses are in fine order, and supplied with common trees and shrubs, plants and vines, but no exotics that are not fructiferous and of the useful kinds. Thence through the pleasure-grounds to the house, where, being conducted through a more than Cretan labyrinth, at length arrived; it is new and elegant, but its extent does not rise above mediocrity; its ornaments are silk hangings of cream color, with faint shades of blue, red, etc.; chairs the same, with three very large looking-glasses, a beautiful chimney-piece of polished marble, other chimney furniture, and a pyrometer I had never seen before.

We arrived at Ipswich, distant from Colchester twenty-two miles, where we dined. From the inn, accompanied by the master, we walked along the old wall of the town to Mr. John Fonnerau's park; the house wherein he dwells belonging to it is called Christ Church, and was formerly a monastery of friars. The town consists of old-built, ill-fashioned structures, and contains about ten thousand souls. Its only trade is coals, imported from the north; but few people stirring in the streets, — a visible decay. It lies on the river Orwell, and is the chief county town. The corn-market has a small octagonal building, about twenty feet in diameter; in the centre on top stands a female statue as large as life, with a fillet round her eyes; in her right hand a sword, and in her left a pair of scales, loose hung, moving up and down with every puff of wind, perhaps to denote the instability of modern justice, or how apt it is to swerve from the right line when urged by force or interest, or moved by flattery.

Ipswich, April 19. After breakfast departed from this solitary unpleasing town, very like its namesake in New Eng-

land in its general complexion, and in two hours arrived at Stowmarket; and soon after at St. Edmundsbury, at two o'clock. Accompanied by the landlord we went to view the ruins of the Abbey of St. Edmund, of Saxon time, scattered over near twenty acres now owned by Sir Charles Dacres and his maiden sister. The remains of this stupendous building are astonishing, many foundations of walls and pillars being yet to be seen; the casings almost entirely taken away, scarce any part of the front or sides being left, except here and there a stone which serve to show the materials. Some of the walls were thirty feet thick. The pillars appear to have been from eight to twelve feet; and an arch, of which the foundation yet remains, was said to have been seventy feet high, and is near forty in width. The foundation also of the Abbot's hall remains; its area forty-five feet each side. In a spot, perhaps the dormitory, a few years since was digged up the body of the Duke of Beaufort, brother to the Duke of Bedford, Regent of France during the minority of Henry VI., and was entire; a hand taken from it is preserved in spirits, and in the keeping of a physician here. The grand entrance is preserved entire, and is a square, lofty tower; its angles, like all the ancient fortified structures, covered with round towers rising up to the top. The passage-way through is under a lofty arch defended by great gates that are kept shut. Many particulars were told us respecting the various parts of the house, appurtenances and avenues, but not being noted at the time, are forgotten. Among the *notitia* of this place, by desire, I insert, that the steeple of St. James's Church stands at fifty feet distance from the body of the church, — a house containing four windows in front being between and on the steeple, on the same side, are two hour-plates of clocks, to answer what purpose was beyond my reach.

At three o'clock we departed from this pleasant, handsome and agreeable town. On the right, about ten miles distant, Ely Minster, or Cathedral, appeared in view. At twelve miles from last stage is Newmarket, an indifferent inn, however frequented by dukes and lords. We passed through the race-

grounds. The races were instituted to keep and preserve a race of good horses in honor of the nation; but as the institution is debased, it is not the best horse that wins the race, but that which is destined for it by combination; indeed, some descend so low as to circumvent one another. The diversion becoming a public nuisance by spreading itself, the legislature took cognizance of it, and by the 13th George II. a law was passed in relation to it. Departed for Cambridge over a plain champaign uninclosed country, which all this quarter of the country seems to consist of. At this place we arrived at seven o'clock, at the White Bear Inn, where we were indifferently treated at our first alighting, through the driver's foolish neglect or mistake in not denoting that dignity and importance each gentleman should assume on the road in order to be respectfully treated; however, he seemed afterwards to be sensible of his own false judgment, and partly made amends.

Cambridge, April 20. At ten o'clock, taking a servant of the inn along with us, we walked out in order to have a sight of the inside of King's College Chapel, that, by delay at Trinity College, we lost. This latter is by far the most magnificent in the University; has two spacious quadrangles; the front and one of the squares are of Portland freestone, having a beautiful reservoir of water in the midst; the chambers occupy two sides, the hall and * * * * room another side, and the fourth by the chapel, which contained nothing remarkable but a full-length statue of Sir Isaac Newton, in the porch. The other square contains chambers on all sides except the north or west, and is wholly improved by the college library, a noble room of two hundred feet in length by about seventy wide, filled with forty thousand volumes; the alcoves having on top the busts of the most famous ancient philosophers on one side, and the most famous of the modern English authors, etc., on the other. Here we were shown a perfect Egyptain mummy, the flesh like a smoked tongue. In the same apartment was a curious inscription in Greek capitals, without distinction of sentences or words, on a marble about eighteen inches square, having a plain pedi-

ment on the top; it is called *Marmor Sandavicensis*, being presented by Lord Sandwich. There are also to be seen some mutilated antique pillars and capitals, with inscriptions in Greek characters, placed on the grand staircases leading to the library, given by Mr. Wortley Montague, or his sister, Lady Bute, since her death, but which I forget; and among them his bust in marble.

From hence we departed through the College walks on the banks of the river Cam, running on the back of King's College, Trinity College, Caius, Trinity Hall, Clare Hall, and St. John's College; over the river are three handsome stone bridges for foot-walking, and between them a wooden bridge, called the Bridleway, for horses and carriages; the banks of the river within the College grounds are faced with stone, the lawn carried down to its very edge, with many slips for the advantage of the company who shall please to divert themselves in boats on the water, flowing in a very gentle stream about two rods wide. The pleasure-grounds are laid out in most agreeable gravel-walks kept in the nicest order, shaded with lofty trees; they are extensive, all on a level, and agreeable. Leaving these delightful walks we proceeded to the chapel; it being shut, we turned our walk to take a view of the other buildings. A Mr. Pearce, a Fellow of St. John's College, whom I met in the walks, invited us to his chamber, where we abode a few minutes to look in a book for an answer to a question I put them concerning the age of an ancient manuscript in the University library, and for the key of the library, to which he conducted us. It is not a handsome room, nor contains a large collection of books; it was scarcely larger than our old Harvard College library, and like it consisting of old books chiefly. Mr. Prior was of this college, and left it a noble folio volume of all his works, bound in morocco, finely gilt. Here we also saw a most elegant folio edition of Dr. Samuel Clarke's Julius Cæsar's Commentaries.

Having returned to our inn, we dined, and soon departed in a post-chaise through a very level road to our designed stage, Barkway, distant sixteen miles, where we lodged and

breakfasted. This very indifferent collection of old-fashioned buildings we soon left, and entered on the fine improvements of Herts. The agreeable unevenness of the earth, the verdure of the fields and corn-grounds, and excellent improvements for which this county is noted, rendered our travelling for many miles delightfully pleasant. At Ware alighted in two hours from our departure from the last stage, stopping at the Saracen's Head, to gratify my companions, whose curiosity urged them to take a view of the great bed, which I before described, and made, as our informant told us, for the use of King Edward IV. in 1463. From hence we took the course to Hartford, lying three miles out of our direct road to London, and in two hours from hence were set down at Judge Sewall's door, after a ramble of one hundred and eighty miles; and so good-by, Essex, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire.

Passed the afternoon and evening at Judge Sewall's.

April 25. With Mr. Savage attended Longford's sales under Covent Garden piazza — viewed and examined his medals and coins; Roman, Grecian, Egyptian, Saxon, and English. Saw a brass farthing of the time of the Commonwealth that sold for three pounds four.

April 29. Attended the exhibition in Piccadilly of Society of Artists of Great Britain; was really surprised at the meanness of the portraits; nothing appeared to my eye well executed but some fruit-pieces and a few miniatures in crayons and water colors. From hence Mr. Silsbee and myself adjourned to Mr. Joseph Green's; we drank tea and passed a pleasant hour. Stopped by the way at Ely Palace, so called, on Holborn Hill, now sold and pulling down to build two rows of houses. There are yet standing the chapel and hall in the old Gothic taste.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH, DEVON.

BROMPTON-ROW, *April* 30, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 25th I received last night, and am obliged to you for the intelligence it contains; all of which respecting our own country was new to me, having not

heard a syllable of it before; the daily news inserted in the public papers proves for the most part to be manufactured here, and what is not, in event turns out to be premature and void of truth. Nothing can be depended on but what comes to us prepared by Court cookery in the "Gazette;" nor do I think Administration to blame for withholding part, the whole truth not being fit to be divulged in these captious, licentious times. I have wholly laid aside all regard to what is said to be brought by expresses from America, but what comes immediately from General or Lord Howe, or is contained in the American newspapers, of which we have now and then a sight in the New England Coffee-House. Nothing very important has of late come from that quarter, except the death of General Washington and the taking of Ticonderoga; both of these yet being matters of doubt and dispute, as people wish, fear, or hope. Since my last I have rambled through Essex, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Hertford for five days, in company with Judge Sewall and Mr. Abel Willard, and am now about departing, say next Monday, for Oxford, and from thence *quô fata trahant;* designing never to make London or its environs my future abode. The inhabitants, however, I hold in much higher estimation than those of almost every other place.

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God bless your Reverence, and succeed your pious endeavors to reform your flock; and I hope for and depend on your prayers, and remain,

Very truly, your friend,

S. Curwen.

Brompton-Row, Kensington, May 1, 1777. Dined at Gilbert Harrison's with my friend John Timmins, the two Debloises,[1] Benjamin Faneuil, and two ladies.

May 3. Dined at Judge Sewall's; from thence walked to London to engage a seat in the diligence to Oxford, designing to take that city in my way to the country, where for some months I propose to abide, but in what quarter chance

[1] Late of Salem.

must determine. I go hence like Abraham of old; may the same kind and almighty Protector be my guide and defence.

May 5. Departed in the diligence, in which we found a late Oxford scholar, who proved a pleasant, chatty, well-bred companion; the road for the first eight miles as far as Acton, clear, level and pleasant as a garden gravel-walk: from thence it assumed a different face, and from Uxbridge to Oxford, especially through Buckinghamshire, generally a rich soil and well improved lands. The other towns lying in the road were Beaconsfield and High Wycombe; in the latter lies Lord Shelburne's seat, pleasure-grounds and park, all in view; a little beyond is Lord Despenser's, much more cultivated and in better order. On the right and on an eminence, stands an edifice styled "the Mausoleum," of a peculiar construction; but the inclination of my fellow-travellers permitted me not to take a nearer view than the transient sight as we passed the road. From hence through a parish called Stoken-Church, and on bad roads, we arrived at the Star Inn, Oxford, not having stopped to refresh; here we called for dinner and engaged lodgings.

Oxford, May 6. After breakfast walked out to deliver Dr. Chandler's letter to a Fellow of Queen's College, named Monkhouse, who received us respectfully enough, detained us in his room an hour, and from thence conducted us through the hall, chapel, library of his own college, and after settling the route went to the theatre, Radcliffe Library, Clarendon Press, and the schools. After repeated invitations to dine in their hall, we declined for the purpose of examining the Oxford Guide in our retirement. In the hall of Jesus College were admitted to a sight of the plate; among others is a bowl and ladle of silver double gilt, and holding ten gallons, the gift of Sir Watkins William Wynne; here is also a book of the college statutes written on vellum, and kept in a glass case, having the characters as perfect and just as if struck on copperplate. From hence to our lodgings; soon after our companion Mr. Monkhouse came and conducted us through the Radcliffe Infirmary, open to all the nation, and filled with every conceivable accommodation and sup-

ply, and kept in the neatest order. From thence to the Observatory, and from thence to the Park, being a long circular laid gravel-walk round the improved fields, part of which is bordered by lofty elms; its high situation affords a fine extended prospect of the country under high cultivation; part of the city on the other side adds to the pleasure of the walk.

The grounds belong to Merton College, but the walks are maintained at the University expense and common to it; on our return back we met two gownsmen, both of our college, (Harvard,) one of whom was Dr. Nicholson, mentioned in the superscription of our letter, with whom and a Mr. Hamilton, (a partner in the printing of the Oxford Bibles and Prayer-Book, the sole liberty of which is confined to the two Universities and the King's press,) and a few gentlemen besides in the common room which all the colleges are furnished with. 7th. Breakfasted at Mr. Deblois's by invitation, and after returned to our lodgings, to which Mr. Monkhouse soon came and conducted us to the Divinity School, having a curious roof of stone, and in as bold a style as King's College Chapel, Cambridge; from thence returned back into the Convocation Room; and here we spent some time in looking into the statute book and *libro nigro;* in the anteroom I saw the Vice-Chancellor in his robes, and the two Proctors, waiting for the completing a convocation, (consisting of twelve at least.) We were in hopes to see a baccalaureate degree given to one of the students of Queen's College, but the difficulty of making a convocation delayed the ceremony too long for our leisure; by this delay was deprived of a sight I should have been greatly pleased with. Hence we ascended to the picture-gallery, and from thence to the Bodleian Library, which did not come up to my idea; 't is an old room, its form an H; there are many recesses surrounded with lattice-work, in which the students retire to read, transcribe, etc.; saw but few employed in that business. From hence we passed over to the Ashmolean Museum; here we were entertained but indifferently. In the staircase are a dead Christ of Caracci, and the Tradescant Family,

by what hands I know not; in the room a small miniature of St. Cuthbert, in a gold gorget, said to have been worn by Alfred the Great; some very nice frivolous carvings in peach and cherry stones; the hat Bradshaw is said to have had on when he sat in judgment and condemned King Charles; the skull of Cromwell, said to be known by a small excrescence on the bone just above the eye, etc.

Retreated to the inn, dined, and being attended by G. Deblois's father, I walked to Christ Church College, the most noble of any in the University; entered the picture-rooms, crowded by paintings of the most celebrated masters, being the gift of the late Gen. Guise, for the reception of which these rooms were fitted. Above is the library of very fine bound books, placed in a room of about two hundred feet long, sixty wide, and twenty-five high; the ceiling finely stuccoed as well as the walls in each kind of relief, in oval and other figured compartments. The books are in cases of oak, handsomely carved, and many seats in the same style. The hall into which I entered whilst some of the students were at dinner, is a noble room of the length apparently of the library, and wider; the ceiling is of oak, supported from above, and in the centre of each square compartment into which it is laid, is a gilt rose; the walls in a line on each side filled with portraits, on the ends with full-lengths. I remember none of them but Lord Mansfield's, over the door, in his judicial robes. Here I was accosted by a well-bred, sensible young student, with whom I held conversation. Leaving him I departed, passing through the walk belonging to this college, of a mile in length, bordered on each side for part of the way by lofty trees, rendering it most delightful. Our next delay was at Corpus Christi, into the chapel of which I just peeped, and from thence into Oriel; both of these are small foundations. Arriving at the inn, dismissed my attendant, and soon after being called upon according to promise by Mr. Monkhouse, with whom I went to the schools. In two apartments the Arundelian marbles (and collection of statues presented to the University by the Countess of Pembroke) are kept; the statues are larger and smaller than the life.

From hence we adjourned to Allsouls College; the house for the reception of the books was built by Col. Codrington, formerly a member of this house, whose statue in white marble stands in the centre of the room, a noble one indeed; the ceiling and walls elegantly stuccoed; the books, very numerous, stand in beautiful cases; a fund, producing two thousand pounds a year, is allotted for the increasing of it; by this provision it will in time become the largest and best in the University. From thence we adjourned to the chapel, a beautiful room; over the altar stands a masterly performance of a Mr. Minkes, the Spanish king's painter, of Christ making himself known to Mary Magdalene in the Garden, just at the point of time when she having said to him, "If thou be the gardener, and have borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him;" he replied, "Mary!" and she, turning about, discovered it was the Lord. This filling her with surprise, admiration, love, a mixture of all these various passions is finely expressed in her countenance; and in his, self-composure, dignity, meekness. Over this, in a semicircular compartment, are many full-lengths, being the assumption of the founder, Henry Chichely. He is dressed in rich robes, his eyes raised upwards, attended by angels.

From this pleasing spot we proceeded to Christ Church College, in Peckwater-square. Meeting Sir Francis Bernard[1] with a son now educating here, was introduced to Doctor Leigh, of Baliol College, who was elected in 1727, and is now a sprightly and active little old gentleman of eighty-six. We reached the church, said to be almost the only remains of a public building in the Norman style, supposed to have been standing eight or nine hundred years. It was anciently an Abbey church, dedicated to St. Frideswide, whose tomb is yet standing. Here we were shown several pieces of richly embossed double gilt plate, some of which were dug from the ruins of Oshey Abbey, where it had been lying for ages. The old abbey, distant from hence about eight miles, has been removed to this spot. Passed this evening, as the last, in the same common room, and with the same com-

[1] Governor of Massachusetts from 1760 to 1769.

pany, with the addition of one or two more, hearing many sarcastic speeches concerning our New England follies and absurdities; but every country has its characteristic ones, and that comforts me under the but too just ridicule we are loaded with.

May 8. Took our farewell of G. Deblois's father and family — walking out in order to take our last leave of Mr. Monkhouse, whom we met, and were conducted by him through New College and its pleasant grounds, and back to the inn. Making our acknowledgments, we took leave, and soon entering the post-chaise, departed for Woodstock, distant six miles, through dirty roads; were set down at the Bear Inn. We loitered through the town, and at three o'clock, the hour appointed for viewing Blenheim House, we proceeded to the park-gate, an enormous portal, in the triumphal style, with an inscription cut in the list, importing by whom and when it was erected; from this we have an oblique view of that enormous load of building called Blenheim House, the first sight of which reminded me of that sarcastic couplet on the architect: —

> "Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
> Hath laid a cumbrous pile on thee."

The near approach did not fail to add to the disgust I first received: — the huge piles that sustain the arcades, the almost unspannible pillars, and the inordinate size and clumsiness of its outside appearance, were fully recompensed by the elegance and grandeur of the rooms, the beauty of the tapestry, and the capital paintings with which the apartments are filled. The saloon is a noble room; the library possesses a grandeur and elegance inexpressible. From this famed edifice we returned the same way by which we entered, took a a post-chaise and rode across the country to Bicester, through fields and private grounds, passing gates, etc., the soil light and barren; few fields of grain, but chiefly uninclosed heaths for sheepwalks. This town has no manufactures, wood scarce and coals dear: it abounds in houses for the sale of spirituous liquors; we met in our ramble not less than a

score. Lodged at the King's Arms, the most magnificent edifice of the whole.

Bicester, *May* 9. Departed early for Buckingham, and alighting at Lord Temple's Arms, we breakfasted, and soon after left for Stow Gardens, passing for a mile over a straight, level road through Lord George Germaine's grounds, adjoining to the gardens, on the borders of which, and facing the road, stands a light, lofty triumphal arch; leaving this on our left, we proceeded to the inn, and from thence to the gate; being admitted, we remained two hours in going through the gardens and house, the front of which is built in a more pleasing style by far than Blenheim, not, however, to be compared to it in extent and compass. These gardens are not to be matched for grandeur, variety and taste in England, perhaps the world. They are capable of amusing for a much longer time than I could allot, being viewed by me *currente pede*. Having traversed the pleasure grounds half through, we arrived at the house, the front of which has a very noble and airy appearance; ascending a lofty flight of steps, we saw an elderly person sitting on a settee in half mourning, by the front-door, under the portico supported by lofty pillars of the Corinthian order; approaching nearer I espied a star on his right breast, by which I recognized Earl Temple. Pulling off my hat, I was going to retire, when he put his hand to his hat, and beckoned with the other to approach, which we did, and entered the great hall yet unfinished, the whole front having been lately taken down; the outside is finished, but within is yet in hand; many of the rooms are in disorder, though enough to manifest the elegance and grandeur of the owner's taste and riches. From hence we set forward, passing through my Lord's grounds five miles, and Whittlebury Forest, belonging to the estate of the Duke of Grafton, called Easton; which, with the other grounds we passed, till our arrival at the turnpike road, were insufferably bad, besides being delayed by a multitude of gates, for which purpose we brought a young lad to open them. The appearance of the earth in this stage was greatly altered for the better, being diversified

with hills and dales, under better cultivation, and the nature of the soil more fertile. The fences for many miles of rails, such as are frequent in our own country, intended to defend the young live-hedges just set out; inclosures here just beginning to take place. At 4 o'clock alighted at the Saracen's Head, Worcester; here we abode no longer than to dine, and taking another post-chaise, departed for Daventry, passing through a village called Whadon, where we supped and lodged.

Daventry, May 10. A. M. Took coach for Coventry, passing through a finely improved, fertile country, and in three hours alighted at an inn just without the city; a regiment of horse called the Inniskilliners, were reviewing; a body of stout, likely men, dressed in red turned up with buff, and exceedingly well mounted.

Coventry is an old built city, noted for the ribbon-weaving business; here we were delayed some time; took fresh horses; our road lay over a new canal between Oxford and the last-mentioned city, designed for the cheaper and more expeditious conveyance of coals that these parts abound in, by which the former will be supplied at less than half the present price. In our road lay a village, called Dunchurch; a little beyond is a long terrace road raised above the level nearly three feet, and continued for more than three miles almost in a straight line, and bordered on each side by evergreens and elms, planted by the lord of the royalty, through whose lands it runs, rendering it inexpressibly pleasing to the eye of the traveller.

From Coventry to Birmingham we were delayed by scores of wagons bound from thence, laden with goods, coals, etc., and at four o'clock alighted at the Dolphin Inn, Birmingham, in the street called the Bullring, where we intend to remain ten days, (after a circuit of a hundred and fifty miles,) if agreeable.

Birmingham, May 13. Being called upon by Mr. G. Russell, we set off on foot for his house at Moseley Wake Green, having been invited the Sunday before to dine on this day; our company consisted of his brother and lady and sister.

May 17. Waited on Mr. Wilkinson at his house, but he was absent; afterwards went with my companion to the locks on the canal, and saw several boats go through, an amusing sight to him which he had never seen before.

May 19. Having engaged horses the night before at eight o'clock, booted and spurred we mounted our Rosinantes, and departed for the Leasowes, late pleasure-grounds of the famed Shenstone, and Hagley, the estate of Lord Littleton; the former distant six miles, the latter eleven, on the same road. Here we arrived at eleven o'clock, passing through a town called Hales Owen, of considerable extent, and by its appearance in the same way of business as Birmingham. Attended by the gardener in the absence of the park-keeper, we walked over my Lord's grounds, almost in the centre of which stands Hagley parish church, a small building in a shady recess; passing this we ascended an eminence. On a plain, surrounded on all sides but in front with lofty trees, stands a pillar with a statue of the late Prince of Wales, (father of his present Majesty,) dedicated to his memory by the late Lord Littleton, who was one of the prince's household and favorites. This spot commanded a sloping view of a pleasant lawn, bounded by the mansion-house, a large oblong edifice of two stories and an attic, with a low four-square tower on each angle, and a flat roof. The exterior of the house is plain and void of ornament; over the lawns are planted clumps of trees by which the views are diversified. From the heights, in narrow channels, run many small streams, one discharging itself into a pool filled with trout, etc.; over this is thrown a bridge with an alcove. The grounds contain in extent four hundred acres; and trees are planted so artificially as to yield an appearance hardly to be distinguished from nature a little improved; here are to be seen pillars, urns, rotundas, alcoves and field-seats judiciously disposed: amongst them an urn dedicated to the memory of Alexander Pope, on which is an inscription savoring of flattery.

Returning by the way we went, we alighted at the Golden Cross, Hales Owen, where we were furnished with a room

by ourselves and dinner. On this day was held a fair in this town; seeing a large multitude collected I would fain have mixed with the people, but the curiosity of my companion not prompting him, and my fatigue by an execrable hard trotter rendering me indisposed to needless exercise, prevented our seeing the humors of this part of the country. In passing the road a few furlongs before, we arrived at this town; about an inn were collected two companies of tradesmen with black rods tipped with brass. They assemble at certain times and under certain rules; have a public box, supplying a fund to be employed in maintaining the sick, blind, wounded and disabled, and finally burying members and their wives. Their regulations have a happy tendency to promote among the laboring handicraftsmen cleanliness, good manners, order and sociability.

The road to Hagley in general is, though level, but tolerably good; the views pleasing; at two o'clock we arrived at the Leasowes, now in possession of a Squire Horne. Attended by the gardener we entered through what is called the Priory Gate, a gateway and arch formed by old stumps and moss, communicating with a serpentine walk on a shady bank of a stream running through a craggy wild bottom to the pool, now emptied of its waters. It is supplied also by another meandering stream, on the banks of which are judiciously placed statues, urns, and resting seats, from each of which appear most agreeable and diverting objects, varied from each other in every remove, consisting of hills, dales, streams, houses, and clumps, rows, and forests of trees on lands in high cultivation. The closing scene was a natural perspective view of a charming cascade running in various directions, the whole, almost, the eye could trace through bending oaks and osiers, from a spot whereon is placed an urn inscribed to Virgil and called his grotto or recess. Hence to the mossy bower or grotto, where after resting I reluctantly mounted my horse, and arrived at my new lodgings, No. 20 Moor-street, at eight o'clock, much fatigued.

CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1777. Fair at Birmingham. Soho Gardens. Ashton Park. The Author leaves Birmingham for Sheffield. First stage, Litchfield. Cathedral described. Burton. The Great Staffordshire Canal. Derby Silk-Mills. Poreclain Manufactory. Kiddlestone, Seat of Lord Scarsdale. Ashburn. Residence of Chaucer. Castleton. Remarkable Cave described. Arrival at Sheffield. Colliery. Wakefield. Original of Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, named Johnson. Leeds. Armley. Huddersfield. Halifax. A Great Manufacturing Town. Rochdale. Manchester. Duke of Bridgewater's Canal. St. John's Church. Coal Mines at Worsley. Description of Manchester. Journey to Bristol. Stockport. Macclesfield. Leek. Manufactories. Sandon. Stafford. Penkridge. Wolverhampton. Manufactories. Stourbridge. Bromesgrove. Worcester. Cathedral described. Tewksbury. Gloucester. Newport. Bristol.

Birmingham, May 20, 1777. Breakfasted with Mr. G. Russell, and with him proceeded to a Mr. Onion's, in order to have a sight of his auriculas and polyanthuses, of which he has a great variety, and of the finest hues and stripes. Mr. Russell having invited company to meet us, we returned to his house to dinner, and passed the day agreeably. Arrived at our lodgings before nine o'clock.

May 22. A fair begins here to day, proclaimed by the bailiffs, constables, wardens, etc., in procession, beginning at eleven o'clock. Streets crowded, many people coming in from the country; a day of jollity rather than business, and the evening ends in riot, drunkenness, etc. The low bailiff is the first officer in dignity, and by custom is chosen from the Dissenters. He nominates the jury, who appoints the constables; he also presides in the courts leet, gives a yearly feast, and has no further concern in town affairs. His service continues a year. The high constable inspects the markets, and is appointed for life by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county.

May 24. Walked to Soho Gardens; the grounds natur-

ally capable of improvements in a high degree; they already consist of gravel-walks in the serpentine form, shrubbery, flower borders, an occasional cascade running down a narrow pebbled canal, and emerging into a pond below, containing two islands. Took an afternoon ramble with my companion to Ashton Park, now in possession of Lady Holt, about two miles distant; the richness of the soil and high cultivation they are in, almost ravished my companion. It is almost surrounded with a lofty brick-wall, and is agreeably diversified by rows of trees, clumps and single trees, with many large spots of clean lands. The house is of brick, in the old Gothic style, very large, having battlements on its top and round turrets. The church standing on the lands and adjoining the avenues of the mansion-house of the estate of Sir Charles Holt, is remarkable for the smallness of the building, and the loftiness of the tower and spire. Returned home not a little fatigued.

May 26. Left Birmingham for Sheffield, our first intended stage being the city of Litchfield, sixteen miles; roads level and sandy, the lands in sight barren and unenclosed. Just without the city, and in a field adjoining, we saw for the first time the English militia; the men were as likely and well accoutred as the King's troops, and as clean and well dressed. Arrived at the George Inn, where we bespoke dinner, and while it was preparing, walked forth to view the city and cathedral; the former of about eight thousand inhabitants, houses mostly in the old style, few shops and little appearance of business. The cathedral is a venerable pile; round the western part of the building stand in mutilated condition many statues, being defaced, as some of its inside ornaments were, by the zealots of Cromwell's party in the unhappy times of Charles I. There is nothing remarkable within except a curiously wrought screen of stone, separating the altar from the chapel of the Ten Virgins, to whom it was dedicated, and where prayers at six in the morning are daily said. The niches in which the Virgins stood have remained unfilled ever since the pious purgators of those times of confusion before mentioned; and as

another instance of their enthusiastic madness, they broke to pieces all the stained glass belonging to this church. Over the western door is an inscription, stating that this church was erected in the 657th year of the Christian era, was endowed by Offa in the Saxon times, and by Henry II. and Richard I. since. In a flat tomb against the fourth wall lies a Dean Haywood, who, many years since, fantastically attempting to imitate our Saviour in fasting forty days, died in fourteen, a martyr to his folly; two statues, one resembling him in his full bulk, and the other in his emaciated state, remain as monuments to perpetuate his impious folly.

From this survey we returned to dinner. Arrived at Burton at four o'clock, over roads almost an entire level, as soft as a carpet, and in a straight direction as far as the eye could reach. At the distance of eight miles from our last stage we passed the Trent, near to where the great Staffordshire Canal (joining the Trent and Severn) begins; crossing and recrossing it, and travelling on its banks and within sight for many miles. This canal is carried over the small river Dove and many streams. Took our departure for Derby; the roads as pleasing as last stage till near the town, when the face of the country became hilly and uneven, yielding a new picture to the eye. Stopped at the George-and-Dragon Inn, Derby; took tea, and accompanied by my fellow-traveller, rambled through the town, which appears to be of considerable extent, having four Episcopal churches. The streets are paved with small pebbles; some of them of a convenient width, the rest narrow, having a gutter in the middle, common to most of the paved towns. Here is a square, paved, serving as a parade for the military, parties of which are posted in every great town. One side is built on arches, forming a shelter for the inhabitants from inclement weather. There is great appearance of trade, and, indeed, the silk-mills, flatting and rolling-mills, and lead-works, employ many hands. Here are also many shops, which for size and arrangement resemble those of London.

Derby, May 27. We visited the famous silk-mills, and were told by the master-workman that ninety-seven thou-

sand movements were set to work by a single large water-wheel. The house is two hundred feet long and thirty-six feet wide, and has five floors, each filled by machines.

From thence made a visit to the porcelain manufactory; the principal ingredient is common flint-stones reduced to an impalpable powder after being broken in a water-mill. All the images are cast in very small parts at first, joined together by hand, as the head, the hands, etc.; the moulds are made of plaster of Paris, and not bigger than the outside shell of a large walnut, which they resemble, and like them consist of four parts. The fancy pieces, as flowers, images, etc., are formed, and a clear liquor poured into the moulds; in less than two minutes, the liquor bring absorbed, a solid figure is left, which after it is dried is painted, gilded, etc., and passes the fire four several times, and, if gilt, undergoes polishing to bring it to its lustre.

From this cursory survey we returned to our inn, and departed for Lord Scarsdale's seat, called Kiddlestone, four miles distant. Arrived at the portal and lodge in the form of a triumphal arch built of stone; through this we were admitted into the park, observable for the greatest quantity of large white oaks and elms. About a mile from the entrance, over a straight, clean carpet road, we came to the lawn, terminated by the house, making a noble appearance; passing a large handsome stone bridge thrown over a fine stream made by art. On the lawn, on every side of the house, are large single oaks, also many clumps and rows, which with the great herds of horned cattle make a most picturesque view. The entrance to the house is by a double flight of steps under a grand portico, being formed of noble columns supporting a pediment, having in front my Lord's arms, and crowned on the top with three female figures, erect, representing Plenty, Peace, and Wisdom. The centre contains the great hall, and on the back front the saloon; the ceiling of the former is supported by fourteen red veined alabaster fluted pillars of the Corinthian order on each side; its height forty feet, length sixty-seven, and width forty-two; the panels of the doors light airy *papier maché* manufacture;

the designs are from Greek and Roman mythology; the flooring most beautiful clear oak, taken from my Lord's forests, as the pillars are from his own quarry, and bear an excellent polish. The wings are connected by circular corridors, and in each wing twenty-one rooms on a floor elegantly finished and furnished. The state bed has very curiously carved posts, its furniture and hangings blue damask; my Lady's dressing-plate the greatest in quantity of any I have seen except the Queen's, and is silver embossed, double gilt. My Lady was at home, and remained to indulge us with a sight of every part of the house. The living of my Lord and Lady when in the country is quite in the family way. Their eldest daughter, going in a loose country dress to take a ramble over the lawn, on discovering us retreated back and disappeared. This house, for situation, elegance and grandeur united, need not yield to any.

From this pleasing spot we departed for Ashburn, the first town on the peak; 't is a country town, has a market and an Episcopal church, but is remarkable for nothing that I could learn except its being a station for those whose curiosity brings them rather to view Dovedale and Islam gardens, the residence of old Chaucer, where strangers are shown the very spot in which he wrote many of his pieces.

May 28. Rising early we departed in a post-chaise for Castleton, situated near the mouth of the Devil's Peak; the road is over bare and dreary hills; the whole country that is inclosed is by stone-walls, being extremely barren of trees, shrubs, and bushes, many hundred acres together not having the appearance of either. The divisions of land much larger than to be met with elsewhere, and scarce a house to be seen, being situated, I presume, in bottoms laid from the road; the sheep are small, and distinguished from all others by a kind of ruff or ridge of long hair round the neck. From the plain we descended into the town, lying in the bottom, in a road encompassing half the ridge of mountains, extending to a great length from hence: this road in many places is very steep, and at almost every step hazardous, and the accident of the horses stumbling, the reins breaking, or wheels coming

off, would throw one down a precipice, when nothing short of a miracle could preserve him from destruction. The tower of the church, of an ordinary height, when first discovered seemed to be many hundred feet beneath us. Arrived at the George Inn, and took the guide, who seasonably arrived with some gentlemen whom he had just attended through the cavern.

Set off from the inn to visit this remarkable subterraneous frightful pit, etc., distance from hence about five hundred yards; the entrance is between two lofty eminences, almost perpendicular, or rather overhanging, of a height eighty-seven yards; its appearance awfully great and terrifying; part is craggy and clothed in trees and shrubs. The passage into this natural cave is under an arch fourteen yards high and forty wide, rising somewhat higher; within the first cave resides a woman of thirty-seven years of age, who was born in a hut here, and has inhabited it ever since; — besides her, here are dwelling two more families, and several of the town's-people who daily resort here to labor in the twine spinning, in which business more than a score are daily employed. Light enough is admitted to do that and any common work; from the mouth to the further end of Post Cavern is eighty yards, and from thence to the first water is seventy yards, making in all one hundred and fifty yards. Over this water, fourteen yards in length, I was conveyed in a small boat, for the greater part of the distance lying on my back; the arch being too low to sit upright. The depth of the water is two and a half feet, which the guide, Robert Dakin, waded through, pushing the boat before him. My companion choosing me to explore the unknown regions, I first entered, and he took the second passage, and I waited for him before I proceeded. At the further end of the first cave, a good woman with a dozen candles attended to furnish each of us with one, which, having lighted, each took in his hand and proceeded from the first water, one by one, in a narrow path to another cavern distant ninety yards, the width of which was seventy yards, and height forty; from hence at a small distance is the second water, over which I was carried

first on our guide's back ten yards; its depth is perhaps a foot. My companion next followed at the right of the attendants, and forded it on foot. Our next stage was in a cave called Roger Rains, from a continual dropping through the rocks and earth. The entrance to the grand cavern is under an arch fifteen rods high; this forms a kind of hanging gallery, on the top of which stood seven singers, each holding a lighted candle in his hand. They entertained us with "*Fill, fill the glasses;*" the splendor of the lights reflected from the vaulted roof, and the grand echo, pleased us beyond expression. On our return we were saluted by this same company with "*God save the King.*" From hence we went forward to the Devil's Cellar; of the origin of this name we could not be informed; there is nothing in its appearance hideous, nor from whence we could conjecture its name. Here we descended fifty yards on a road of firm sand, and from hence the path leads to the cascade, which is heard at considerable distance; the discharge is by a stream dividing itself into two channels, crossing the cavern and continued under the hill, at the bottom of which, at its opposite foot, it forms a small river. From hence to a place called "The Top," and thence to the four regular arches, as regular as if formed by design; and from hence to Tom of Lincoln, (so called from its resemblance to the top of a bell and its enormous magnitude,) and from thence to the extremity of the cavern, distant from its mouth seven hundred and fifty yards. The level at the further end of the cavern was taken by Doctor Solander and Mr. Banks, and is two hundred and fifty yards; — the charming appearance of the external light on our approach towards the first cave, on our return back, excited a most pleasing sensation. Over the cavern is an ancient fortification in the Roman manner. After discharging the customary dues for candles, singers, etc., through a crowd of beggars who always attend strangers at the mouth on their return, which we were cautioned to neglect, passed on to our inn, where we dined, and soon departed for Sheffield, where we arrived about six o'clock, and alighted at the George Inn.

Sheffield, May 29. Presented an introductory letter from Mr. George Russell, of Birmingham, to his correspondent, a Mr. Broomhead, whose reception of us at first was cool, but his after demeanor and hospitality much more than counterbalanced the former; I rather imputed it to an honest bluntness and ignorance of forms. He is a wealthy cutler, whose principal business lay in the American line. Attended by him we walked round the town to several branches, as rolling-mills, grinding cutlery, white-lead mill, etc. After dinner strolled amongst the multitude to the race ground called "Crooke's Moor;" the number supposed to be full twenty thousand. From a lofty stand opposite the ground I had a full view of the race; four heats were run, the first by seven horses; the plate, a silver gilt cup, worth seventy pounds, was gained by a horse called "Why Not," who, on the first two heats was almost distanced. The humors of the race I had an opportunity of seeing in perfection; the different passions wherewith they were agitated afforded me no small diversion. The horses were called by the names of their riders, who were differently clothed, as pink, orange, scarlet, striped, etc., etc. The plate, procured by subscription of the town, was carried by the constable attended by the town officers in their habits, preceded by a flag. On the ground were erected many stands, and all filled; the last heat was scarcely over till nine o'clock in the evening.

May 30. Called on Mr. J. Broomhead, and with him walked through the town to the colliery, so called, being a road-way from the Duke of Norfolk's pits to the yard, in which the coal is taken up into carts and conveyed to town; the descent easy, and by means of a spring, the carts, without horses, under the guidance of a man, being conveyed by a sort of self-motion for more than a mile. At the end of the way the carts are run on stages, through which, by tilting them, the contents are discharged. After a view of this curious contrivance, we retired homewards, but meeting Mr. Aspden, of Philadelphia, a gentleman with whom we dined at Mr. Smith's, in Birmingham, a few days before, agreed to

join company, and immediately departed in a stage-coach from Sheffield, and arrived at Black Barnsley through a delightful though uneven road; distance fourteen miles. Here we took post-chaises, and in two hours alighted at Wakefield, a clothing town, wherein appear evident tokens of taste in building and of wealth; the avenues to it delightful, the roads like a carpet-walk, on one side a raised terrace walk for foot-passengers, flagged for more than two miles; the lands hereabouts excellent, and under the most improved cultivation. The Westgate-street has the noblest appearance of any I ever saw, out of London; its pavements in the best order; its length near half a mile, and width ten rods. Were it not for some old, low buildings, London could not boast a more magnificent street. It has a very large Episcopal church, with a remarkably lofty tower and spire. The principal character in the novel called "The Vicar of Wakefield" was taken from the late vicar of this church, named Johnson, whose peculiarly odd and singular humor has exposed his memory to the ridicule of that satire. We soon after departed for Leeds in a post-chaise, through good roads and fertile lands; from Sheffield to Leeds the face of the country is more pleasing, the lands in better improvement and more peopled, than in more than twenty counties I have passed through in England; alighted at the "Old King's Arms" at nine o'clock, where we supped and lodged.

Leeds, May 31. Sent our names to S. Elam and waited breakfast; he soon came, but having taken his, declined partaking with us. We walked forth under his guidance, and took dinner with him afterwards; rambled to a village called Armley, to see a scribbling-mill, by which more wool is discharged than ten hands can do in the same time. It is performed by a horse, but its construction cannot be described, not being exposed to open view, it being a favor shown to Mr. Elam, on whose account we were favored with a sight of it. Too nice an inspection would have excited suspicion, which we wished to avoid. The manufacturers of every kind through England are not pleased to admit

strangers to a sight of the machines and process of their business. From thence we returned back on the sides of the canal, which for the first time is to be opened with ceremony next Wednesday; no part of it has hitherto been used.

June 2. This town is said to contain ten thousand people, many well-filled shops, and various trades; its principal business in narrow and coarse woollen cloths, consigned to foreign orders, but little to London or inland trade; many of its merchants are wealthy. It has a large cloth market of brick, of three ranges, each range having two walks, and the walks are called King-street, Queen-street, Cheapside, etc. Set off for Huddersfield, distant sixteen miles, and is the town to which the merchants of Leeds, Halifax, and Wakefield resort to buy cloths from the clothiers abounding in this neighborhood. The town of Huddersfield is very old-built, and has a wretched appearance. The butchery was built by Sir John Ramsey, proprietor of the land, whose rent is seventy pounds. After dinner we entered a post-chaise for Halifax, where we arrived at six o'clock.

This town is supposed to be larger than Leeds; its streets, if it can be said to have any, are excellently paved, and have a convenient flagged walk on each side raised; lying uneven they are always clean; but in general they are narrow and short, each end bounded by a triangular house; many large and well-built ones in, but more just without the town. The situation of the town is on an uneven, low eminence, surrounded by lofty hills on all sides in the most improved condition, laid out in lots bounded by live hedges, rows of trees, and stone-walls, almost as even as the walls of a house. The whole country for many miles within view abounds in manufactories and farm-houses; the people here are numerous and industrious; their houses very cleanly. Amongst other kinds of good conduct, we in our rambles saw fifteen children employed in bending wires and preparing them in the various branches of card-making, and were told their earnings were from two and sixpence to five shillings a week; which employment not only keeps their little minds from vice, but renders them early capable of providing for their

own support, and takes a heavy burden from their poor parents. We entered a nap-raising mill; the process is performed by laying a cloth under an instrument divided into little squares of the diameter of the nap designed to be raised, or rather larger, carried by water. This instrument is about eight feet long and two feet wide, and is jostled backwards and forwards by means of a little gage filled with teeth suited to a cog-wheel, which receives its motion from another communicating with a great wheel. By Mr. Aspden's desire, we accompanied him immediately on our arrival to a Mr. Rawson's seat, a little out of Halifax, called "*Stony-ride*," meaning *Stony-road*, the road to it being stony, (the Yorkshire people often using an *i* for an *o*.) This was a friend to whom he had a letter; neither Mr. Rawson nor his sons were at home; but soon after our return to the inn one of his sons came, and would have engaged us to accompany him back, but it being late, we declined it for this evening, which he passed and supped with us.

Halifax, June 3. Rambled with my companions to the lofty surrounding hills, from whence we had an ample view of the town; only one parish church, the mother of twelve of the neighboring ones; sectaries of various kinds abound here. By the manufacturers living hereabouts there is building of stone a large and commodious market-house, containing a square of one hundred and ten yards by ninety; its lower story is fronted by short square pillars, forming arcades, on the back part of which are rooms for each separate manufacturer, of twelve feet by eight, and before the rooms a covered walk of four feet wide; the second story is supported by square pillars cut into rustic, with a walk before, as below, but more open and spacious, the pillars not being so large. The floor of the third story is surrounded by Doric pillars supporting the roof, containing the same accommodations as below; the height of each story twelve feet. The town is all built of stone, very irregular, but its streets the best paved of any town in England, London not excepted, and from the unevenness of the ground always clean. By the hospitality of Mr. Rawson we were delayed here for

two days, whose importunity would not suffer us to depart till Thursday, the fifth. We passed our time pleasantly enough in visiting, among other things, his copperas works; the copperas made from that part of common pit-coal called slate, charged with sulphur; its process easy and short, being collected and thrown into a large heap, perhaps of two or three hundred tons; — water poured on it, which, filtering through, passes by pipes into an underground cistern or large receiver, is boiled, and from thence carried into a smaller cistern like the distillers'; there remaining until it cools and crystallizes.

Thursday, June 5. Departed from Halifax in a post-chaise, taking leave of our late companion Aspden, who left us at the inn for Preston, on horseback. Pursuing the road we ascended a long hill of more than a mile, and soon arrived at a very lofty ridge of the most desolate and forlorn appearance, called Blackstone Edge, continuing for several miles. The road level, hard and straight, and on that score pleasant; the land waste and of a russet hue, covered with furze; not a tree, shrub, bush, or plant, hedge or wall to be seen. From hence we descended into low grounds, well inhabited and improved; in one respect this part of England is more pleasing than the others; the grounds are covered with houses, each manufacturer having a small farm or parcel of land besides his trade to depend on, there being more freeholders, or owners of small farms and plantations, here than in any county of the kingdom. We arrived at Rochdale about two o'clock, engaged dinner, and took a ramble. The church stands on a hill, to which the ascent is by a hundred stone-steps. This town is remarkable for many wealthy merchants; it has a large woollen-market, the merchants from Halifax, etc., repairing hither weekly; the neighborhood abounds in clothiers. From hence the road to Manchester, distant about thirteen miles, is level and sandy, the soil light, the general nature of the land in this county, where the people speak an uncouth, peculiar dialect, unintelligible to the ears of strangers. About six o'clock we alighted at the "Spread-eagle Inn," and procured private lodgings at Mrs. Barlow's, next door to the inn.

Manchester, June 6. Walked out to the Duke of Bridgewater's Canal, and on its banks met Mr. Nelson, who for some time lodged at Mrs. Leavitt's, in Salem, New England; he is from Ireland, passing through the manufacturing towns to London. We stepped into St. John's Church, a small but elegant edifice in Gothic style; over the altar is a fine stained-glass window, executed at York; three erect images of St. Peter, Christ, and St. James, the colors quite lively, which the meridian lustre of the sun's rays not a little assisted. In the vestry is another window by the same hand; on this is stained the founder's name, a Squire Byrom. This church was finished in 1769; its tower is crowned with battlements and high pinnacles; the body of the church having such also all around its roof. From hence we adjourned to the Castlefield, to see the exercise of the militia, making as good appearance as the King's troops in discipline and dress. This field is an eminence of oval form, and here are supposed to be the remains of an old Roman encampment, the outside wall and cement yet to be seen. From this place we adjourned to the "Royal Oak" ordinary.

June 7. With Mr. Nelson set off for the canal, intending to take a passage to Worsley to visit the Duke of Bridgewater's coal-mines. After some delay we entered the passage-boat, drawn by a horse in the manner of the Trekschuits in Holland. Arrived at Worsley in two hours, passing athwart the river Irwell, over which the canal runs, being raised on arches not less than fifty feet in height above that stream. In many places the bottom of the canal is considerably higher than the level of the neighboring grounds. Sent compliments to Mr. Gilbert, the steward, asking the favor of seeing the Duke's under-ground works, which was granted, and we stepped into the boat, passing into an archway partly of brick and partly cut through the stone, of about three and a half feet high; we received at entering six lighted candles. This archway, called a funnel, runs into the body of the mountain almost in a direct line three thousand feet, its medium depth beneath the surface about eighty feet; we were half an hour passing that distance. Here begins the

first under-ground road to the pits, ascending into the wagon road, so called, about four feet above the water, being a high-way for the wagons, containing about a ton weight, of the form of a mill-hopper, running on wheels, to convey the coals to the barges or boats. Under the guidance of a miner, with each a lighted candle in his hand, we proceeded through an arched-way about five feet high, walking with our bodies at an angle of less than sixty degrees, through a road of three feet in width, a length of eight hundred yards, arrived at the coal-mine, which, appearing about five feet through the roof, was supported by many posts, the area being about twenty feet square and height scarce four. From this dismal abode, which my companion, whose name was Chandler, would fain have dissuaded me from proceeding to visit, after remaining a few minutes, I hastened back to our boat. One may go six miles by water in various directions, the wagon-ways to the pits lying below the level of the water; it is said the distance from the mouth is six miles in the funnel. A hundred men are daily employed, and each turns out a ton a day; the miners' wages two shillings, and the laborers' about one shilling. Price of coal at the pit twopence per hundred weight; at the key threepence halfpenny, and at the door fourpence halfpenny. The boat having left, we returned to town on foot, five miles through fields and vacant lands.

The centre of this town of Manchester consists principally of old buildings; its streets narrow, irregularly built, with many capital houses interspersed. By Act of Parliament old buildings are taken down to enlarge the streets. It has a few good ones; King-street is the best built, is long and sufficiently wide; most of its houses noble. Great additions of buildings and streets are daily making, and of a larger size than at Birmingham, nor have all the new ones so dusky a face as in that town, and in that respect are fairer and better; for extent of ground whereon it stands, nor number of inhabitants, does the latter exceed or in my opinion come up to it. The disposition and manners of this people, as given by themselves, are inhospitable and boorish. I have seen nothing to contradict this assertion, though my slender ac-

quaintance will not justify me in giving that character. In all the manufacturing towns there is a jealousy and suspicion of strangers; an acquaintance with one manufacturer effectually debars one from connection with a second in the same business. It is with difficulty one is admitted to see their works, and in many cases it is impracticable, express prohibitions being given by the masters. The Dissenters are some of the most wealthy merchants and manufacturers here, but mortally abhorred by the Jacobites. The dress of the people here savors not much of the London mode in general; the people are remarkable for coarseness of feature, and the language is unintelligible.

Manchester, June 8. Attended public worship at a Dissenters' meeting-house, — both services. Walked to the end of Danesgate, and drank tea at our companion Nelson's lodgings; and were amused by the free and unrestrained chat of his landlady, named Hudson, a Quaker in religion, and Jacobite in political principle. The number of the latter description since the English prince mounted the throne is somewhat lessened here, as I am told by our landlady, who is in the abdicated family's interest, which is here openly professed; all of that party putting up large oak-boughs over their doors on the 29th May, to express joy at the glorious event of the restoration of the Stuart family to the English throne; many such I saw. The ladies, who, if they take a part, are ever violent, scruple not openly and without restraint to drink Prince Charles's health, and express their wishes for his restoration to his paternal kingdoms. I saw the house wherein the prince, as he is called, dwelt whilst here, (at the time of his invasion); the gentleman and his family still remain in it, and steady to their principles, which, however, did not hurry them into lengths that exposed them to the resentment of Government. His name is Dixon, and his house is in Market-street Lane, on the left as one goes from the market; and our host, a Mr. Bower, with whom we passed a very social evening at his house in Leigh-street, told us Lord John Murray and his secretary lodged at his house at that time. One of those executed here in the last rebel-

lion was a son of a woman who had borne twenty-nine children.

June 9. Passed the day in rambling about town with our new-found companion, Nelson.

June 11. Having agreed to join Mr. Nelson in a post-chaise to York, in the neighborhood of which we propose to cease from our labors, and hoping the rewards of a cheap plentiful country to reside in for some time, for this purpose we went to engage a chaise at the old "White Swan Inn," where we saw three young countrymen, a Capt. Gore, Mr. Joy and son, at the end of their ramble northward from London, designing to return to Bristol by way of Wolverhampton. My fellow-traveller on this discovery, tired of his expensive ramble, immediately took fire and determined to abandon me, and accompany them on their intended route; loth to part in this quarter and in the situation I was then in, for certain prudential reasons, agreed to his fantastic plan, though entirely contrary to my wish and views; and having disengaged ourselves from Mr. Nelson, to his mortification, engaged a post-chaise to Macclesfield. On the 12th June we proceeded on through a road of seven miles paved with pebbles to Stockport, a considerable town, having some reputable buildings; its streets are narrow and paved. From hence to Macclesfield lying in Cheshire about twelve miles, being our first stage from Manchester. At five miles from this is the seat of Sir George Warren, surrounded by finely improved lands and pleasure-grounds, lying on my left. A little beyond on the right is the seat of Charles Leigh, Esq., possessed of four thousand a year, and of a considerable tract adjoining to Manchester, which he has laid out in streets to be let on building leases. At Macclesfield we alighted, breakfasted, etc., departed for Leek, a distance of thirteen miles; the former town has a silk-mill or mills, and a manufactory which appears not to have much business. The town in general is ill-built, the houses, as in most manufacturing places, of most credit in its environs. From the George Inn we departed not greatly pleased with the host's attendance, nor I with my companion's behavior here.

Leek, at which I now am, has a manufactory of silk and ribbons, and one for hair-buttons; the former chiefly for the great dealers at Coventry, though very largely for foreign orders and the London supply, as well as the inland towns. From hence to Sandon, called in this country language Sand, is a distance of eighteen miles, which we were four hours in passing. Here we alighted at "the Dog and Duck," supped and lodged; the former as quietly served up, and as genteelly, as could be in London; the town is small, houses scattering, and of an indifferent aspect.

June 13. Departed without breakfast for Stafford, the county town; the roads in general are sandy, but on our approaching the town, the lands assumed a better face. The main street through which we passed is paved, the houses well built, full shops, and an appearance of business and of wealth. On our right, at the distance of a mile, stands on the summit of an insulated hill, cut, as should seem, by art, into a cone about one third down, a stone edifice, like a lofty tower, which is the only remains of Stafford Castle, making an agreeable object to a traveller. From hence the lands and roads are greatly altered for the better; fine pastures, excellent live-hedge fences, and rows of trees in great abundance. Our next stage was a distance of ten miles, at a place called Penkridge; here again we took another driver, carriage and horses, and through a most excellent turnpike road and a delightfully improved country, arrived at the old "Angel Inn," Wolverhampton, where we dined, and having despatched a messenger for my old friend Timmins, he soon arrived; by his invitation accompanied him and our companion to see the great manufactory of Taylor and Jones, (who are also exporting merchants,) for japanning tin, paper, snuffboxes, iron tools, etc. This town is large, has a capital manufactory in the lock and hinge way, and most other branches of the iron business, and is supposed to contain twenty thousand inhabitants. Like all the old towns it is ill-built, and like Birmingham has a dusky look. Once for all, its numbers I judge are overrated; every town and borough is so. After repeated invitations to remain we departed be-

fore six o'clock for Stourbridge, distant ten miles, to which we arrived at half-past seven, being driven Jehu-like through roads as level, hard and pleasant as a garden gravel-walk; the country yielding a pleasant view from good husbandry, fruitful soil, lofty trees and live hedges. We were agreeably disappointed, for instead of a pitiful, mean town, as its avenues seemed to threaten, we found a well-built, large, lively and rich town, having a noble, wide and convenient street a mile long, with cross streets well paved. It is famous for glass, nails, heavy iron work, as anvils, etc., and some cloth manufactories. After rambling for an hour over the town, we supped and retired to rest.

Stourbridge, June 14. Set off at eight o'clock and arrived at the "Crown" Inn, Bromesgrove, twelve miles, at ten; a respectable town, but it contains no large manufactories; the only one of any consideration is for linen cloth. The lands about here in an excellent state of husbandry and fertile; farm-houses and gentlemen's seats more numerous in this and the following stage than on any road we had passed in this route, except the West Riding of Yorkshire, to which it bears a comparison. Were set down at the Bell Inn, Broad-street, Worcester, at twelve o'clock; a very handsome, well-built city, having spacious, airy streets, a noble cathedral and elegant modern houses; its shops large and well filled, the town lively and full of business; its inhabitants have the character of being polite and genteel, and indeed they have more the air of Londoners than at any place I have seen. The Severn runs on one side of the city, by which conveyance is easy to Gloucester, the distance being twenty-eight miles, performed in seven hours in small vessels. Here is a manufacture of porcelain, said to be the best made in England. While rambling through the streets we fell by accident into the Cathedral Green, and meeting a boy with a prayer-book in one hand and the church-key in the other, he accosted us with, "Gentlemen, are ye a mind to go into the church?" and on our answering in the affirmative, the door-keeper admitted us. It has many old monuments, (as well as modern,) particularly that of King John, whose body by

his desire was buried in the choir just before the high altar, over which spot is a flat statue of him. Here also lies in a little chapel the body of Prince Arthur, eldest son of Henry VII., and likewise an Oswald, a bishop of this see before the Norman Conquest; the only modern I thought worthy to remember is the worthy Dr. Hough, about forty years since a bishop of this see. The chapter-house, also used as a library, is of an oval form, and its walls to a considerable height covered with cases faced with glass, and very well filled with books. In this city is a magnificent town-hall, having below many full-length portraits. This being market-day, the streets were so thronged that our chaise could scarce make its way through to the inn. Having spent four hours in this beautiful and pleasant place, we departed for Tewksbury, a considerable town; here the apple-orchards began to appear of uncommon height and bigness. From the western quarter of Staffordshire to the very houses of Bristol, through the delightful counties of Worcester and Gloucester, the fields, pastures and enclosures have an uncommon richness and verdure; fruit and forest-trees in greater abundance and larger girth and greater height than are to be seen elsewhere in England. Tewksbury has no capital manufacture except for white cotton stockings, for which it is noted. It is remarkable, however, for a parish church one hundred and seven yards long, and more than twenty-five broad; its roof supported by round shafted pillars seven yards in girth; contains several old monuments. The first I observed was Richard Nevil, the great Earl of Warwick, called the king-maker, raised on a lofty monument scarce as big as the life, in a kneeling posture with uplifted closed hands; in a chapel are decumbent his daughter and her husband George, Duke of Clarence; and in a flat grave just before the door of the choir, is the tomb of Henry, son of the unfortunate Henry VI.

June 15. From the Sun Inn, Tewksbury, we departed before breakfast, and through rough and dirty roads arrived at the "Bell" Inn, Gloucester, at nine o'clock; notwithstanding the fine plentiful harvests of corn, cider, and pasturage, for which this county is noted, for miles around the city the

houses are small, dirty, and in ill-repair, the avenues slovenly, fences and walls in a ruinous state, the barns generally of wood, all tottering to their fall; the bridges the meanest and in the worst condition anywhere to be passed. After breakfast and dressing, we all attended worship in the cathedral, being decently and respectfully provided with seats in the choir; the service was chanted. The dean and subdean performed the communion service. From church I repaired to our inn, leaving my fellow-travellers to pursue their ramble till dinner-time. Dirty narrow streets, and mean, ill-repaired houses, constitute too great a part of this city to render it an agreeable residence. After dinner, young Joy and I rambled into the cathedral; the cloisters are reckoned the finest in England; after viewing them we retreated into the church, and meeting one of the vergers, were conducted by him to the old monuments. Thence back to the inn, when we took coach and left the city, part of our company being already gone. The next stage was at Newport, consisting only of four inns and a Dissenting meeting-house, distant from our last stage fifteen miles and from Bristol eighteen; the roads are dirty and rough, the slovenliness of the farmers' houses and the richness of soil were as before. Here we lodged.

Newport, June 16. After breakfast departed alone, our fellow-travellers being already gone, and at twelve o'clock alighted at the "White Lion" Inn, Broad-street, Bristol; dined and afterwards visited Radcliffe Church; drank tea at Mr. Waldo's.

Bristol, June 17. Breakfasted at Mr. Waldo's; walked to Hot Wells, and Mr. Gouldney's grotto; after dinner accompanied my fellow-travellers to Taylor's glass works; in our way through "Long-Row," were attacked by the virulent tongue of a vixen, who saluted us by the names of "damned American Rebels," etc. In our return from Hot Wells, we passed a person dressed in green, with a small round hat flapped before, very like an English country gentleman, who is the supposed Count Falkenstein, under which character the Emperor of Germany travels *incog*. Removed our trunks to a Mr. Sladen's in Queen's Square.

CHAPTER VII.

A. D. 1777. Entry of Member of Parliament elect into Bristol. The Author visits the Cathedral. Stapleton. Dundry Tower. Bath. American Privateers in St. George's Channel. Visit to Wales. Swansea. Welsh Customs. Neath. Cowbridge. Cardiff. Newport. Return to Bristol. Advices from New York. Adventure of Charles II. Dean Tucker. John Wesley. Journey to Exeter. Sidmouth. Axminster. Birthplace of the Great Duke of Marlborough. Carpet Manufactories. Thorncombe. Culliford. Slade. Ottery. Return to Exeter. News of Gen. Burgoyne's Surrender. Close of the Year.

Bristol, June 18, 1777. This being the day in which Mr. Chester, the County Member elect, is to make his triumphal entry into the city, it was ushered in by ringing of bells and discharging of cannon, the noise of which early disturbed my rest. On the towers of all the churches were displayed colors and jacks; ensigns and pendants on most of the vessels at the quays. On Brandon Hill were placed twenty-two cannon, discharging several rounds in the day, answered by the vessels. After dinner I strolled through the streets that were lined with people, reaching from the extent of the city on the farther side quite through and up to the rising grounds on the Down, beyond Park-street, the windows on each side filled to behold the great man. My stand was on the open space on the hither side of the bridge over the Frome; the procession began at seven o'clock; footmen two and two, then followed others on horseback, two and two in the centre. Mr. Chester preceded, and was followed by more than a thousand persons, of whom one hundred and fifty were mounted and clad in new blue coats and breeches, with buff waistcoats, the Duke of Beaufort's hunting garb. These were headed by the champion dressed in blue silk, armed

cap-a-pie, and at all points, bearing in his hand a mace that he waved every hundred steps; stopping his horse at the same time, on which arose three loud huzzas. The rear was brought up by nearly a hundred carriages; the day was devoted to mirth and festivity, nor was the following night without its share. The Duke of Beaufort, whose man Mr. Chester was, privately left the procession just before its arrival in town, and took a stand in a friend's house with his duchess to see the parade through the town, and enjoy the triumph over his rival without observation.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH, DEVON.

BRISTOL, *June* 19, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

After a long, expensive, and not very pleasing tour, I am at length set down, for some weeks' abode at least, in this city. My experience, dearly enough bought, teaches me that manufacturing towns are not proper places of residence for idle people, either on account of pleasure or profit;—the expenses of living being as high almost as at St. James's in every such town, how far distant soever from the capital. The spirit of bargaining and taking advantage runs through every line of life there, but in the north it is cruelly predominant. I know not but I may ramble before cold weather again to the west, for Exeter with all its faults is paradise itself to Manchester or any town in the north I have seen.

Having by accident met Mr. John Boylston in the American Coffee-House, who informs me he is going off to-morrow for Exeter, I would not fail to embrace so fair an opportunity to let you hear from me, though I had nothing but that simple article to acquaint you with. Nothing will yield me more satisfaction than to hear of your and my other friends' welfare in the west. I had the pleasure to see Counseller White, now on a tour through North Wales, etc.; be pleased to make my compliments to his family and my acquaintance in your neighborhood. God bless your Reverence, and succeed your pious endeavors to reform your

flock. You have mine, and I hope for your prayers, and remain, Your assured friend,

S. Curwen.

June 22. Walked to the cathedral, entering just as service was about to be begun. Mr. Haynes, a canon, preached; a likely figure, but a dull, heavy writer and speaker: the church is kept in nice order. One half of this building was demolished by Cromwell when he bombarded it, and forced Prince Rupert to retire, who for some time kept him out, but was at last forced to abandon it. From hence adjourned to to the Mayor's Chapel, in which I saw several monuments erected A. D. 1268–9, it having been, I presume, the chapel of a Knight Templar's house. Here we heard the conclusion of an excellent sermon by the chaplain, Mr. Ireland. In the afternoon, attended worship at St. Stephen's. Evening, at Mr. J. Waldo's, in Brunswick Square.

June 25. Passed the afternoon and evening at Mr. Barnes' at quadrille with Mr. Waldo and Mr. Oxnard; also met S. Porter there, on his return from Wales.

June 26. In the evening stopped in our rambles at Lady Huntingdon's Chapel, where heard a sensible preacher on the doctrine of love.

June 27. Walked out with Mr. Sewall and Mr. Oxnard through Stapleton to the late Lord Bottetourt's seat and pleasure-grounds, now the Duchess Dowager of Beaufort's; the house is situated on the brow of a hill, standing on a lofty foundation of stone; its front, as approached from Stapleton, has each angle covered with six square towers, and between an open piazza below; the whole house crowned with battlements. It is built of white stone, and possesses an extensive view of the pleasure-grounds, and a finely improved country all before it. After tea took a second ramble to Bedminster Churchyard.

June 29. Attended worship at the Mayor's Chapel; met Mr. Boutineau, with whom we took a few rounds in the College Green amidst genteel company, and received invitations

to tea. In the afternoon, meeting Mr. Barnes and F. Waldo, we joined them going to St. Nicholas's Church; a Dr. Buck preached an excellent sermon, and delivered it with great propriety and fervency.

TO WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ., LONDON.

QUEEN'S SQUARE, BRISTOL, *July* 8, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

After a long and expensive ramble to no good purpose, I am at length in this city, proposing to make it my abode for a month or longer; to what place I shall retreat from hence I am undetermined, though somewhere to the west, as that is a quarter of great plenty and of the least expense. The report of the cheapness of living in Yorkshire is a mere fable, especially in or near the neighborhood of the manufacturing towns in the West Riding, or even in Lancashire as far as Manchester, which last place nothing but interest or superior motives could confine me to.

The distance I am from London (and probably shall be for many months,) will deprive me of hearing or reading the current news, but few papers falling into my hands; and coffee-houses, the resort of newsmongers and political dabblers, I rarely enter; so if you will now and then employ a few of your leisure moments to let me hear from you, I shall esteem it a favor.

I am, dear sir, very truly yours,

S. CURWEN.

July 9. Walked five miles out to see Dundry Tower, the steeple so called of a church situated on a lofty ridge commanding an extensive prospect over the Severn into Wales, far into the St. George's Channel, into Somerset, Gloucestershire, and far beyond. Strolling along the quay, met a Swansea coaster, and partly agreed to make a tour through the southern and western parts of Wales.

July 11. Went to the theatre; saw the "West Indian" and the "Misers," the former entertaining; Major O'Flaherty well taken off by Mr. Moody, the best imitation of an Irishman I

ever saw; the latter an unnatural plot, and but illy performed to a very full house.

July 17. Set off on horseback for Bath; fine roads, sun excessively hot and scorching, almost choked by the dust which arose in clouds by the carriages and horses we overtook in great numbers. Alighted at the Shakspeare Inn, High-street; visited the public places of resort; rambled about the city, dined, and at four o'clock departed by the way of Keynsham for Bristol.

July 18. Drank tea with Mr. Francis Waldo at his lodgings; afterwards adjourned to the theatre, where I was agreeably entertained.

July 23. This day news arrived of the capture of the *Fox*, man-of-war, of twenty-eight guns, by some American privateers. Unless more spirited measures take place, or others are employed to plan or execute, I know not whether this island itself will not be surrounded by ships from the western continent and their allies. Two ships, just sailed from Bristol, were taken in St. George's Channel; and several to and from Ireland, etc., within a month. The nation is in a lethargy, and for aught that appears is like to continue so; treachery, venality, or inability, will, it is to be feared, destroy this devoted people.

July 24. News *viâ* Liverpool: Gen. Howe burnt Brunswick about 20th June, broke up his camp, going to abandon the Jerseys, to strengthen his lines at Kingsbridge, apprehending an attack there; and with the remainder of his forces and the ships to go up the North River on a secret expedition. The Boston fleet of eighteen privateers sailed with orders to keep together for twenty-five days, and afterwards each to repair to their several destinations. The Newfoundland fishery disturbed, the ships on Grand Bank scattered; some sunk, the whole almost dispersed and ruined. London and the trading parts, even those attached to the Government, I am told, begin to grow very uneasy and talk loud. If it should continue, a change in Administration must succeed. Alas! to what a low ebb is this nation fallen, that lately gave law to the potent states of France and Spain, in

a contest confessedly unequal on the side of its own subjects; but such is the state of human affairs. Goliath was humbled and slain by little David, and those Provinces that lately sued to Great Britain for protection and aid, now boldly defy and enter the lists against that very power.

July 26. Took passage to Swansea with Capt. Hawkins, and at eleven o'clock, with two pilot-boats ahead, cast off from the quay. In four hours discharged our pilot-boat in King Road, five miles from Bristol; we soon grounded, and there remained all night. The return of the ebb served, instead of a favorable wind, to carry us to our port of destination. Indeed, it was, as the sailors say, right in our teeth; the strength, however, of the current is such as to overpower a light gale, in which case vessels coming in or going out drop anchor during the ebb or flood, when unfavorable. This night proved dark and misty; just after midnight we dropped anchor; daylight discovered the master's judgment in selecting his ground to anchor on. We arrived without harm to a stony beach called the Ferry-Place, below the quay about a quarter of a mile.

Swansea, July 29. Attended a court-baron, instituted for determining pecuniary cases under forty shillings, and is equivalent to our Justice's Court in New England; it is, I presume, appendant to every manor, the lords of which have the nominating, if not the appointing, of the officers to this trust. The manor in which this town lies is called Gower, and belongs to the Duke of Beaufort, who chooses its chief magistrate, called Portreve; the present is Mr. Gabriel Powel, Justice also in the former court, and whom I saw on the bench. This town is the first in Glamorganshire for commerce and manufactures, twelve hundred vessels being yearly employed; its staples are coals, copper-plates, and white iron. The ore for the former, and blocks for the latter, are brought hither in their own vessels from Cornwall, and when manufactured, transported to Bristol chiefly. The town consists of twenty-five hundred inhabitants, who occupy about three hundred and fifty houses, few elegant or large; a market-house, erected at Cromwell's expense, the inhabitants being

in his interest. Here are several Episcopal and Dissenting churches, a synagogue, and Quaker meeting-house. Service is said and sermons preached in the Welsh tongue once in three weeks. A custom prevails here of raising the earth on the summit of the grave in the form and size of the coffin beneath, and sticking in herbs and flowers, and, during the season of roses, of spreading the leaves thereon. The country inhabitants almost universally use the Welsh as their mother-tongue, scarcely understanding a word of the English, which they call Sasnic, meaning Saxon, to distinguish it from the true British, which was on the invasion narrowed to the small districts of Wales and Cornwall; English in this principality is taught as the dead languages by the grammar. In a place called Gower the inhabitants speak no Welsh, but beyond they talk in no other tongue; in the midland counties scarce anything but Welsh is spoken or known. Pembrokeshire was settled, some ages since, by Yorkshire and west country folks, whose descendants retain their native tongue, and are ignorant of the country speech. In general, the inhabitants affect to speak of England as a foreign country, and as we on the west of the Atlantic, saying from England, to England, etc. The Welsh appear a hardy race, short, clumsy, and strongly built. The extensive white iron or tin-plate works, and copper, also, which abound, I fancy is prejudicial to the products of the earth; and the appearance of the land justifies the opinion. I am told the land is good, but I confess it has a dreary look; the lofty hills are, however, enlivened, though bare of trees, (their natural vesture,) by the great number of small huts, so prettily and agreeably scattered over the sides of the hills, being painted white, with the fences or stone walls encompassing them, or forming the courts or yards.

July 30. A stranger sent in his name, Calvert, desiring an introduction to me; he had married a niece of the late Mr. Gwynn, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, who was one of the co-heiresses, and he wished to inquire about his late uncle's affairs; but I could give only an imperfect account; when I last saw his uncle he had a wife and effects, supposed about

two thousand pounds. I took breakfast with Mr. Calvert, and one of the company was the Dr. Collins to whom I had a letter from Mr. Barnes; but he not choosing to make himself known, we took no notice of each other, though we were both apprised of our meeting together, which I thought on his part an impropriety. My companion's capricious resolution to return back, and the ill reception of my letter, were considerations that prevailed with me to accompany him, and we immediately set about preparing for a departure; and thus was my design of remaining some months in this principality frustrated by an injudicious connection which might have been foreseen and avoided. It is with no little reluctance I abandon my only intention of coming to these parts, which was to possess myself of the knowledge of the peculiar manners, customs, and language of these genuine descendants of the old Celts, that had long been the object of my wishes, and I greatly regret my facility in giving it up. But an unseasonable, ill-placed compliance, or perhaps want of proper resolution to undertake a solitary residence in a district of an unknown people, of a strange language, might have coöperated to produce my determination. In passing the road I reckoned one hundred and thirty chimneys in the great copper-works lying on the banks of the Swansea, a river just above the town. Dined and took leave, and bent my course to the ferry; was soon wafted over the river Tawy in a boat guided by a rope, the rapidity of the tide rendering such an expedient necessary; having landed, we jumped into a carriage standing on the shore ready to receive us.

The next town is Neath, which consists of about one hundred and fifty houses, and is situated on the Bristol Channel, or about the *embouchure* of the Severn; it is a place of some trade in the same way as the former, though not to so great an extent.

On the farther side of the river are the remains of a magnificent monastery, but under what denomination its former occupants were, I did not learn, having only a passing view. Just beyond the town, on the same side of the river, are the seat and grounds of Sir Herbert Mackworth, under excellent

improvement. Standing in the court of the inn, I heard one tell another that the lad then passing by was the male descendant of him whose name was Pendrell, by whom King Charles II. was concealed on the oak at Boscobel, (now standing,) after Cromwell's defeat of the Scotch army at Worcester.

Neath, July 31. Left the inn at eight o'clock, and alighted at the Bear Inn, Cowbridge, twelve miles; a long, straggling town, of better built houses, and to appearance larger than Neath, though of less trade. Changed horses and started for Cardiff, where we alighted in two hours, distance twelve miles. It is a small but neat and clean town, the shire town of the county of Glamorgan; streets well paved; has one Episcopal Church, houses modern, but none lofty or much decorated. The inhabitants here, and farther on towards Monmouth, begin to Anglicize and lose the Welsh language and manners, few or none speaking it in town, though the mountaineers, all over the principality, make it their mother tongue, and politically, and I think prudently, continue it. The villages and towns that have the least connection with trade, retain their original tongue in greater use. North Wales, more particularly than South, has less mixture of foreigners. After an hour's rest, we set off in a post-chaise for the mountain country, to obtain a sight of a singular bridge over the river Taaffe, consisting of only one arch, spreading one hundred and forty-two feet, in height thirty-four above the water. This surprising undertaking was planned, and, after two disappointments, executed by a mason named Thomas Edwards, still living: it is said to be the greatest work of the kind in the world, exceeding the Rialto at Venice. Visitors say it would do honor to Roman magnificence in the most flourishing times of the Empire. Asking a question of a passenger, he replied, "*Dim Saesneg*," which was as much as if he had said, "*I do not understand English.*"

Cardiff, August 1. After breakfast walked through the town to the castle, remarkable for its being the prison of the unfortunate Robert, eldest son of the first William, and Duke of Normandy, who was not only deprived of his right to that

dukedom and the kingdom of England, the government of which last was his by right of primogeniture, but, being made a prisoner by his younger brother Henry, he languished here twenty-six years, till death kindly released him, at once, from captivity and suffering. This castle is almost entire, and seems less ruined than any of the ancient ones not in possession of the crown. The dungeon where the prince was kept is shown; it lies under the outward tower, the descent by six steps, secured by two doors, one within another; the apartment about eighteen feet high and the same in diameter; of an octagon form, having an arched roof, admitting no light but through a wicket just under the covering, jutting out from the body of the tower. The extent of the castle within the walls is about twelve acres.

From hence repaired to the inn, and took carriage for Newport. After my departure learned that a daughter of the late Parson Pigot, of Marblehead, was an inhabitant of this place. Arrived at Newport at twelve, and remained an hour, rambling through the town, which, like Cowbridge, is long and straggling, and the houses of a mean appearance. On the bank of the river Uske, near the foot of the bridge on the town side, are the remains of an old castle in ruins, reduced by Cromwell to its present state, as, I am told, were all the castles in this country, where they abounded, scarce a town being without one; passed by several in sight of the road, and all in a like decaying condition. At the inn we dined, and loitered till five o'clock, waiting for the flow of the tide, and then, with a fair but faint breeze, entered the boat and loosed from the Welsh shore. In forty minutes arrived at the Gloucester side, and waited no longer than while the horses were putting to; and taking our seats, were conveyed across a pleasant, extensive country, filled with herds of black cattle and large flocks of sheep, bordered by a circular range of finely improved hills. In an hour arrived at the city end of Durdham Down, and soon alighted at our late lodgings in Queen's Square, having finished a tour of two hundred miles in seven days. From henceforth determined to consult the genius, turn, and temper of my future

companions; my late fellow-traveller's want of curiosity, etc., etc., renders him a very unfit companion, and frustrates every purpose of rambling.

Bristol, August 3. Attended worship at St. Stephen's; Dean Tucker preached. Returned home *viâ* Hot Wells.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH, DEVON.

BRISTOL, *August* 4, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

The dark aspect of affairs in America on the side of Government renders it likely that England, or some foreign country, will, for many months to come, be the residence of the wretched American fugitives. Our headquarter folks have, I learn, lowered their topsails, and talk in a less positive strain; fear and apprehensions seem to have succeeded assurance.

Of late I made a short ramble into Wales, and over many eminences, to which the hills in Devon are not to be compared; the middling and poor inhabitants are not unlike our Indians, though inferior in size; their manners as coarse and language as uncouth, differing from the English as much as their customs, many of which are peculiar. The outside of all their houses and walls is kept whitewashed, at a distance giving them a lively and pleasant look; the inside is filthy enough. The women, like our Indian squaws, carry their young slung round them, some before and some behind their backs. Cardiff, the chief town of the county, is near the bank of the river Taaffe, and in a pleasant vale of fine improvements, surrounded by high mountains, cultivated to their summits. Within two miles, and in sight, is the town of Llandaff, having a cathedral of a respectable appearance: the churches in this country, however, make but an indifferent appearance, being of diminutive size. About twelve miles from this toward the mountains, my curiosity carried me to view a most astonishing piece of architecture in a bridge, called *bont-y-pridd*, consisting of one arch, in span one hundred and forty-two feet, and rising from the

spring of the arch thirty-four, planned and executed by a common mason, who is now employed at a similar work in Radnor. This natural architect is also to execute another bridge at Swansea, over the river Tawy, the middle arch of it to rise one hundred and eight feet above the surface of the water at full sea, and of a width sufficient for a large vessel to pass through. Yours,

S. Curwen.

August 7. Attended worship at the College; Bishop Newton, well known in the learned world by his writings, confirmed about nine score persons, chiefly females, from fourteen to thirty years of age.

August 10. Attended worship at Mayor's Chapel, Baron Hotham, the *nisi prius* Judge, present, accompanied by the Mayor, in their formalities.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, DEVON.

Bristol, *August* 15, 1777.

Dear Sir:

A late rumor from the south that had exhilarated our sinking spirits, is now momently abating of its credibility, though it was told in a way and with circumstances that induced a universal belief. The report I refer to you must undoubtedly have heard. My faith in a speedy return to our native country is, as it ever has been, faint; those, on the contrary, with whom it is my fate to bear company, have cherished, and still please themselves with the fond, delusive hope that the disturbances on the western continent will subside upon the least success of the British arms, and hourly expect to hear of Gen. Burgoyne's arrival at Albany; from whence they date the end of troubles there. But supposing that to take place, I foresee a great deal to be done before the fierce spirits of the people in America will settle down into a submission to a power they dread, and have been taught to detest. Besides, I cannot help thinking France will interpose, and prevent a future connection between Great Britain and the Colonies; perhaps, not thinking it prudent to declare whilst the recovery of them remains doubtful. This you may call

a suggestion of fear, and it may be the effect of a sickly, disturbed imagination; I presume, however, I am not a singular instance. With real regard, yours, etc.

S. CURWEN.

August 19. By the ship *Lady Gage* from New York, July 15th, advices that General Heister is returning to Europe; that the troops are withdrawn from the Jerseys; that Lord Howe and General Howe are embarking, destination unknown; discouraging news for Government, and is a convincing proof I should think that an insurrection excited by an enthusiastic ardor for liberty, rightly or wrongly understood, and in such distant Provinces, is not to be easily quelled. A contemptuous idea of the weakness of the Colonies, and their inability to withstand the power of this opulent State, is the chief if not the only source of the present discouraging condition of their affairs in North America.

August 20. Advices from New York are that General Prescott was surprised and carried off at midnight from a detached house a little beyond his line, by a few daring sailors who landed on the island. This was done in revenge for General Prescott's setting a price on General Arnold's head, dead or alive, to be brought in. General Pigot succeeds the former in command. That Lord Howe and General Howe were soon to leave New York with seventeen thousand troops, destination not known, supposed northward, to act in concert with General St. Leger, who is coming down through the Mohawk country. That General Burgoyne has taken Ticonderoga, and a confirmation of the capture of the *Fox* man-of-war by the *Hancock* and *Boston* privateers. 'T is also stated that the Massachusetts people begin to be discontented, and accuse each other of folly in engaging in an opposition that seems to promise such bitter fruits. Should Great Britain be able to establish a line of communication between Canada and New York, and thereby separate the Northern Colonies from the Southern, woe to the promoters and abetters of these disputes, and good-by to Congressional authority. The Indians will naturally fall into the heaviest scale, especially when enforced by such powerful motives as

Great Britain can offer. Should that event take place, God preserve my poor country from the desolating judgments — from a merciless savage war.

August 26. Intending for a long walk, took my course for Rownham Passage, proceeding over Leighdown through a Mrs. Gordon's grounds, late Lady Trenchard, which she exchanged for a husband. This house sheltered King Charles II. after his defeat and flight from Worcester; he was in the kitchen when his pursuers entered, in the character of a scullion, and the cook-maid struck him with a ladle, calling him a careless dog, and ordering him to wind up the jack, which he obeyed, getting on a stool for the purpose. The house is a large, noble, old-fashioned structure. In the court-yard is a piece of water filled with carp. Dined at King's Weston, and returned to lodgings much fatigued. King's Weston is an estate belonging to Lord Clifford, family name Southwell. At the inn I hear that Lord and Lady Clifford had that morning set off for France, on account of the ill health of the latter, leaving a dead child in the house to be buried when convenient.

August 28. The annual Gloucestershire feast this day; the procession, headed by the Duke of Beaufort, walked from Concert Hall to the inn.

Sept. 2. Had a passing view of the half-yearly fair held in St. James's Churchyard. Saw exposed in huts, sheds, etc., along the street called Horse-Fair, cloths, linen, hose, and every article in the grocery and bauble way; besides the buyers, there were numerous flocks of such characters as compose our Cambridge Common gentry on Commencement Days, and for the like purposes, festivity and fuddling.

Sept. 3. Evening at Judge Sewall's, who introduced me toDean Tucker, a famous political divine and anti-colonist, who judges them a burden to Great Britain, and presses Administration to cast them off.

Sept. 6. Had an hour's conversation with a stranger on 'Change; a rare event, people in England being greatly indisposed to join with unknown persons. The Bristolians are, however, remarkable for early inquiries into the character of all strangers, from commercial motives, and soon fasten

on all worth making a property of, if practicable; all others, of how great estimation soever, are, in general, neglected. This city is remarkable for sharp dealings; there runs a proverb, "*one Jew is equal to two Genoese, one Bristolian to two Jews.*"

Sept. 7. At the college, the cathedral so called, Dr. Stonehouse preached; he was a practitioner of medicine, and has now turned his attention to spiritual maladies. His discourse serious and sensible, and his delivery with becoming energy, very unlike the insipid coldness prevalent among the preferment-seeking, amusement-hunting, "macaroni parsons," who, to the shame and dishonor of this age and nation, constitute the bulk of those of the established clergy that possess valuable livings.

In the afternoon, walked to a street adjoining King's Square to attend John Wesley's preachment; he being seated on a decent scaffold, addressed about two thousand people, consisting of the middle and lower ranks. The preacher's language was plain and intelligible, without descending to vulgarisms.

Sept. 14. In the afternoon I attended once more John Wesley, having the heavens for his canopy; he began with an extempore prayer, followed by a hymn of his own composing, and adapted to the subject of his discourse. He wears his own gray hair, or a wig so very like that my eye could not distinguish. He is not a graceful speaker, his voice being weak and harsh; he is attended by great numbers of the middling and lower classes; is said to have humanized the almost savage colliers of Kingswood, who, before his time, were almost as fierce and unmanageable as the wild beasts of the wilderness. He wears an Oxford master's gown; his attention seemingly not directed to manner and behavior, — not rude, but negligent, dress cleanly, not neat. He is always visiting the numerous societies of his own forming in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; though near eighty years old, he reads without spectacles the smallest print. He rises at four, preaches every day at five, and once besides; an uncommon instance of physical ability.

Sept. 26. It is reported that General Howe is gone to Boston, and if he makes a successful landing, and is powerful enough to penetrate into the country, wo betide my poor native land. A few days will undeceive us with regard to the object of Gen. Howe's expedition.

Sept. 29. Mr. Timmins and Judge Sewall visited me. Evening at Mr. Barnes's, where took tea with thirteen Americans. The Temple Church is so denominated from its having belonged to the Knights Templars, which powerful and dangerous body of men was dissolved about A D. 1270.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

BRISTOL, *October* 6, 1777.

DEAR SIR:

It is my intention to pass a fortnight with you, and could wish, if convenient, to meet you at Exeter. I long expected the pleasure of seeing you here, but now despair of it, having seen Mr. John Waldo, who informs me you have laid aside all thoughts of a journey northward. The number of our country folks here is eighteen, viz.: Mr. Boutineau and lady, Mr. Benjamin Faneuil and lady, Judge Sewall and lady, Mr. Barnes and lady and niece, Mr. Fenton and daughter and son, Mr. Fr. Waldo, Mr. Timmins, Colonel Hatch's two daughters at school, and myself.

Gov. Hutchinson, in a letter to Judge Sewall, writes that the news respecting the defeat of the Americans at Saratoga is corroborated by other circumstances concurring to establish the credibility of the Lieutenant's letter; the remainder of the story stands on its own bottom, or in other words is doubtful; it is, however, believed by some that two hundred of the Royal Army fell in the attack, and of the Americans fifteen hundred are killed, wounded, and prisoners, with artillery and stores. He also writes that he has it from high authority, that Lord George Germaine believes Lord Howe gone to Chesapeake Bay, but the King to the northward; my belief is that this is a stroke of Court policy, to keep down discontent in the minds of people who begin to grow impatient.

Your real friend,

S. CURWEN.

Oct. 4. Before the *Lexington* privateer was taken, she had burnt, sunk, and destroyed fifty-two British vessels, on the coast of Great Britain and Ireland, as appears by her log-book, as well as by papers and letters found on board.

Oct. 21. Rose at six o'clock, and went a coursing with two grayhounds and a spaniel for hares. Started one, and left her in a turnip-field; returned about two o'clock, not greatly fatigued, after a ramble of fifteen miles over hedge fences, ditches, etc.

Oct. 28. Had a sight of the Pennsylvania test, which manifests a confidence in their ability to support their lately acquired authority. It is a triumph to a few; misery to many, I fear.

Oct. 31. Departed at four o'clock from Bristol, in the diligence, with two other passengers, brothers; the one a parson of cheerful humor, and of the learned tribe; the other, late from the East Indies with a few thousand pounds, which he was early retiring to enjoy whilst he had a relish for the pleasures of sense. Breakfasted at White Heart Cross, dined at Bridgewater, and at half past eight alighted at Exeter, eighty-two miles, in sixteen hours.

Exeter, November 1. Departed on horseback, attended by a servant with my portmanteau, and in three hours alighted at my friend Isaac Smith's lodgings at Sidmouth.

Sidmouth, Nov. 7. Rode to Beer, a fishing town, containing perhaps a hundred houses, mud walls, and thatched roofs; the inhabitants in looks and dress resembling Marblehead folks. Stopped on our return at a farm called Baldash; met here Mr. Cornish, dissenting minister of Collyton, who is a cordial advocate for America and its independence; he is for retiring to woods and caves to avoid religious persecution.

Nov. 10. Started on horseback for Axminster, through Kilmington; from an eminence on the road is a delightful prospect of the vale through which the Axe flows in a serpentine direction, under fine improvement, bordered by hills of a moderate height; pastures and fields to the summit, from which saw Seaton at the mouth of the river, supposed to have been a Roman port, no trace of which remains. In

this road lies a stately old house, called Ashe, wherein John Churchill, the great Duke of Marlborough, was born; a village of no account called Musbury, and at the extremity Axminster, where we dined at the Green Dragon, and were introduced to the carpet manufactory, named from the town; invented and still carried on by an ingenious and obliging person of the dissenting profession. Here is also wrought, besides his own, of a peculiar construction, Turkey carpet, so very like in figure, color, and thickness, as not to be distinguished from the genuine article. They are wrought in perpendicular looms, by females, whose fingers move with a velocity beyond the power of the eye to follow. The shute, consisting of as many colors as the shades of the figures, is placed aloft on a bar, through rings running thereon, each ring passing a distinct color through. There was making a beautiful one of thirty-six feet square, (amounting to ninety-six pounds,) for the Countess of Salisbury. The knowledge of this manufacture he obtained thus: an old ragged fellow, in military garb, called and said he had wrought all over Europe in the Turkey carpet way; he was engaged immediately, and complete success has resulted, not only in this kind but also in the Wilton and Axminster.

We passed a dirty road in the dark, and alighted at Thorncombe. The late vicar was father of Commodore Samuel Hood, who lately commanded a squadron at Boston. Supped and passed the night here, next morning left early; at eleven o'clock arrived at Lyme Regis, lying in south channel in an exposed situation: it is a place of little trade, supplying the neighborhood with coals imported here from the north. It is also a watering-place, being accommodated with a few bathing-machines, a terrace facing the beach, and near adjoining for walking; a long room for tea and cards, of southern aspect, and a neat assembly-room. About twelve hundred inhabitants, (chiefly Dissenters,) and about two hundred houses. Here is now standing, the George Inn, wherein the Duke of Monmouth first slept on his invasion. For the security of vessels coming in here, there is a circular pier of several hundred running feet, built by the ever-famous Sir

John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, and from him denominated the Cob. The next stage, Culliford, at Mr. John Carsluck's seat of Wishcombe, where we were kindly entertained and lodged. This place is called from its situation; "wish," in Devonshire dialect means *weary*, and "combe" *vale*, — which well describes it.

Nov. 12. At meridian took leave and departed through the country to Slade, seat of Mr. Lee, one of Mr. Smith's parishioners; called and notified him of our intention to dine, and passed forward to Brunscombe, consisting of five clusters of small huts of mud walls and thatched roofs. This parish, formerly an estate of the Brunscombe family, was given to a monastery at Caen, in Normandy, and remained appended to it till the downfall of popery in England. Dined and took tea with Mr. Lee, and resuming our saddles, took leave, and crossing Salcombe hills, alighted at our lodgings, after a circuitous ramble of forty-seven miles in four days; the roads for the greater part more dirty, stony, and disagreeable than are generally to be passed in our own country.

Sidmouth, Nov. 17. Took an airing over Peak hill, — evening in a large company at Mr. William Carsluck's; Coddington house his seat; took tea and a generous and elegant supper.

Nov. 18. Rode out, passing a farm called Thorn, from a thorn-bush or tree standing on a road near by, said to be more than three hundred years old.

Nov. 19. Rode to St. Mary, Ottery, about eight miles out; it is a parish, a hundred, and a manor; the lords, Sir George Young and Sir John Duntze. It is situated in a vale, the river Otter running through the midst, from which the town takes its name. The centre is modern, built of brick, covered with pantile, a fire some years ago having destroyed the old buildings; it has a market, an Episcopal church in the cathedral style of building, by tradition erected in 1060, a few years before the Norman invasion; it has a look of antiquity, and is marked with decay within and without.

Nov. 20. At ten o'clock departed from Ottery, and

at one alighted in Exeter at my intended lodgings in Fore-street.

Exeter, Nov. 22. Walked abroad, had a conversation with young Reed, just returned from Salem, having been carried in there in a prize; from whom I learnt there was no business scarcely but privateering, which he represents as surprisingly successful.

By the papers, I learn the King in his speech takes notice of "*the obstinacy of his rebellious subjects in America*," and promises himself "*all needful assistance from his faithful Commons*" It will be well if additional supplies, and an increase of foreign troops, do not prove a source of intolerable evil. Would to God an expedient could be devised to terminate this unnatural quarrel, consistent with the honor of both parties; but this I fear is a vain wish. The Dutch, from a sordid thirst of gain; the French, from their dread of the rising power of Great Britain, united with the Colonies; and Spain, from an attachment to the Court of Versailles, are too deeply concerned to permit a re-union. Lord Chatham, on motion for an address in the King's speech, says, "Without an immediate restoration of tranquillity, this nation is ruined and undone. What has been the conduct of ministers? Have they endeavored to conciliate the affection and obedience of their ancient brethren? They have gone to Germany, sought the alliance of every pitiful, paltry prince, to cut the throats of their loyal, brave, and injured brethren in America. They have entered into mercenary treaties with those human butchers for the purchase and sale of human blood. But, my Lords, this is not all; they have let the savages of America loose upon their innocent and unoffending brethren, upon the aged, weak, and defenceless; on old men, women, and children; upon babes at the breast, to be cut, mangled, sacrificed, burnt, roasted; nay, to be eaten. These are the allies Great Britain now has; carnage, desolation and destruction, wherever her arms are carried, is her new adopted mode of making war. Our ministers have made alliances at German shambles, and with the barbarians of

America, with merciless torturers of their species. Whom they will next apply to, I cannot tell." Such is Lord Chatham's fire, such his oratory, such his indignation against ministerial measures.

Dec. 14. This day General Burgoyne's mortifying capitulation arrived in town. Nothing could be more disgraceful and humiliating, unless a submission to the victor's power without terms. The loss of the military chest, estimated at seventy-five thousand pounds; the finest train of artillery ever sent out of this kingdom before; all the boasted acquisitions of the year's campaign gone at a blow, and Canada on the point of joining the grand American alliance.

In the House of Commons, on the 12th inst., after Lord Barrington's report of army estimates, Col. Barré rose and called on Lord George Germaine to inform the house whether the report of the surrender of General Burgoyne with his army and artillery was true or false; which Lord George did in a short narrative, and said intelligence had been received of the capture by the way of Quebec, which struck the House with astonishment; and after a short pause Col. Barré rose, and with an averted look, said: "Great God! who can refrain from rage and indignation when the planner of so much misery relates with the utmost composure, the horrid tale of a British army destroyed? We all know the General's bravery and skill; he did not surrender whilst there was a possibility of defence; but while justice demands a just eulogium, what must we say of the man who reduced so gallant an officer to so sad an alternative without the smallest advantage to his country?"

Dec. 18. From a correspondent at the west of the town, I learn that the language about the Court is nowise lowered by the last news from America; "*delenda est Carthago.*" The old politicians, neither biassed by hatred to Americans, nor interested in the destruction of the Colonies, shake their heads at this language.

Dec. 25, *Christmas.* Service at Cathedral. No shops opened entirely, nor business publicly or generally carried on: — though the day is otherwise negligently enough ob-

served, nor indeed can more be expected, considering the low ebb of religion here.

Soon after the surrender of Burgoyne was announced by Lord George Germaine in Parliament, an adjournment took place till after the holidays, whereupon Sir George Young, Mr. Baring, the Exeter member, and Mr. Barré, hurried down, and it was suspected that this foreboded a new Parliament, a new ministry, new measures, and that the most active opposition is coming into play; a few days will undeceive the public, however. On confirmation of the American news, Manchester offered to raise a thousand men at their own expense, to be ready for service in America in two months, and was followed soon after by Liverpool. It is said there are to be proposals for raising two thousand men out of each parish through the kingdom; that the American Secretary will resign, and Lord Hillsborough succeed him.

Dec. 31. The lenity shown to General Burgoyne and his army is allowed on all hands to do more honor to America, than the laurels, reaped by the Howes, can bring to this distracted country. God knows what is for the best, but I fear our perpetual banishment from America is written in the book of fate; nothing but the hopes of once more revisiting my native soil, enjoying my old friends within my own little domain, has hitherto supported my drooping courage; but that prop taken away leaves me in a condition too distressing to think of; however, amidst the increasing evils of old age I have this consolation, that, mortifying as my lot is, severe as my sufferings may be, their continuance cannot be lasting.

Accompanied by Mr. Smith, drank tea with Mr. Towgood, and they passed the evening and supped with me; and thus ends the old year. Mr. Pope observes:

> "With added years, if life bring nothing new,
> But like a sieve let every blessing through,
> Some joys still lost, as each vain year runs o'er,
> And all we gain some sad reflection more;
> Is that a birthday? 't is, alas! too clear,
> 'T is but the funeral of the former year."

CHAPTER VIII.

A. D. 1778. Letter on American Affairs. Enumeration of Troops to be sent to America. Lord Abington's Motion. Passage from Dr. Robertson. Ceremony of Installing a Bishop. Writers in the Spectator. Amount of Captures by American Privateers. Rev. Sir Henry Trelawney. Political Letters. Report of a Treaty between France and the United States. War between England and France.

TO DR. DAUBENY, LONDON.

EXETER, *Jan.* 3, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

By my friend Col. Browne's letter, received yesterday, I am informed of Col. Frye's arrival at Halifax, and of your quitting Salem and arrival in London. Pray inform me whether his and your departure from your settled abode arose from the requirements of the new established governments; if there be any in our province of sufficient authority to restrain the lower classes from their insolence and outrageous behavior, who, when the bands of society are unhappily loosened and the laws are forced into silence, do not neglect to avail themselves of those times to run riot against peace, order and security, the most valuable blessings of social civil life; — whether there be any civil government established in our province — what it is — who the administrators — who are our Salem magistrates — its condition with respect to order, trade, religion — the state of our society and the situation of our friends? I could fill a sheet with questions, but, loth to tax your good nature too heavily, forbear. With congratulations on your safe arrival in a land of plenty, and freedom from persecution, either on the score of religion or politics, I remain your friend,

S. CURWEN.

Jan. 6. Evening at Mr. N.'s, with Mrs. N. and Mrs. Tremlet, sisters, of excellent understanding, great reading and refined taste.

Jan. 12. Bishop Ross installed arch-deacon in the chapter house, as on Saturday he was prebend, and on the following days this week is to be successively canon, treasurer, and bishop; each ceremony being ushered, accompanied, or announced by tolling the great bell, and afterwards the chimes play. On the demise of a bishop, the King in effect chooses under the fallacious compliment of recommendation to the chapter, consisting of dean, prebends, canons, etc., with a *congé d'elire*, or liberty to choose for that purpose; the choice falls of course on the person recommended, and is so understood. He is then presented, kisses the King's hand on his preferment, and is installed by proxy in the distant see. He is personally enthroned when his new lordship pleases; how long it may be before we are to be favored with his personal presence, it is not said.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

EXETER, *Jan.* 17, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

The account of Gen. Burgoyne's surrender is confirmed, and what think you of the Congress now? Of American independence? Of laying the Colonies at the ministers' feet? Of Lord S.'s boast of passing through the continent from one end to the other with five thousand British troops; and with a handful of men keeping that extensive continent in subjection? Of the invincibility of the said troops? Of the raw, undisciplined, beggarly rabble of the northern colonies? Of the humiliating surrender of a British General, five thousand troops, seven thousand small arms, and thirty-six pieces of brass artillery, to the aforesaid rabble? What think you of the pompous proclamation of the said General? Of the figure he is now making in the streets of Boston, compared to his late parading there, accompanied by his vainly fancied invincible cohorts, now, alas! rendered as harmless and inoffensive animals as you and I? Of the condition General

Howe is now or soon may be in, should the combined army of Washington and Gates, numerous as it may be, perhaps exceeding his own in the proportion of two to one, elated with success, inflamed with an enthusiastic ardor, invest Philadelphia, defended by an army almost worn out by incessant labor, having, as the papers say, the shovel and firelock always in their hands, and greatly weakened by losses? What think you of the twenty thousand men voted in Parliament a few days since, in addition to the army now in America? Where are they to be raised? Is not Russia on the verge of a war with the Turks? Have not the two great potentates of Germany refused to suffer their country to be further drained of its inhabitants? Is not Denmark too feeble, thinly peopled, and jealous of its potent neighbors, to furnish men? Have we any alliance with Sweden? Is not Holland in the same predicament with the former, and does not its commercial system forbid lending us aid? Is not Portugal too poor, dependent, and unable if disposed? Is not Spain unwilling and unable, and too much inclined to follow French politics? Nay, does not the impolicy of hiring troops from her, if willing and able, appear too glaring even in the most desperate case? And is not France too insidious and insincere, too much interested both in regard to politics and commerce, to apply to her for assistance; nay, would it not be too dangerous, considering her former state and connections there? Have not the Switzers too strong a sense of liberty themselves to engage against a cause wherein civil liberty is pretended to be invaded?

Pray what resources, then, has Great Britain, without allies able or willing to afford the needed help? Can her own country furnish the requisite numbers? Can the manufacturers spare, without essential injury to its commerce, a supply from thence? Does she abound in laborers? Are there not, rather, complaints that men of the lower classes are wanting? Have not the recruiting parties found great difficulty in raising men? And is it not well known that business goes on slowly and heavily at this day? Would not an Act of Parliament to press men for the American service,

(and without it, it cannot be done,) raise disturbances and insurrections think you? Would not raising new regiments from among the Catholics of Ireland disaffect the bulk of the nation? In this sad dilemma, which way can Administration turn to extricate themselves? How can they escape out of this labyrinth wherein they are intricated? What measures can be adopted consistent with the honor and dignity of this late mighty empire — alas, how fallen! — that gave law but a few years ago to two of the most powerful, politic, and wealthy States in Europe, and thereby peace to almost all the world? Common sense and prudence, in the case of a private person, suggests, that when convinced his measures of conduct are inadequate and incompetent to answer his wishes and designs, to retrace his mistaken steps, pursue other measures, and undo what has been done wrong; for it most surely is less dishonorable to correct errors than pertinaciously continue in a track confessedly wrong and fatal. Does not the American Secretary, Lord George Germaine, seem to be of this mind, when he announced General Burgoyne's surrender in the House, declaring, at the same time, the impracticability of carrying on this war any longer? Has this an appearance of a pacific intention, or does it seem designed, as has been suggested, to lull the opposition? (which, however, I don't consider but as the effect of party misrepresentation; for you know party views everything in false lights.) Think you this an individual opinion, uncommunicated to his brethren in administration, and unknown in the privy council, delivered without their privity, connivance or consent? Is it probable he will long hold a post in which he must take so active a part as his duty requires, in promoting measures, in his judgment ineffectual, and which cannot long be supported? If a difference in the higher departments begins,and a derangement in Administration should ta ke place, where will it end? I shall tremble for the consequences at this period, as it will weaken Government when most it stands in need of support from a general concurrence. Did not Lord North seem to yield to the idea of conciliatory measures? The designs of a court are deep and hidden; who,

by searching, can find them out, till Time, the great revealer of secret things, exposes to view the wisdom or folly, the policy or impolicy of cabinet councils? The language of the Court, the papers say, is, as it ever has been, "*delenda est Carthago*"; if this be not slander, woe betide my poor country. I confess I feel too strongly the *amor patriæ* not to wish it may be slander; its enemies will never, I hope, exult over its ruins; but its inhabitants be timely brought to a just sense and sight of their real interest and security, which in my view consists only in a close connection with this country.

Vigorous measures are talked of there; but in Parliament the language held by the ministers seems mild, leaning toward an adjustment of matters otherwise than by the *ultima ratio regum;* the out-door talk is just the reverse; unhappy the state of society and government that renders such conduct in any regard expedient. Should Government seriously wish and intend to settle this quarrel amicably, what can be the first step? The present situation of Administration puts me in mind of a story relative to Sir Christopher Wren, who went yearly to visit King's College Chapel, Cambridge, remarkable for its roof; on being asked whether he could construct such another, replied, "Tell me where to place the first stone, and I will engage to execute it." Are not our state architects as much perplexed and embarrassed where to lay the first foundation-stone whereon to erect a temple to peace and concord? Could they ever devise a plan of accommodation dictated by wisdom itself short of American independence? Would the United States condescend to enter into a treaty with this kingdom after so many proofs of their ability to defeat their designs and resist their most vigorous efforts, and from whom they have received so many supposed indignities, severities, and oppressions? I quit my theme and lay down my pen to read the news just brought in; but before I record it, let me premise that not a syllable of it finds credit with me; it is as follows: "General Vaughan who burnt Esopus and made such cruel havoc up Hudson River, is defeated by General Putnam; he and his army prisoners; that the former has got between General Clinton

and New York with a separate army; that General Washington had forced General Howe's lines, destroyed and taken seven thousand men." Should this, or half of it be true, I warrant (without gift of prophecy) the game is up. I forgot to add, Arnold is not killed, only wounded in the leg, and with General Green gone forward to Quebec; the American works on the Delaware not yet forced, so that the two brothers Howe can as yet have communication together till that event takes place. General Howe's situation must be very disagreeable, not to say dangerous. I will add a few lines to fill the sheet. Newspapers are crowded with articles of the offers of towns and counties to enable his Majesty's Government to carry on the war against America, which by some means is now become to be considered as less a ministerial affair than some time ago; should the proposed numbers, however, be taken out of the manufactories, I dare engage trade will sensibly feel it. Would to God, that moderate and just views of the real interests of both countries might possess the minds of those who direct the public measures here and there. That peace may again take place, and trade and agriculture and commerce be established on a lasting basis, is the most ardent wish of your friend,

S. Curwen.

Jan. 26. I am told the officers lately arrived from America, generally declare the conquest of it is a vain expectation, even with a very great additional force. Notwithstanding this, the ardor of the nation for subduing what is called the "*American Rebellion*," seems to spread like a flame from north to south; the new troops talked of, as proposed to be raised immediately, are as follows: Battalion of Highlanders under Lord M'Leod, 1000; Manchester Volunteers, 1000; Duke of Argyle's Highlanders, 2000; Duke of Athol's Highlanders, 1000; Colonel Gordon's do., 1000; Duke of Hamilton's Regiment of Arran, 1000; Colonel Dalrymple's Loyal Lowlanders, 1000; Midland Highlanders, 1000; Sutherland's and Mackay's Highlanders, 1000; Earl of Seaforth's Highlanders, 1000; Dutch brigades to be augmented,

5000; Irish Roman Catholics, 5000; ten English battalions, 10,000: — 31,000.

Lord Abington's motion to be considered in Parliament, against the constitutionality of persons, corporations, towns, cities, or counties to raise men, and arm and equip them; and if he defends his position, it will put a stop to the loyalty of Manchester, Liverpool, Norfolk County, and some Scotch lords, who have made offers of money and men for carrying on the American war. Lord Abington's motion was for summoning the judges to attend the house, that their opinions on this matter may be known; he considered it not only repugnant to the principles of the Constitution, but expressly against the letter of the law. The attempt to raise men in Warwickshire and Norfolk has failed, from the opposition of the gentry and others.

Dr. Robertson, in his history of Scotland, says: "When men have been accustomed to break through the common boundaries of subjects, and their minds are influenced with the passions which civil war inspires, it is mere pedantry and ignorance to measure their conduct by those rules which can be applied only when Government is in a state of order and tranquillity. A nation, when obliged to employ such extraordinary efforts in defence of its liberties, avails itself of every thing to promote its great end, and the necessity of the case and importance of the object justify a departure from the common and established forms of the Constitution." This is precisely what a sensible American, whose mind is strongly impressed with the right of resistance to the authority and arms of the mother-country, would offer in defence of the many hardships and violences imposed on his fellow-countrymen at the present momentous crisis.

Jan. 30. This being in Church of England language, "*King Charles's martyrdom*," it is farcically observed as a fast day; churches open and service suitable to the solemn occasion read. To complete the absurdity here, the pulpit of the cathedral was covered with black cloth; the tipstaves, sword and mace, carried before the mayor in the same grim garb.

TO WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ., LONDON.

EXETER, *Jan.* 30, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

General Burgoyne's defeat will, I think, prove a prelude to a succession of fatal events. The rapid increase of military skill and courage that enthusiasm produces, and the great numbers of European commanders and engineers of experience now incorporated amongst the Americans, are considerations that extinguish my expectation of the success of the following campaign, even should Great Britain send over in season the number of troops ordered by Parliament, (and which do not amount to what all who have lately arrived from America agree to be necessary to insure success, or rather, in any good degree, render it probable.) May those evils my gloomy mind forebodes, exist only in imagination; but I must confess I see, perhaps through a false vista, the expedition already ended in the disgrace of this powerful and wealthy kingdom, and in the ruin of that once singularly happy, but now, alas! deluded, wretched America; for, disconnected from this country, wretched it must necessarily be, if anarchy and the most grievous oppressions and taxes can make a people so. How weak, inconsistent, and dangerous is human conduct, when guided by lawless ambition, or any false or wrong motives! Into what dreadful evils are communities often plunged by hearkening to the declamations of pretended patriots, of crafty, selfish, unprincipled demagogues of this and many other countries, history furnishes us a present mortifying proof and example.

You may console yourself in the late disgrace of the British arms, with the hope that it may revive the ardor and bravery hitherto so peculiarly characteristic of British troops, but similar causes do not always produce similar effects. At the time you refer to, Rome was in the meridian of her glory, war the profession of her citizens; her inhabitants, through all her ranks, were at that period actuated by the *amor patriæ*, a principle publicly derided in this age. Do not think me a cynic, when I say, I fear this nation has sunk into too selfish, degenerate, luxurious a sloth, to rise into such manly,

noble exertions as her critical situation seems to demand: for which this people have in times past been famed, as the disaster you mention formerly produced among the Romans, and as heretofore within my own memory, has been the case with this very people. But the breast of every Roman was warmed with the *amor patriæ* at that period, and with this principle he could brave dangers, and even death, to bring honor to his country. When riches poured in upon them from all quarters of the world, when manners degenerated, and selfish regards succeeded to the love of country; when luxurious tables and effeminacy among the higher ranks took the place of frugal meals, and manly fortitude, with the sense of honor sunk into venality and court dependence, they then became abject, desponding, cowardly, and were exposed to every invader, and instead of bravely defending, abandoned even their lands and wealth to be possessed by their courageous army; and such will always be the condition of every people in similar periods of its state. But away with politics.

You ask when I intend to come to London. To take a long, expensive journey that road, I have not at present in contemplation. Abstract Col. Browne, and a few acquaintances, and London, in the present state of my finances, has not charms strong enough to attract me thither. With no relish for the amusements and dissipations of that unavoidably chargeable residence, I should ill exchange my frugal and comfortable board, in a decent family, at eight shillings, for twenty, and a long train of *et ceteras*, amounting to thirty-five more under strictest economy. It would add much to my enjoyment, to have the company of my friend, Col. Browne, with or without a friend or two; but to encourage his taking so long and tedious a journey, I dare not, having nothing to offer him by way of equivalent for his trouble, ignorant as I am of his taste and views of living: however, should a plan of frugality, inclination to ramble, or curiosity, push you out of the metropolis, as the season grows milder, and chance or design direct your steps to this plentiful and cheap quarter, take the following short imperfect sketch.

Exeter, for its numbers, is somewhat less than Boston; in

buildings as unlike as the wrinkled age of fourscore differs from the healthy, florid complexion of thirty. To your or any eye familiar to modern structures, this place will appear as uncouth as a female tricked out in a ruff and fardingale, or in the Court dress of old Queen Bess. I am led to this comparison, from having often heard that the houses, especially in Fore-street, are of her age, and indeed they no more resemble the modern than the dress of that day does the present. The streets are narrow, ill-paved, and (I wonder why not to a proverb) dirty. There is a row of buildings in the form of the Crescent at Bath, in the so-called modern style; but it is crowded in a corner, out of sight, built on land belonging to the Duke of Bedford, and goes by the name of his title, on the site of a late noble palace, wherein Henrietta, the youngest daughter of Charles I., was born during his troubles. Within the walls are three walks for taking the air; on the north, a circular one, lying back of the castle, encompassed with trees, through which, on the outer side, over a vale filled with houses and improved fields, are cut vistas; much frequented here is also the church-yard, or the inclosure within walls and gates; round St. Peter's, the cathedral, another hard gravel-walk called the Friars, commanding a fine field view, besides many others without the city. And for in-door amusements, a theatre, concerts, a coffee-house, called Moll's, and a hotel, both in the church-yard, where the London papers are brought four days in the week.

Having filled my sheet, I conclude abruptly, like Hudibras breaking off in the middle.

Very sincerely yours,

S. Curwen.

Feb. 3. This was the day appointed for the enthronization or installation of Bishop Ross in the Episcopal seat. The ceremony was performed by Archdeacon Hull, of Barnstable, the proxy, and one of the canons of St. Peter's. The chapter, consisting of the dean, canons, prebendaries, &c., &c., a set of well-fed priests, all of the largest dimensions, (except the first, who was in London,) walked in procession

to the cathedral, preceded by the officers properly habited, and whose coming was announced by the sound of the great bell. Having arrived into the church, the chapter proceeded to the throne, where they all sat down; after being seated a short space, the proxy arose, and advancing to the front, read an oration in praise of the late bishop; concluding with an encomium on the present one, in which he declared he took *real, actual, and corporal* possession of the Episcopal chair; these words being the same he used, and I fancy an essential part of the form. The seat, or throne, as it is called, is of a singular construction, and the most magnificent of any; it is a square of sixteen feet, lined with crimson silk, the cushions velvet of the same color, edged with a broad gold fringe; the canopy thirty feet high, supported by four wrought posts, carved up to the ceiling in Gothic open work, decreasing till it ends in pinnacles; opposite stands the pulpit; both at the upper end of the choir.

Henry Grove, a Dissenting minister of Taunton, well known by his writings among those of the same profession, wrote Nos. 588, 601, 626, and 635, in the 8th volume of the "Spectator"; and Mr. Parr, lately deceased in this city of Exeter, in his eighty-eighth year, wrote those signed "A. B." in the 6th and 7th volumes, and some others, the signature of which his son, Surgeon Parr, told me he had forgotten.

Feb. 10. Received a letter from William Cabot, London, informing me that by a letter from Nathan Goodale, Salem, all friends are well.

Feb. 14. Received a friendly letter from Mr. Timmins. His wife at Boston, seeing no end to the disturbances, is going to pluck up stakes, and remove with flocks, herds, and children.

Lord Camden said the other day in the House of Peers, on the Duke of Richmond's motion to consider the state of the nation, with liberty to refer to such papers as were before them, "The origin of the mistake of our ministers in commencing the American war was this: they ignorantly supposed the Americans to be cowards, and foolishly imagined the French to be idiots."

Mr. Woodbridge's answer to the Duke of Richmond (on the 9th inst.) was, that by Lloyd's Coffee-House books, the number of British vessels taken from May, 1776, to the present time, by American privateers, was seven hundred and thirty-three, containing upwards of thirteen thousand men. That the aggregate value of the ships and cargoes, after deducting one hundred and seventy-four retaken and restored, amounted to £4,823,000 sterling. The number of American privateers one hundred and seventy-three. That American products had greatly advanced in price; tobacco from sevenpence to two-and-tenpence, — pitch, from eight shillings to thirty-six; tar, turpentine, oil, and pig-iron, in the same proportion.

Feb. 15. At the George Dissenting meeting-house, Sir Henry Trelawney, of fifteen hundred a year, an Oxford-bred scholar, preached from "*O, worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.*" Taking a religious turn, he had fallen into Methodism, and set out a flaming preacher of their notions, to Episcopal orders superadding Dissenting admonition of the lowest kind. He has charge of a small flock in the neighborhood of his own estate; his natural good sense has cooled his first heat, and he now addresses with fervor, but candor and affection, a crowded assembly. Just as he entered, before service began, an elderly lady in the pew adjoining to the one I sat in, sunk down in a fainting fit, and breathed her last without a groan or struggle.

TO WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ., LONDON.

EXETER, *Feb.* 17, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I would fain persuade myself my good friend does not entertain unfavorable sentiments of the rectitude of my principles, whatever doubts he may have of the justness of my opinion respecting the appearance of things at this juncture, and the probable issue of this destructive quarrel between Great Britain and the colonies. I presume it needs no proof to convince him of my leaving America under a strong conviction of the almost physical impossibility of her waging a

successful war with this powerful state, and therefore of the unjustifiableness, imprudence, impolicy, and even madness of the undertaking. Nothing short of such a state of mind could absolve me from the imputation of the extremest folly to abandon my country, friends, and estate, and all my hopes in this world, at my time of life, with but little money, few connections here, and no expectations.

* * * * * * * * * *

The pernicious system of politics adopted by France, ever since she raised her views to universal empire under Louis XIV., has justly brought on her the detested character of unfaithful, false, crafty, and perfidious; so that French faith now, like Punic of old, you are sensible, goes current in Europe for the four preceding characters; nor has the late behavior of the Court of Versailles failed to verify the disgraceful imputation: even at the very time the ministers of France, upon some spirited remonstrances from our Court, were pouring forth a profusion of seemingly fair promises and specious declarations of amity into the lap of Lord Stormont, ordering a few vessels with, and a few without cargoes, to be restored to their right owners, and even shutting up their ports, on paper, against American privateers; even at that very time, they were not only conniving at, but carrying on a contraband trade to the revolted colonies. In the port of Nantz there lay, ready to sail for America, three or four large ships, laden with all kinds of merchandise, cannon, and artillery stores, and waiting for a fair wind. Is it not a well-known fact that the most successful depredations on the trade of this island, that have ever taken place in Europe or the West Indies, are now making on the latter by French pirates, under congressional colors, and that prizes are daily selling at open market, and all pretences to reclaim denied; now and then, indeed, to save appearances, in imitation of ministers on this side the water, a few feeble, unregarded prohibitions are issued, but none executed to effect.

Spain, whose political and commercial interests so naturally ally it to England, that it is even a proverb, "*Paz con*

Inglaterra y guerra con todo el mundo,"[1] celebrated from time immemorial for honor, true magnanimity, and fidelity to its promises, has ever since the Bourbon idiot that now fills its throne, . . . and ever since the days of his pusillanimous father, adopted French manners, frivolity, levity, dress, politics, and faith, to the expulsion of true Castilian gravity, dress, honor, and regard to the real interest of the country. Witness the shuffling and chicanery of the Court of Madrid just before the ill-judged declaration of the last war; review the authentic accounts of the friendly reception of the American and French privateers, and the open trade of the colonies at Bilboa, Cadiz, and all the ports of Spain during these troubles, though royal orders, edicts, and mandates, tagged with an "*Y el Rey*," have been successively transmitted down to the seaports. So well are the Court purposes understood, that within four weeks, two or three English prizes were publicly sold in one of the southern ports, in open day, and the privateers, refreshed and furnished with all needed stores and unmolested, suffered to depart, laden with the substance and property of the subjects of England. King Solomon says, "Where the word of a king is, there is power"; this he said from his own experience. Who in his wits can believe that the Spaniards, or that abject Turkey-race of pirates inhabiting on the opposite shore, durst have acted thus in defiance of their sovereign, if they had not well known the artful distinction between his secret and revealed will? With regard to the article of Nantz and a Spanish port, they are facts that stand, for aught I know, on the same footing of credibility with the other articles of foreign intelligence that pass uncontradicted; and if these be facts, and facts are of a stubborn nature, and bend not to our wishes, but carry conviction, what must we not infer, loth as we may be? The natural inference is, that both these two Courts do invariably adhere to the line of conduct marked out by them from the commencement of this trouble, to distress the Government as much as it is in their power, and to steal away our trade. The officers that throughout the win-

[1] "Peace with England, if war with the rest of the world."

ter arrived at the western ports, passing through this city in their journey to London, have one and all declared, as some reports are, that thirty thousand men, at least, in addition to those already in America, are necessary to effectuate the reduction of the continent. Probably these persons speak the sentiments of the army; there is not, that I know, reason to think them disaffected to the service, nor partial to America. The foregoing convictions are the grounds of my fears, apprehensions, and as you ask me whence I fetch my facts, my reply is, from the common spring-head of popular intelligence. My practice is not to hunt after newspapers, as I seldom go to the coffee-houses; but when they fall by accident into my hands, I indiscriminately read all, from the "Court Gazette," published by authority, to the "Sherburne Mercury." The public papers, I well know, are justly stigmatized vehicles of falsehood and sedition: I rarely attend to political essays or remarks, scarce ever give them even a cursory glance; articles of foreign intelligence I credit as far as they are free from self-evident inconsistencies, in respect of time and other circumstances. As to country, my principal view in the choice has ever been the instructive and entertaining; nor am I unhappy in my few acquaintances here; my chief companion is a philosopher of my old friend the Rev. Mr. Gilchrist's stamp, and too deeply engaged in moral and philosophical researches to trouble one with politics, for that is rarely a topic of conversation.

My friend, in reading this tedious letter, will see the high value set upon his good opinion, and trust his candor will make due allowance for our difference in small matters, while in essentials we keep "the *faith whole and undefiled.*"

Wishing you increasing felicity, I remain

Your affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

Feb. 25. The Ministry on the 23d inst. received advices from Lord Stormont that five ships of the line and three frigates had sailed from Brest to Nantz, in order to convey eighteen transports to America, laden with all kinds of mili-

tary stores, agreeably to the commercial treaty subsisting between the French and Americans; the transports to return laden with tobacco from Virginia.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

EXETER, *Feb.* 25, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I presume you have seen Lord North's answer to Charles James Fox and Mr. Grenville in the house:[1] "'*T is possible, nay, too probable, but 't is not authenticated by the ambassador.*" This fatal treaty is at length executed; the *coup de grace* is given to British glory — its sun is set — alas, how fallen! How short-sighted is human wisdom, how weak is human power at best! The roar of the British lion will no more be heard; the French cock may now crow and strut undisturbed.

Americans that lately were humble supplicants to Great Britain for aid against a few French troops and Indian savages, disturbing her frontier settlements, have dared — what have they dared? — to renounce her authority; have set her power at defiance; reduced her commerce; defeated her armies; sunk her national credit, nay, insulted her coasts, established their independence in spite of all efforts, and, tell it not in Gath, allied itself to her natural, professed, and most dangerous enemy.

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Your friend, S. CURWEN.

Feb. 28. Received Lord North's two acts respecting the right of taxation confined to commerce, and appointing commissioners to adjust all matters in dispute. These offers are, I fear, too late; the fatal treaty with France is already signed.

March 2. By the mayor's zeal for a strict observance of the fast, an order to prohibit hair-dressers and bakers exercising their callings was published. In Canon Barlow's ser-

[1] To the inquiry whether it was true that a treaty had been made between France and America.

mon in St. Peter's were these remarkable expressions, which, for a dignitary of the Established Church wishing to rise, are singularly and dangerously bold. He said, "The war with America was unjust; that they are a religious people and may expect a blessing, and we the reverse."

March 6. The Court hurried away the *Andromeda* with Lord North's conciliatory propositions to the Howes in America.

March 8. Yesterday the French Ambassador declared to Lord Weymouth that France had signed a treaty of amity and alliance, or of friendship and commerce, with the United States of America, who, said he, are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the Fourth of July, 1776, without stipulating any exclusive advantages in favor of the French nation, and that the United States have reserved to themselves liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of especiality and reciprocity.

Being in the country, our advices from London are that a war with France is dreaded; there is fear of a general bankruptcy. It is further said the present Administration is almost universally reprobated — 't is in my mind a doubt whether in the dregs of the State less interested ministers can be found, though perhaps of more salutary politics; but the problem time only can solve. All men here love money and power too ardently to sacrifice either to interest or peace of State. 'T is therefore, I fancy, equally indifferent who are or shall be our political cooks; the pottage, I fear, will be spoiled. Stocks have fallen to 59½, which has produced an almost universal panic.

March 15. Despatches for the Howes passed through this city; contents a secret.

TO DR. JOHN PRINCE, HALIFAX.

EXETER, *March* 15, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 20th January came to my hands a few days since from London; the advice of your retreat to Hali-

fax I received in a letter from my friend Col. Browne. The spirit of intolerance among our New England brethren I vainly wished might have abated, they having, at the period of your departure, nothing to dread from the few individuals who could not, *toto corde*, embrace the political orthodoxy of the multitude and their directors. I doubt not that prudence would have screened and secured you from the rage and insult of the lower classes, and rendered life tolerable, if prudence could have had its due influence; but, such is the popular violence when once it unhappily takes place, and may be exercised without restraint and fear of punishment, that like an irresistible torrent it bears down all before it; laws, justice, truth, religion, the rights of humanity, civility, conscience, are made to rush impetuous down the mighty stream.

I ardently wish once more to visit my *natale solum*, and impatiently wait for the day of my redemption; would I could say it draweth nigh, but I see no end of the baneful ill-omened war, for news has arrived of a declaration by France against us. Should it prove true, Great Britain has the worst to fear; even her independency is at stake; for aught I can see, France has drawn down from the interior almost all her troops to the English Channel. She has forty-four capital ships ready for sea; not a vessel is allowed to go to Newfoundland from France, in order to man the fleet. La Motte Piquet, with five capital ships and eighteen large transports, sailed about a fortnight since, avowedly bound to America, laden with military stores. Spain has forty capital ships ready for sea, which are waiting only for the arrival of the Vera Cruz fleet; should, then, these united fleets of more than fourscore ships attempt invasion, Great Britain has only thirty-seven ships of the line and eleven frigates to oppose them.

Lord North has proposed terms of reconciliation, but nothing short of independency will go down with the Colonies. France will support them; all thoughts of conquest, of unconditional submission, be assured, are given up; and I fear much more that the Colonies have, contrary to their real interest and safety, entered into a league offensive and defen-

sive against the parent State. But it is a melancholy truth, which almost every day's experience verifies, that passion and resentment often urge men and States to actions and courses destructive of their manifest interest and safety, and such will America find in the end this alliance will prove, should Great Britain in the event become thereby oppressed. I could wish (but wishes, alas! are vain,) America had seen her interest in another point of light; far, very far am I from wishing her oppressed, or her liberties restrained; I am fully convinced the Colonies will never find any good purpose answered by independence. God only knows what is before us, and may we be prepared for His allotments with submissive resignation.

I find myself fast declining into the vale of life, therefore less able to struggle with the unavoidable evils of this inconstant state than in the days of more strength and vigor.

Believe me, with real regard, yours,

S. Curwen.

TO GEORGE RUSSELL, ESQ., BIRMINGHAM.

Exeter, *March* 16, 1778.

Dear Sir:

The dark and threatening cloud hanging over this island calls aloud for a more serious turn of mind than seems to characterize the present period; but how sadly true is the reverse of such a state of mind amongst us at this day; thoughtlessness, levity, frivolous manners, mirth and music, seem to have seized and engross the upper ranks; attention to business and a supine disregard to national danger and honor, do they not too justly characterize the middle ranks? As for the *canaille*, they are here, as they ever have been, and will be in all states and times, stupidly indifferent and unconcerned in the midst of impending destruction. If the features of this ill-favored portrait are in your opinion too harsh, believe me, it was not drawn by a pencil dipped in gall, nor dictated by envious misanthropy; I am no cynic, nor cursed with the spirit of a cloistered monk. The warmest regards to the country, which by long residence has become an *altera*

patria, and holds the second place in my affection, few and faint as my connections with individuals are, — the most earnest wishes of my heart for its safety, and foreboding apprehensions of its danger and dishonor, occasion the painful reflections that cease not hourly to distress my mind.

When I contemplate the decline and final period of States great and powerful, and their causes, which in the history of the world are found to be uniformly the same; that often in the midst of thoughtless security and apparent safety they are on the brink of ruin, and often suddenly and unexpectedly plunged irretrievably therein; that, as divines say, with regard to men, and experience confirms its truth in both respects, "*In the midst of life we are in death;*" — I cannot review the state of Great Britain four years since, and regard the present alarming crisis without horror, without trembling. Perhaps to a mind by nature formed and turned as mine unhappily is, to doubt and despondency, danger may present a more ghastly, terrifying aspect than is natural; be it so, may my apprehensions exist only in imagination. I had much rather have weakness of judgment, ignorance and error justly imputed to me, than that the event should verify my predictive fears: I had rather be a mistaken man than a true prophet.

France and Spain, to compare great things with small, like the heroes in romance, are armed *cap-a-pie*, at all points, ready to sally forth, not like those redoubted sons of Mars and Venus, to relieve distress but to cause it.

Your friend, &c.,

S. Curwen.

March 17. This being assize week, Judges Perryn and Hotham were waited on by the sheriff and his officers, about two dozen, in livery. Commission sat in Guildhall: — Baron Perryn on the bench; great celerity in despatching business, and great interruption, by talking, which the court authorities could not remove.

March 20. Heard the dreaded sound, war declared against France! It is reported the House of Lords is almost in a

tumult, and that they implore the King to drive from his service his ministers, and take Lords Chatham, Camden, and Shelburne.

March 21. The judges left the city, escorted out by the sheriff and his train, — trumpets preceding, etc.

CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1778. Letter to Judge Sewall on Public Affairs. Remarks on Ability of England to sustain a War with France. Public Credit. Number of Troops sent to America. French Medal in honor of Washington. Commissioners to settle the Dispute with America. Massachusetts Exclusion Bill. Excursion to Tiverton. The Author removes his Lodgings from Exeter to Sidmouth. Ride to Taunton. Colyton. Woodbury Castle, the Remains of a Danish Fort. Ordination of Rev. Isaac Smith at Sidmouth. Procession of Lacemakers at Honiton.

TO JUDGE SEWALL, LONDON.

EXETER, *March* 23, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I was meditating an answer to your favor, when the alarming intelligence of the French Court's perfidious dealings, and the hourly expectation of war against her, arrived here. The *dénouement* of the plot, by the French Ambassador's declaring in form to Lord Weymouth his Court's interference and engagement to support the claims of Congress, seems at present to render all speculation on the subject of Great Britain's further attempts to reduce her late deluded subjects in America needless: presuming all thoughts in regard to vigorous efforts being to be laid aside, superseded, at least for the present, as the papers inform us no more troops are to be sent out.

These events my fears have been long predictive of; not that I pretend to the spirit of prophecy, or the gift of second sight. States, like individuals, are liable to so many sudden and unlooked for vicissitudes, disappointments, untoward accidents, and evils that neither wisdom can foresee, nor power nor prudence prevent; he whose mind, not however to the increase of his enjoyment, leans towards doubts, fears,

and apprehensions of evils, generally finds more events corresponding to his forebodings than he whose attention is turned to the brighter and more pleasing views that hope presents.

The plan Lord North has offered is, it seems to me, founded in wisdom and sound policy, as you observe it contains nearly all that America can reasonably wish for, and as it is, thence she can derive more real happiness and safety than is fondly and vainly expected from their favorite, long-wished for, and perhaps short-lived independence: for should Great Britain in this expected war be oppressed, what will save some of the Colonies from falling a prey to the insatiable ambition of those powerful crowns united, I know not; it would be well if they should be satisfied with the recovery of their late possessions there. The consideration of the burden necessary to maintain an independent State with dignity has never yet, I presume, during the feverish paroxysm of our new legislators and government-modellers, been a subject of calculation; for however fertile their brains have been of expedients, they are, I fear, but indifferently skilled in political arithmetic.

Your sentiments on the operation of the two conciliatory acts, and answers to objectors, appear to me to be perfectly just, and I am happy to say mine are so completely coincident, that had I taken as many hours, as probably were employed in writing them down, I could not have expressed them in terms so clear, concise and satisfactory to myself as in the letter I am now considering; I can therefore subscribe to them *toto ex animo*. The improbability of their acceptance of the terms offered on the other side of the water, and of Great Britain's ability to force them into a compliance at present, seems to be a matter out of dispute. I am not vain enough to wish myself in the King's councils, but I ardently wish that imaginary principle of National honor, the King's honor, might in this critical and dangerous condition the nation seems to be in, be dispensed with and given up to infinitely more important considerations, notwithstanding the clamors and reproaches to be expected from discontented,

interested party men. That the war, should it unfortunately soon commence, to vindicate the King's honor or Nation's, must produce disgrace and irreparable losses to the nation, a review of the present force Great Britain has, her foreign dominions, etc., and the force requisite to secure her right, may perhaps convince: nor less so, Great Britain's inability at present to force a compliance or convince them by military exertions that it is their interest to accept her reasonable offers. The lucky minute for such an offer is past, irretrievably past, and a series of surprising events, owing to ill-concerted plans, interested views, a total disregard to the public weal, or, if you please, a certain fatality, has taken place, by which Colonies of inestimable value are lost to this country; and I wish the loss may end there.

The subject that at present most employs and oppresses my mind is the critical and dangerous situation that the kingdom seems to be in. The tottering condition of national credit, the weak state of the navy, the great power of the enemy, and the low price of stocks, as low as at the end of the last eight years' war, when the nation was almost drained of its specie, are the considerations on which I form my opinion. Lord North, on presenting the King's rescript to the House, uttered what was sufficiently alarming, that the *reluctance* to the present loan arose not so much from the prospect of war, as *the largeness of the national debt;* it is of little importance what is the cause, should a national bankruptcy happen. Should another panic like that of last Saturday again seize the monied men, and continue, and the loan be stopped, no one but may foresee the most dreadful consequences; should the present loan be completed, a new war would require another of equal amount, and the low price of stocks continuing, it will be well, if instead of £450,000 premium paid more than in 1765, £900,000 would tempt the lenders to advance, unless new resources can be found, which my ignorance on this point makes me incompetent to judge. It is a fact of too much notoriety to be denied, if the contractors avail themselves of the immense debt by this artful, selfish management, the public is supplied at an extravagant,

unreasonable profit to the lenders, founded, I suppose, on this principle, that a sponge, sooner or later, must wipe all out at a stroke. It is certain the more Government has occasion to borrow, proportionably are its disadvantages in procuring supplies; and unless a new and reformed system of economy be adopted, the premiums may not unlikely rise to cent. per cent., especially if Mr. Burke's assertions in the House of Commons be true, that the contractors made a profit of 57½ per cent. Should America be lost to this country, with her will be lost a considerable revenue, and what can be substituted in its room, financiers can best tell us. Should a war with the Bourbon family be attended with any possessions in the East or West Indies, and thereby other valuable branches of the revenue be cut off, I leave you to judge the distresses that must unavoidably befall this nation. The wealth of all nations is exhaustible. All things are called greater or less, stronger or weaker, by comparison. The fleet of Great Britain is, in itself considered, great and formidable, but when compared to the united fleet of the two Bourbons, whether it does in its present condition deserve that character, no Englishman will, I presume, affirm; fifty-one English line-of-battle ships, no one in his senses will say, are a match for eighty-six French and Spanish ships of equal force. Confident as we may be of the superiority of our English sailors to all other nations in vigor, bravery and skill, we should be loth to put our liberties or independency on the success of a battle fought under such confessedly disadvantageous and unequal circumstances; and the ability of Great Britain to build and fit for the sea such an additional number as will put us on an equal or superior footing, before some fatal blow be struck, is a question on which the well-being if not existence of this kingdom as an independent State may depend. In my view I could wish national as well as royal honor might in this case be yielded up to the infinitely more important consideration of our self-preservation, and the gross affronts offered by France pocketed till they can be resented with a fair chance of coming off victors in the quarrel. Should a war speedily be entered into before we are

better prepared for offence and defence, I can't help fearing this late powerful and flourishing empire to be hastening by large strides to irrevocable ruin and indelible disgrace, and but too likely to furnish a second instance in its period of a once great, rich and powerful State reduced to insignificancy in the political scale of Europe, by a dismemberment of some of its most valuable appendages, consigned over to its ambitious and more powerful neighbors. I wish posterity may not quote Poland and Great Britain as States in the same predicament from the future annals of Europe.

This ill-favored picture probably you may laugh at, but it is to be remembered you are supported by hopes, I oppressed by fears; you in the train of Heraclitus, I of the weeping philosopher; but nature has formed us of different materials in our original contexture, and on my part habit and accident have confirmed the unhappy bias. Whatever your sentiments may be of this reverie, dream, rhapsody, or whatever indignant epithet you may perhaps justly enough think it deserving of, I know you will believe me when I tell you they are the real sentiments of a mind oppressed with concern for the safety, welfare and honor of a country, which by long residence has become my *altera patria*, and for aught I know will continue to be so till I take my flight to the upper regions, or time shall cease to be no more with me here. Continue to think favorably, and believe me what is my highest ambition to be, an honest man, and your affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

Exeter, March 31. Witnessed a long dispute on American affairs between Mr. Bretland and Mr. Erving. I did not interfere; the opponents neither convinced nor conquered, as is usual in such cases.

April 8. Heard of Rebecca Tyng's marriage to John Lowell, of Newburyport. Visited Mr. Tremlet's, on David's Hill, with company as follows: the parson of the parish and lady, Mr. Pearce, Mrs. Abbot and Miss Hicks; after tea passed half an hour in his delightful garden; he presented me with a beautiful bouquet of a great variety of odoriferous flowers, now adorning my room.

April 9. Mr. Erving called me out to walk; our course Cowley Bridge. He seems of a sensible, grave turn, not unacquainted with moral science, and exceedingly communicative. Afterwards rode to Topsham on horseback; passed by an estate kept in the male branch of a family, without addition or diminution, ever since the Conquest.

April 11. With Mr. and Miss Bretland rambled through Winiford Lane to Heavitree; in one of the buttresses of the church grows out a yew-tree, three feet high, cut into a fanciful form, and supposed to receive its nourishment from cement moistened by rain and dew. The church has marks of age and decay.

April 13. Mr. Smith, from Sidmouth, breakfasted with me; visited Mr. Morgan confined by illness; there met Mr. Berry of Crediton. The land-tax at four shillings in the pound produces two millions; the real tax on a medium is two shillings nearly, which, being a tenth part of income, makes that to be twenty millions. Should an expensive war or some unforeseen accident throw the nation into a convulsion, and discourage lending and lessen supplies, it would, of course, reduce the value of lands, perhaps, to twenty-five years' purchase; their real value then would be five hundred millions. Court value of the kingdom supposed to be eighteen millions, for the following reasons, viz.: fifteen millions were brought into the mint to be new coined on proclamation; the remainder, coin of George II. and III., full weight, still continuing current, amount to three millions. Amount of fabrics, plate, etc., etc., on a modest computation, is worth one hundred millions; making in all six hundred millions.

A nation possessing more than twice as much as it owes, need not fear bankruptcy, — England's debt being one hundred and sixty millions. I pretend not to judge what would be the full issue of a shock to national credit, much less dare I determine; but, I confess, I fear it would be followed by dreadful convulsions, and produce cruel ravages and carnage among the lower classes, who, being deprived of daily subsistence for want of daily employ, on stoppage of trade and

manufactures, would not contentedly sit down and suffer themselves with their wives and little ones to perish with hunger; nor even those whose large incomes, derived from national funds, being now stopped, are reduced to a level with the most indigent, and whose wants being supplied from their charity, are now their equal fellow-sufferers.

List of men by last returns: for America, 19,381; prisoners, 5,336; sick, 4,639; loss in navy, 4,314; army in New-York, Philadelphia, Rhode Island and Canada, 36,731; to recruit army to what it was last year, 11,885; captures made by Americans amount to £2,600,000.

April 20. On horseback to Spencecomb, the seat of Mr. Rowe, near Crediton, in company with Mr. and Miss Bretland; passed an agreeable day, with a numerous company; this is a week of festivity following Easter Sunday — hospitably lodged and entertained; our host is of the rank called gentlemen-farmers, or landholders in fee of estates from £100 to £800 sterling per annum. A medal has lately been struck at Paris, by order of Monsieur Voltaire, in honor of General Washington; on one side is the bust of the General, with this inscription: "G. Washington, Esq., Commander of the Continental Army in America." The reverse is decorated with the emblems of war, and the following: "Washington reunit par une rare assemblage les talens du Guerrier et les vertus du Sage."

April 26. Commissioners appointed to go over to America to settle the dispute, if practicable, Earl of Carlisle, Lord Howe, Sir Wm. Howe, Wm. Eden, Esq., and Governor Johnston, sailed from Spithead on the 22d, and I fear it will prove a *re infectâ* business.

TO HON. WILLIAM BROWNE, LONDON.

EXETER, *April* 26, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

By our common friend, Mr. Smith, just returned by way of Bristol, I am informed Mrs. Browne is with you; 't is with great sincerity I congratulate her and you on her safe arrival; would to God it had been under more favorable circum-

stances; such as they are, your religion and philosophy, I am well assured, can improve them to the best purposes. I presume London will not long continue the place of your abode; if you have no predilection for a particular quarter, and are deliberating what course to take, nothing shall be wanting on my part to afford you all the information respecting these parts you may wish to have. It would yield me inexpressible satisfaction, could Exeter, or its neighborhood, be your choice; I can assure you, that, for cheapness, plenty, and good provisions, especially fish, poultry, game, and garden-stuff, no place excels and few equal it. Late conversations with Col. Erving, from whom I had intimations of your desire to him last January to be informed relative to these parts, (who owns himself to blame in not attending to it,) induce the foregoing. If your views are fixed, I wish the pleasure of your abode may be equal to your highest wishes. A line from my worthy friend will never fail to be a most acceptable present. With the warmest wishes for your felicity, I am

Yours and Mrs Browne's affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

TO JOHN TIMMINS, ESQ., LONDON.

Exeter, *April* 30, 1778.

Dear Sir:

I have this day received a letter from Eben. West, now on board the *Medway*, lying in the Downs, who is in want of necessaries. He was with me in my business at the commencement of the troubles in New England, and by consent, left me to go to sea in his father's employ, till taken by the *Enterprise* frigate, on the 20th of last July, carried to Gibraltar, and from thence brought to England, where he has been ever since. I think it but charity to advance a little for him, and therefore wish you to convey two guineas to him for me. I presume Mr. William Cabot would not refuse an old neighbor's son some small assistance, nor Col. Browne a young suffering townsman, to whom, as occasion may serve, you will do me a favor by mentioning his name, with the sit-

uation he is in; nor would it be improper if they could procure a small supply of money from his countrymen, who must have a fellow-feeling of others' sufferings, at the same time themselves experiencing the evil of banishment from their country and the means of subsistence.

I am your obliged friend and humble servant,

S. Curwen.

May 1. Walked with Col. Erving to Mr. John Tremlet's house, David's Hill, (the supposed site of an old Roman temple,) to see a lamp having Diana's emblem, a crescent; the points crowned each with a ball, and thought to belong to a temple of the goddess there, judged of more than two thousand years' antiquity. This being May-day, the milkmaids walk in procession, with their pyramid of plate, as is usual on this day.

May 5. Mr. Smith brought me a Massachusetts Exclusion Bill, whereby all who left New England after 19th April, 1775, are forever banished, and their estates forfeited.

May 7. Took tea at Col. Erving's, with Mr. Smith; agreed on a journey to Tiverton with them.

May 8. At nine o'clock set out in a post-chaise with Mr. and Mrs. Erving, and my friend Mr. Smith, on horseback, to Tiverton. Alighted at Three Tuns Inn, at twelve o'clock, passing on a pleasant turnpike fourteen miles. This town is supported by serge-making, for which it was formerly noted, now believed to be on the decline. Some houses in good taste; it has two Dissenting congregations and one Anabaptist; the Episcopal Church is a venerable pile, low, outside greatly ornamented; tower lofty; the inside contains many funereal monuments, some of ancient date.

Here is a noted school, called Blandell's, famous in the West; sends off yearly some students to Oxford and Cambridge; its numbers about fourscore. Besides, here is an academy for Dissenters' children, kept by a Mr. Kiddle, the minister, and one for young ladies. Has abundance of shops. Adjoining the church is a lofty situation, commanding an extensive and pleasing view of the neighboring vale,

through which the Exe runs, bounded by a long range of moderately high hills, improved and inclosed to summit; returned home by eight o'clock.

May 9. Rode with Mr. Cross to Star Cross, at the mouth of the river Exe, opposite Exmouth.

May 11. Removed my lodgings to Sidmouth, and for which purpose I mounted my Rosinante, and departed in company with Mr. Smith, after dinner, having ordered the messenger on with my baggage. Taking the road through Topsham, we staged it at Ebford, the seat of the widow Lee, a wealthy, hospitable, Dissenting lady; here we alighted and took tea. The family having withdrawn to the house in the neighborhood, called the "Hermitage," to divert themselves at a game of quadrille, that our coming interrupted, notwithstanding repeated desires to the contrary. The family consists of an elderly lady, daughter and her husband, a Mr. Yates, and the young Parson Jarvis, the Dissenting ministers of Limestone. From thence we departed, passing through Woodbury, Otterton, and across Peak Hill, and arrived at my former lodgings at Robert Follet's.

Sidmouth, *May* 13. Rode to Wishcombe in company with William Carsluck and two young ladies named Upjohn, of Exeter; dined, drank tea, and returned before eight o'clock.

May 21. Rode to Taunton; passing through Honiton and Blackdown, I arrived at Whiteheart, visited Mr. Welman and Parson Ward; drank tea with the latter. Evening and supper at Mr. Toulmin's, the Baptist minister; lodged at the inn. Next morning departed for Poundisford, the seat of a Mr. Hawker, a Dissenting worthy gentleman of fortune; passed an agreeable day, and lodged there.

Poundisford, *May* 23. At eleven o'clock, in company with a Mr. Hawker we departed, shaping our course for Chard, where we arrived at two o'clock. Between our two stages, on a lofty ridge, are the remains of an old castle, in the country dialect *Laratch;* supposed, but I know not for what reason, to have been of Roman construction. Chard, where we arrived about two o'clock, is a manufacturing town; its lifeless appearance but too justly confirms the general opinion

that its trade is in a consumptive state; its buildings hardly above the village style, one wide, commodious street, paved, having several reputable houses in it. One Episcopal church, and two or three Dissenting meeting-houses; the manufacturing towns generally abound in people of the latter persuasion. At five o'clock left, and passing over an excellent turnpike road, entered Axminster, distant seven miles, without alighting, and proceeded on to Seaton, where we in vain attempted to find the remains, if any, of the old Roman port said to have been established here, but it was *hic labor, hoc opus*. Turning our backs to the English Channel, we proceeded to Mr. Slade's, at Colyton, here taking up our rest for two nights; the doctor supplying this pulpit in exchange with Mr. Cornish, the minister, who did his duty at Sidmouth.

Colyton, May 24. Entertained by the conversation of Mr. Slade's youngest daughter, excelling the common standard in point of understanding, knowledge, and good breeding. Took a field-walk with all the family, and to the top of a hill commanding a view of a finely improved country all around, including the whole vale from the mouth of the Axe to Axminster.

May 25. We set off at meridian, proceeding to Baldash, the seat of a Mr. Hook, where we abode till I had bargained for a horse to be sent me at an agreed time; from hence departed for Wishcombe; dined and passed the evening at cards with Mr. John Carsluck, his sister, Miss C., and a Miss Snell, very agreeably; pressed to lodge, but Mr. Smith withstood their entreaties, and carried me off reluctantly enough at nine o'clock.

May 28. Walked on the beach and up Salcomb Hill with Messrs. Erving and Smith; an extensive prospect from Portland to the Start; within these two headlands fifteen leagues; the bay is called Carnarvon.

TO HON. JUDGE SEWALL, BRISTOL.

SIDMOUTH, *May* 31, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

Your favors of the 1st ult. and 8th inst. were delivered to me yesterday afternoon, by the hands of a fair young lady, in the alcove on the beach, in this place, being the second day of my removal hither from Exeter, which makes, since my arrival in England, just the number of Mother Rowlandson's "removes." Having taken minutes of them, I fancy they cannot fail, under the correct hand of a judicious friend, to form a sensible appendix in the next edition of that curious performance, unless you prefer the following title: "The perils and peregrinations of a Tory or Refugee, in quest of civil liberty, which the author fondly imagined was to be enjoyed in higher perfection in the land he travelled through, than in that he precipitately abandoned, without money to support, friends to advise, or wisdom to guide him."

Having made a short ramble the other day to Taunton and its neighborhood, it came into my mind to point out to you the most agreeable route, should you continue of the mind to take a journey to these parts during the bathing season. As you will doubtless prefer a post-chaise, you may command your own time, and choose your road; in this case you will find the Wells Road as pleasant as any. On your arrival there, you will not fail to take a view of the cathedral, which presents perhaps as fine, if not the finest front of any old Gothic church in England. Within, it is renowned, that I know of, for nothing; its size is one of the smallest, and its bishop's palace one of the largest, and has the appearance, from the moat and battlements, to have been the residence rather of a warlike baron than of a peaceable minister of religion. From hence, at about four miles distant, is a natural cavern in the Mendip Hills, called Okey or Wolkey Hole; it is well worth visiting, and is of the same kind, although not so deep, as that of the Peak of Derby. From hence to Bridgewater, the famous Glastonbury monastery lies right on your road, where you will probably stop at the inn. Your

curiosity when there cannot fail of being highly gratified by a view of its remains, of which it is, however, almost pillaged. Between this last place and Bridgewater, the turnpike is delightful, and if your driver should be as complaisant as mine, he will run you a distance of fifteen miles in an hour and a half. In this stage you will pass over a ridge dividing the great Somerset Moor, extending beyond the reach of the eye, and filled with innumerable herds of black cattle, from that called King's Sedgemore, lying on the left, celebrated you know in history for the defeat of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, in 1685. Far beyond, on that side, is seen the obelisk raised by the late Lord Chatham to the memory of his benefactor, Sir William Pynsent. From Bridgewater, at four or five miles distant, lying two miles out of the road to Taunton, lies Enmore Castle, a seat of Lord Egmont, built on the plan and in the style of the old baronial castles.

Your next stage is the pretty town of Taunton, situated in a vale or bottom called Taunton-Deanvale, remarkable for length, breadth, and fertility; of the former thirty miles, second ten or twelve, and for the latter exceeded by none. In this stands the tower of its principal church, called Mary Magdalen, which will attract your attention, being more crowded with Gothic decorations than any edifice of that size that has fallen under your view.

Should you think it proper to take the road over Blackdown, and so through Honiton, rather than through Wellington and Collumpton Road, you will, on the ascent of Blackdon Hill, about five miles this side of Taunton, before you have reached the summit, on a retrospection of the whole length and breadth of the vale, see cultivation in its highest state of improvement, and a luxuriancy, verdure, and fruitage, no other region can boast of. You will, I doubt not, join with me in saying so pleasing a rural view is not to be seen but from this spot. From Taunton to Honiton is seventeen miles, and from thence to this place is nine, or to Exeter sixteen. You will, I know, take this intimation in good part.

Very affectionately your friend,

S. Curwen.

June 1. Dr. Price, in his Fast Sermon on February 10th, speaking of the dependence of a nation's safety on righteous men, has the following: "There is a distant country, once united to this, where every inhabitant has in his house, as a part of his furniture, a book on law and government, to enable him to understand his Colonial rights; a musket to enable him to defend those rights; and a Bible to understand and practise religion. What can hurt such a country? Is it any wonder we have not succeeded? How secure must it be while it preserves its virtue against all attacks."

June 12. Between five and six o'clock rode with my two fellow-boarders to Ottery beacon, commanding a prospect of Ottery vale as far as Sir George Young's seat, in the neighborhood of Honiton. Continued to ride over the ridge till Honiton appeared in view; returned in a mist through Sidbury, Sidford, etc., and, in a moist plight, at eight o'clock, dismounted.

June 13. A large fleet appeared in the offing; near thirty capital ships, judged to be Keppel's. Invited by Mr. Skaddon to a sight of the cane King Charles I. had in his hand at his trial, from whence the gold head dropped off in court; interpreted by the credulous as an ill omen. It is a beautiful stick, and finely shaded, and I suppose as much revered, by his infatuated admirers, as Aaron's rod that budded was by the devout Israelites. He also possesses the Duke of Northumberland's golden key, as Lord Chamberlain, which, when he acts in that capacity, is fastened to his pocket-flaps. Also King Charles II.'s cabinet, and some fine old royal porcelain, as precious relics of infinite value.

June 15. An early ride to Peak Hill; a distant sight of Portland and about Abbotsbury.

June 22. Rode with Mr. Ogburn to Woodbury Castle, so called; the remains of a Danish fort, standing on the edge of a lofty range of hills; the ramparts of earth and ditches still remain. The place of arms contains about five acres: on the highest point is a house built for hunting parties, etc.; the roof projects in front, supported by four pillars in rustic order, the bark remaining unstripped. From hence to Exmouth, to

dinner; a famous bathing town; nearly four hundred strangers have been here at a time. More handsome houses than Sidmouth; returned home before eight o'clock.

June 24. This day my friend Mr. Isaac Smith was ordained to the pastoral office over the little congregation of Dissenters here. A minister of the Episcopal Church, whose curiosity prompted him to attend, continued through the whole service, expressed great delight at, and approbation of the performances, and a high opinion of the solemnity and propriety of the whole. Pity that the narrowness of party keeps asunder and divides in affection men engaged in the same worthy design, and servants of the same kind and benevolent Master, whose chief command is mutual love and good-will.

June 28. Mr. Berguyn, a North Carolina gentleman, called on his way to Falmouth to take passage in a packet for America; encouraged by their Assembly having voted to admit all Refugees who apply.

June 30. Admiral Keppel's fleet has taken three French frigates.

TO HON. WILLIAM BROWNE, CARDIFF, SOUTH WALES.

SIDMOUTH, *June* 30, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I hope this will not be as long on the road as your favor of the 12th of May, that came to hand only a month after date. I delayed an answer that I might be more explicit to your question about the houses I mentioned to you: they are not furnished, but furniture is to be obtained at fifteen per cent., beds and such articles at twelve. This I have from Col. Erving, who is now at Exeter, but does not propose to abide there longer than the 25th of September, when his lease will expire. Where to retreat he seems undetermined; he wishes to reside among people hospitable, social, unceremonious, and not dressy; if such can be found. He requests you to inform him, through me, whether you have received any information respecting Abergavenny in Monmouth. Is it pleasant, and has it a plentiful and cheap market? Are furnished

houses to be had cheap? Are the people hospitable, social, and disposed to form an unceremonious acquaintance, and are they expensive in dress and dinners? The same is requested respecting Cowbridge and Cardiff. Do you intend remaining at your present abode for a long time, and who is with you in your neighborhood, and do they propose to remain?

My present companions are Dr. Smith, just ordained over his little flock here, and our countryman Mr. Ogburn, in the same house; to which number I expect in ten days will be added Mr. and Mrs. Sewall from Bristol. This place is a watering-place, resorted to by the neighboring gentry. Having bought a pony, I make frequent excursions into the country hereabouts, passing my time as agreeably as the untoward circumstances of my affairs allow. Should I not be happy enough to enlarge my party, I intend to make a ten days' ramble through Cornwall with my friend Dr. Smith, who has become an inhabitant, and may continue to be for some years.

Should that report induce Mr. Erving's retreating to your quarters, and you continue where you are, I may pass a month with you before winter.

Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

July 1. With Messrs. Smith and Ogburn rode to Honiton, to see the annual procession of lace-makers; alighted at the Golden Lion, and was soon called over and invited to dine at a Mrs. Youat's, whose daughter is presidentess of this society, in number exceeding a hundred. They have an afternoon sermon, and afterwards walk in procession, in the following order: the presidentess, with a wand adorned with flowers; then four maidens, eight years old, with each a basket of flowers and large bouquets, walking between two arches adorned with flowers; then follow the patronesses, each with a white wand; then the standard-bearer, followed by two dozen couple, with a standard-bearer attending them. In this order they paraded through the principal streets, and

then adjourned to the Golden Lion Inn, to take tea and pass the evening in dancing and festivity. To this we were invited, but my occasions calling me to Exeter, and a want of relish for such mirth, concurred to send me off the ground before the street parade was over, leaving my companions to return home by moonlight. Lodged at the "Valiant Soldier," Exeter.

Sidmouth, July 8. Rode to Hull-down to see the Exeter races. The cup, with two hundred guineas, won by Mr. Wildman's horse Lubin; sport indifferent. The dust and heat were insufferable; the numbers present supposed to be ten thousand.

July 10. Judge Sewall visited us; in the afternoon walked with him to Peak Hill.

July 14. Received a letter from Peter Frye, Esq., without mention of time or place.

TO MR. JOHN TIMMINS, LONDON.

SIDMOUTH, *July* 12, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

I should be glad to see you at this bathing-town of mud walls and thatched roofs. Judge Sewall and lady, Samuel Sewall, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Ogburn are here; and at Exeter, fourteen miles off, are Col. Erving's family, Col. Vassall, Mr. Lechmere; and late Lieut.-Governor Oliver is soon to be there. The advices from Boston discover a disposition I could scarce expect to hear. I presumed in this flourishing state of their affairs, none durst whisper a doubt of the omnipotency of the Congress, allied as they are to France.

Very truly,

S. CURWEN.

TO MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, BIRMINGHAM.

SIDMOUTH, *July* 13, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

Accept my warmest thanks for your kind solicitude about my health, which is but in an ill state; having a few days since received a shock of the kind which confined me last

winter, and nearly translated me to another, or rather no state of existence. Don't let this expression hurt you; I mean not a doubt of a future state, but whether the soul does not remain inactive during its separation from the body, and until roused by the last trumpet to life and activity, is a doctrine I cannot entirely disprove; but no more of principles. My mind is as easy, submissive, and resigned, as a conviction that the divine conduct is right can make it; to aid which, I muster up all my religion and philosophy, sometimes with success; sometimes nature oppressed sinks under the burden.

Having proposed in my answer to follow the order of your letter, I come to a tender point, the condition of the amiable and worthy partner of your soul, for whom I feel more than a common friend's affection and regard; you have my earnest prayers that her life may be continued till it shall cease to be a blessing; nor can our fondest wishes, guided by reason, extend further. The vicissitudes daily taking place should be daily lessons to teach us the vanity of too fondly expecting felicity from flattering, transitory circumstances here below. Should it please the Sovereign Disposer of life to deprive you of your dearest friend, may you experience all the advantages that religion and true philosophy afford; as I doubt not you view the evils of life with too religious an eye not to consider every event, however irksome at present, as capable of yielding the most solid, pure, and lasting comfort in the final issue. This day I received a letter from an old friend, now in banishment with his wife and children at Halifax, conceived in the common plaintive strain with all letters from that quarter; complaining of the spiritless measures of Administration and their military servants. In truth, vigor and activity seem not the characteristic of this nation at this period; the continued series of untoward events on the side of Great Britain, in this unnatural contest between her and the Colonies, has, I fear, given the *coup de grace* to her glory. The sun of Britain is past the meridian and declining fast to the West, and America is forever emancipated from the legislative authority of this once potent Empire; alas! no more so. The prophetic falling off of the best jewel from our

King's crown, when on his head at coronation, is now accomplished by the loss of America, which I consider irrevocably gone; whether to their advantage, is a point, I fancy, the Congress and I should not join issue in: the burden of supporting an independency with dignity is too heavy for America to bear, especially the Northern Colonies, unless the patriots there will discharge the troublesome public trusts and offices without pecuniary emoluments; requiring a much greater degree of virtue, self-denial, and public spirit, than I think now does or indeed ever did exist there, unless in profession.

I fancy by this time I have tired my friend in reading, as I confess I have myself in writing, and conclude by wishing he may live long, and see many prosperous days.

Your affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

July 15. Went off with Mr. Withers in his phaeton, accompanied by Messrs. Smith, Jarvis, and Meservale, to Beer; dined at King's Head; afternoon, were rowed a league out, and remained out two hours.

CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1778. Excursion to the West. Otterton. Lympstone. Teignmouth. Newton Bushel. Dartmouth. Torbay. Bridgtown. Chudleigh. Exeter. Returns to Sidmouth. Visits Beach at Axminster. Letters on Public Affairs. Excursion to Weymouth and Portland. Melcomb Regis. Island of Portland described. Roman Remains. Dorchester. Advices from New York. Quits Sidmouth for Exeter. Arden's Course of Lectures on Experimental Philosophy. Letter from Judge Sewall. Number of Ships taken by the French. Votes of the Bishops on the American War. The Author completes his sixty-third year.

Sidmouth, July 17. Set off alone on an excursion to the West; at nine o'clock passing over Peak Hill, through Otterton, and over Welbry Common; my first stage at Mr. Withers', Lympstone, intentionally to persuade him to accompany me to Teignmouth, agreeably to a vague promise from him the preceding day. He was gone to Exeter. I then proceeded through Star Cross and Dawlish Sands; on the other side of the beach is an extensive sea and land view; from hence is about four miles to Teignmouth, where arrived at six o'clock at the Globe Inn, facing the sands and beach. This is a bathing town, and resorted to by more, and company of higher rank, than Sidmouth can boast. It is irregularly built, but the houses more in number and of incomparably better appearance. The beach for bathing lies at some distance from the town. Lodged here.

July 18. Rose early, took the road to Newton Bushel, distant six miles, through Bishop Stanton, passing also through King's Stanton. Newton has three hundred houses, decently built; shops of almost every kind of goods, streets paved, two Episcopal and one Presbyterian church. Breakfasted and soon set off, passing at half a mile distant an old-fashioned seat called Ford, belonging to Lord Courtenay, in

whose manor this town lies. From hence to Dartmouth, lying sixteen miles distant; the land in the approaches thereto hilly and uneven, but all improved; at three alighted at a Mrs. Quick's, in a place called Kingsware; this is a cluster of houses on the hither side of the river Dart, where the harbor pilots dwell, and has an Episcopal church. Ferried over much the width of Charlestown Ferry, about half a mile within the extreme points of the harbor.

Dartmouth, July 20. At twelve, A. M., departed for Torbay, five miles distant; an ugly town, houses low, and for the greater part slovenly in appearance; among them, however, a few decent ones. The lower point adjoining the quay occupied by those who depend on the hook and line; here being no fewer than fourscore boats daily employed in that service, all with a mast and sail, and four to two tons burden. They supply Exeter, Bath, Bristol, etc., quite across the country nearly a hundred miles north from them. Dined at George Inn, and took leave of Brixholm. Thence to Barry Pomeroy, an estate of the Duke of Somerset; the house large, but avenues in a neglected state; magnificent edifices and expansive pleasure-grounds seem not to be this duke's taste, or a scanty purse restrains it. Hence to Bridgtown, contained in the parish of Barry Pomeroy and a part of the manor of the same name, within which I was told Totness stands. The Duke derives from his estate here two thousand pounds yearly. Totness is a corporation and a parliamentary borough; is remarkable for the singularity of its Address to the first George of the Brunswick line, at his accession to the throne of these kingdoms. After the usual flattery, such as is always paid to a new race of princes, they offered his Majesty sixteen shillings in the pound of their estates, and the other four if he should want it, as a proof of their loyalty.

July 21. Arose at seven o'clock, mounted my horse, rode to Newton, before mentioned; stopped there for the night.

July 22. After breakfast departed for Chudleigh, but missing the road, passed over Hull-down, leading to Dawlish, and arrived at one o'clock at Exeter; Mr. Erving happening in sight, urged my driving with him.

Exeter, July 24. After visiting my old acquaintances, returned to Sidmouth by eight o'clock, evening.

Sidmouth, July 26. Met Mr. George Eveleigh, a gentleman of South Carolina, educated both at school and college at Cambridge, New England, whom I remember a schoolboy when I was in college; now the father of five grown-up children.

TO MR. JOHN TIMMINS, LONDON.

SIDMOUTH, *July* 28, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

Please let me know whether you have received any late advices from Boston or New England, by which you are informed of the situation of the country respecting its political, civil, or religious condition; the temper and disposition of its inhabitants respecting those who have left the country; their inclinations or ability to continue the war. Would that the execrable spirit of persecution might abate, they be restored to reason, and I to my native country; an event I ardently long for: indeed, I sometimes feel resolution enough to attempt to go and throw myself on the mercy of those whom party rage has rendered almost insensible to the tender feelings of humanity; but fear, and a settled aversion to their levelling principles and persecuting practices, disarm me.

With truth, your friend,

S. CURWEN.

August 16. News received that Congress has rejected any treaty with the British Commissioners; (as might easily have been, and was, I believe, fully imagined by all the world would be the case at this late period,) without an express specific acknowledgment of their independency.

Axminster, August 18. Walked to beach; seven bathing machines standing there, dragged into the water by a horse each. The alcove and ball-room larger and more respectable than at Sidmouth.

TO MR. JOHN TIMMINS, LONDON.

SIDMOUTH, *August* 31, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

The dangerous, distrustful situation the nation is in, makes me tremble for the next news from abroad, lest it shake the Government to its centre. In the annals of this country, I know of no period in which England stood on a narrower point; not in 1688, nor even when the Scotch rebels had penetrated as far as Derby, in 1745. The designs of Providence are inscrutable, not to be controlled by human policy nor defeated by human strength.

Although I have, all along, doubted that Congress would accept terms short of independence, I confess myself not a little deranged at the confirmation of it. That Congress should be loth to quit their authority, is not to be wondered at, for it is the nature of power to endeavor to preserve itself; but I cannot help flattering myself with hopes that America will soon see her interest in a different point of light from Congress, and disappoint the ambitious views of men, however well qualified they may be to govern, evidently disposed to sacrifice that country's happiness to their lust of power. God only knows what will be the issue of the troubles; may it please Him to save her from ruin, and accomplish a happy reunion with this, and on a lasting basis.

Your assured friend,

S. CURWEN.

Sept. 11. Keppel's and Byron's fleets are sources of incredible reports from street and tavern politicians. Should both these sea commanders be defeated, none knows the consequences — fatal ones may be justly apprehended; this country was never in a more perilous situation.

Sept. 21. The day of our half-yearly fair; great numbers came in, passing on the beach to view the sea, going off in boats, eating, drinking and buying, in the sheds and booths erected on the lower parts of the streets, and filled with confectionary, toys, hardware, ribbons, etc. Rode to Exeter in the evening.

Sept. 28. Departed on horseback, accompanied by Mr. Smith, on an intended ramble to Weymouth and Portland. First stage to Colyton, nine miles, where we dined. Hence to Charmouth, a straggling town that extends from the top to the bottom of a long hill, and contains one street of perhaps a hundred houses; passing through, we arrived at a villa, two miles distant, part of the manor of the Earl of Arundel, a Roman Catholic peer, of which persuasion most of the inhabitants on his Lordship's estate here are. The next cluster of houses on the road was Morkam's Lake, which, with the former, scarce make up a hundred houses. Our next and last stage for this day, Bridport, at the Bull Inn, where we supped and lodged.

Sept. 29. Left for Abbotsbury, ten miles distant; the land along the sea-shore a desert, not so much as a tree, shrub, or bush was to be seen. Passed through Weymouth to Melcomb Regis, over bridge laid across the Wey, so called, being a small arm of the sea, dividing these two towns. The latter lying on the land side, is a neck formed by the bend, almost at right angles with the river Wey, and is the place whereon the beach lies and visitors reside. The market is large and better supplied than in the former. There is a range of brick buildings, twelve in number, tasty and commodious, facing the beach, and but a small distance above it; at the end is an elegant assembly-room, and at a small distance are shops of all kinds of articles, millinery, toys, etc. Coffee-houses, circulating libraries, etc. The beach is furnished with twenty-two machines for bathing, in finer taste than any I have seen. This town, like Weymouth, is concerned in shipping; its quay is long enough for sixty vessels; not half that number then in port. It has two Episcopal churches and a Presbyterian meeting-house. Weymouth is on the outer or south side of the river, consisting principally of one street, well paved, but narrow. In front of the town is a quay, facing Melcomb, filled with vessels. After dining, we sallied forth; finding nothing further to entertain us, soon returned, and ordering forth our horses, took our departure towards Portland, the last stage. The passage to it

is over a water called the *Fleet*, between a beach seven miles in length and the main land; by this beach Portland is joined to the main, but the way is scarce ever attempted, consisting of small loose stones or deep sand, so that a horse would sink down half-leg deep; this approach, therefore, must be too tedious to be used. The road from Melcomb to the island or peninsula is over a lofty plain of a mile in length; from hence is a hard gravel-beach of over a mile; and opposite the road stands an edifice, in ruins, styled a castle, having, however, more the look of a mansion-house deserted by its owner, its solitary black site rendering it an uncomfortable residence. We soon measured the beach, and were wafted over the Fleet by a rope-ferry, as it is called in New England dialect. But the beach on the Portland side, of a mile and a half, required a more leisurely pace. The first village on the island of Portland is called Chesilton, of about a hundred houses of reputable aspect; situation low, on the plain of a beach; from hence, being an easy ascent of half a mile, we came to two villages.

In the morning (30th), climbed up the lofty plain to the spot the flag-staff is erected on, being the northernmost summit, having the castle situate at the northern extremity, from which may be seen at one view as far into the English Channel as eye can reach; to Isle of Wight in the east, and to the north a vast extent of country. Portland island is about five miles in length, breadth two; on the land side it is defended by a castle before mentioned. On the southern cliffs are two light-houses. Mounted our horses, and in our course lay, in the middle road, the first village, called Reffon, which contains the only church on the island, encompassed by a stone-wall, inclosing an acre of yard. Passed through *Ishwell*, *Wikeham*, *Eison*, *Weston*, and returned to the rope-ferry by which we came to the island, and at one o'clock arrived at Crown Inn, Melcomb. Thence through *Upway*, situated in a fertile vale, abounding in trees and hedges. The next village, lying a little out of our way, is Winterborne Monkton; the latter epithet, I suppose, denotes for what it was remarkable. Through this village we passed to *Maiden Castle*,

a famous encampment of Roman construction, supposed to have been built by them soon after their first invasion. In their times Dorchester, two miles distant, was their winter, as this spot was their summer residence. It is said to be the only remains of the kind in Great Britain: form oval; contains within the inner intrenchment many acres, enough to hold three legions, or eighteen thousand men. The intrenchments entire, four without the other at each end — two on each side or flank, encompassing the whole — depth thirty feet. It has a stupendous appearance, and looks like the work of a people capable of any undertaking, however difficult. Thence we jogged on to Dorchester.

Dorchester, Oct. 1. Rambled over the town: here are assize and session-house, prison and bridewell; about 2500 inhabitants; houses decent, and streets paved. Avenues to the town pleasant at all quarters, being lined with a row of trees on each side for two miles; from hence at ten o'clock we departed, shaping our course towards the remains of Roman antiquity, the occasion of our coming hither; and in half an hour arrived at the amphitheatre, which is entirely of earth; the forms whereon the benches were laid for spectators are yet entire. The outer line an oval, the earth thrown up in the manner of an encampment, and about twenty feet high, encompassing the whole; the area or space wherein spectacles were exhibited, measures forty or fifty yards longest diameter; two rows of benches, judged spacious enough to hold two thousand spectators. Having satisfied curiosity, proceeded through fields for the castle, lying on a lofty ridge at about a mile and a half further. Having finished our survey, and amused ourselves with fine prospects, we ascended by another quarter to the fields and inclosures adjoining hereto; crossing which, at length reached turnpike at a village called Martinston, from hence to Winterburn-Stepleton and Clenston; here we met the great London Road to Plymouth and the West; glad once again to salute it and forsake the cross-roads that are but indifferent at best, and some execrable; in this we kept till arrival at first and last stage of this day, alighting in about two hours at Bull Inn, Brid-

port, distant from Dorchester seventeen miles. The business for which this town is famed, and carried on to a great extent, is in sailcloth and white cordage; in size little inferior to Dorset.

Bridport, Oct. 2. To Axminster, Honiton, and Wishcomb, where lodged.

Oct. 3. Alighted at Mrs. Godfrey's, my new lodging-house in Sidmouth.

Sidmouth, Oct. 10. Spirit of privateering against France surprisingly raised; success incredible: three East India ships homeward bound taken, and thirty-six St. Domingo and Martinico ships, and a multitude of others.

Oct. 26. Accompanied Mr. Smith to Mr. William Lloyd's, at Otterton, a substantial farmer. In conversation on different ranks of mankind, and different consequent mode of living, my companion told us the following tale from an Irish lady. A young countrywoman of hers wished she might be queen for a month, for then, said she, I would have bacon with my broth. To which our hostess added one of the like kind. A young lad of Cornwall wished he might be king, for then, said he, I would ride on gates and eat fat bacon with my broth. The demands of nature are few and easily satisfied; it is education and use that increase our appetites and render them troublesome.

Oct. 27. Evening, Mr. Smith visited me. Our sentiments on toleration differ; he holds that every subject in a State has an absolute right to unlimited toleration, be his principles what they may. I think no man should be persecuted for opinion's sake, yet he has no right to complain of any disabilities he may be under, whose avowed persuasion is that faith is not to be kept with those whose religious tenets differ from his own, whose religion absolves him from most solemn engagements, nay, who thinks himself in conscience bound to violate promises, vows, and oaths; nay, further, thinks it highly meritorious to disturb the peace and overthrow the very Government he has sworn to support, when his priest directs, and opportunity presents. Opinions, merely such, the magistrate ought by no means to concern himself with, nor

subject them to his control; and therefore every peaceable man has an equal claim to his protection in his person and property.

By letters from Lord Cornwallis, at New York, it appears Count D'Estaing had been obliged hastily to retreat with his squadron from Rhode Island, by the arrival of Lord Howe, with twenty line-of-battle ships and twenty frigates; that a severe storm parted the fleets; that the Americans, by a bridge of boats, had landed twelve thousand men on the island, and that General Clinton had strengthened his garrison by several detachments he himself had brought from New York; that Gen. Lee, being accused of cowardice and bad conduct, was suspended by a court-martial.

Oct. 28. Lord Howe has arrived from Rhode Island in the *Eagle*. Four of our frigates have been sunk at Rhode Island, when invested by D'Estaing and the Provincials; also twenty-three ships destroyed.

The Bostonians are said to be out of humor with their new friends and allies, and no wonder; French government, laws, religion, manners, and policy, are totally alien and unnatural to Americans, and will sit uneasy till custom and long use have familiarized them.

Nov. 17. Rode to Beer with Mr. Smith; visited the vicar of Seaton and Beer, a character truly original; a great humorist and punster, not unlike Rev. Mather Byles, of Boston, in that line. He is of enormous bulk, confined by gout, which he told us was his third attack, resembling, in his own language, a furnace heated seven times hotter than the former; compared himself, in the midst of excruciating pains, to his Holiness seated to receive adoration in his sanctified chair; treated us hospitably, and was very facetious.

Nov. 23. Took my leave of Sidmouth, my residence for approaching winter being to be at Exeter; passed the road in two hours and a half, and sat down at new lodgings in Fore-street, near East-gate.

Exeter, Nov. 26. With Mr. Smith rode to Newton Abbot to visit a Capt. Hendley, returned from Newfoundland, taken by Capt. Babson and carried into Boston, where and at Cape

Ann he resided six weeks. He reports that the country is in a distressed condition, wanting almost every comfort; no trade but privateering, by which some have been raised from nothing to affluence; says the inhabitants are embittered against the French, who have engrossed all the trade, from whom they do not in return receive any advantage of labor or supplies, but their own goods at exorbitant prices. Wretched effects of civil discord! How deplorable is the situation, how wretched the prospects, of that once happy region, which security, peace, and plenty have of late abandoned.

Dec. 4. Visited my venerable and reverend friend, Mr. Towgood; he is one of very few to whose respectful and undissembled welcome I am not a little indebted; to whom my grateful acknowledgments are due. The River Exe, by late rains swelled beyond the memory of forty years, has caused great damage. The two islands lying within the banks of the river over against this city, overflown; on them are tucks for drying woollen cloths that are dyed and pressed in the city.

Dec. 16. Attended for the first time Arden's course of lectures on experimental philosophy, being the second of the course, held in a chamber in the castle; more than threescore present, and continued two hours: subject, electricity.

Dec. 21. Received a letter from Judge Sewall, full as usual of humor and hopes.

FROM HON. J. SEWALL.

BRISTOL, *Dec.* 18, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

Till I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 1st inst., I was as much at a loss from what part of this or any other globe I should hear of you, as I was with respect to a certain commander-in-chief, when, to use the words of a friend in a late letter from New York, "after having proceeded up the Delaware within twenty miles of Philadelphia, his place of destination, when a looker-on would say they must (from the reason and nature of things) land at Wil-

mington, instead of which he sees them tack about — away they come — down the river again — huzza — make a circle round Asspeak, up Chesapeake, and after travelling in the heat of the season, in a hell of a climate, over a monstrous extent of country, they arrive at Philadelphia — '*the army in high spirits.*'" Don't you think my friend's description is truly Shandean? However, matters I hope are mending; the account you give me from America seems to be confirmed from all quarters. Judge Howard is lately arrived here from New York; he tells me that a number of gentlemen of influence and property, who have been lying on their oars to see which way the game would finally go, as I suppose, have lately come in, among whom is the famous Mr. Smith, the lawyer;[1] that they, together with Mr. Galloway, are unanimously of opinion, that, from the unexpected tyranny of the Congress and their sub-devils, the almost universal poverty and distress of the people, and the general aversion to French connections, the quondam union of the thirteen States is upon the point of dissolution, and that nothing is wanting but a single effort to crush the rebellion, root, and branch. Judge Howard says he heard Smith say, "if Great Britain don't conquer the Colonies, it can only be because she *won't;*" that these gentlemen have been much with the Commissioners, by whom they have been greatly attended to. With these favorable accounts from America, I can't help connecting the union that appears in Parliament, respecting the grand point, the reduction of the Colonies; for though the opposition to Ministry is still faintly kept up for form's sake, yet the language is so different from that held in former sessions, that I can't help thinking a sense of public danger, and a regard to national interest and honor, begin to prevail over private resentments. From all these appearances I augur well; and I am happy in finding the general opinion among my friends and acquaintances is, that the prospect of a speedy and happy suppression of the rebellion is fairer now than it ever has been. Come, my dear friend, cheer up;

[1] The historian of New York, and Chief-Justice during the war; subsequently of Canada.

don't think of going to that "country from whose bourne no traveller returns," though there be no sin or sorrow, before you have seen a happy end to the sorrows and sins of your country. It will be such glorious news to carry with you, that it is well worth waiting patiently for many years; but I hope you will have it in one year; and then, I doubt not, you will find yourself more *able to combat the unavoidable evils of this state militant*, and be less in a hurry to set out for that unknown country which must be your next stage.

The situation of American Loyalists, I confess, is enough to have provoked Job's wife, if not Job himself; but still we must be men, philosophers, and Christians; and bearing up with patience, resignation, and fortitude, against unavoidable sufferings, is our duty in each of these characters.

There, sir, is a Roland for your Oliver, in the serious way. My friends and family here are all well, and wish you health and happiness. If you see my good friend the doctor before he receives a letter from me, present him my best respects.

Adieu,

J. Sewall.

TO HON. WILLIAM BROWNE, COWBRIDGE, WALES.

Exeter, *Dec.* 26, 1778.

Dear Sir:

I have often in fancy, whilst reading a letter from a friend, transported myself into his presence, and considered myself as attending to his personal conversation, thereby increasing my own enjoyment. This curious effect may perhaps be peculiar to me; however, I am pleasing myself that my friend Col. Browne, although not apt to be carried into the regions of fancy, may on occasion be capable of an innocent delusion of this kind.

Without further preface, my chief intention in this scrawl is to amuse this dark, gloomy season with the recital of a few circumstances relative to our own country that were told me by Capt. Hendley, who was taken into Boston by an American privateer, and passed six weeks there and at Cape Ann. The inhabitants, he said, seemed discontented, and would

gladly exchange their unhappy condition for peace and a connection with their old friends, could a constitutional line be drawn, and America be thereby freed from the future attacks of Administration. That they are dissatisfied with their new allies, against whom there are great heart-burnings; that all commerce is in the hands of the French, and commodities held at an unreasonable height; not a store belonging to the inhabitants contains any European goods, all being in the hands of the French, for which they will receive nothing but money, taking in return no supplies from the Anglo-Americans, nor employing a laborer; in short, that the French are not of the least advantage to them in any respect; that privateering, the only resource of the merchants, is almost annihilated by the great shock the adventurers that way have received; — that the European articles of import are extremely wanted, and at an enormous price; that the French are hated, and in turn they despise and oppress the inhabitants, between whom and themselves there are frequent quarrels; and one that lately made a noise in our papers here, which happened at Boston a few months since, was occasioned solely by the opposition of the natives to the French, no English soldier or sailor being then in town; that those who now rule the roast there are like a certain class of men mentioned in Scripture, taken from the lowest of the people, and too tenacious of their ill-acquired power and honors to part with them, or to suffer the least intimation of reconcilement with Great Britain: honors did I say? — for a moment I forgot Addison's incontrovertible adage,

> "When vice prevails,
> The post of honor is a private station."

I fear the measure of these men's folly is not yet quite full, but I am egregiously mistaken if they are not making hasty strides to their utter undoing. On advice of an order of the Congress for a valuation of estates, real and personal, through their extended domains, the Massachusetts Bay Assembly, incontestably, unanimously and promptly refused compliance, and despatched Mr. Hancock to Philadelphia with their deter-

mination and remonstrance. Their bills of credit, which at first emission passed at the rate of four and sixpence the dollar, had sunk to one and threepence, and passed current only by permission at one and sixpence. The houses in Boston and all along the coast are stripped of every article of furniture and valuable effects, save what is absolutely necessary for constant use, the inhabitants being in continued dread of a descent on the coast, which, indeed, they have but too probable grounds to apprehend. A passenger, lately fled from America on the score of sufferings there, declares the late menace in the Commissioners' Proclamation will assuredly effect what neither persuasions nor threats have yet had force enough to bring about, a solid and firm union of all ranks and classes, for want of which alone in the Middle Colonies, he says, the British Army has not, long since, been driven into the sea. The manifesto, which I presume you have seen, issued by the Congress in consequence of that proclamation, renders it more than probable that, should the dreadful expedient threatened take place, history will hardly furnish a parallel to the cruelty and carnage of the following campaign, which God in his infinite mercy prevent. I presume, before receipt of this, you will have seen the account of Lords Cornwallis and Carlisle's return to Great Britain, and the shattered condition of Byron's fleet, on which was placed such confidence and dependence, having sustained a loss, it is to be feared, of several capital ships. The almost uninterrupted series of untoward events and curious accidents which have befallen this people since the commencement of these mutual confusions and strifes, has not seldom reminded me of a passage in the song of Deborah and Barak; I wish for form's sake I could recollect our New England version: "They fought from heaven, the stars in their courses fought against Sisera." This text is not quoted by way of comparison; I would not have you suppose that I mean to compare the hosts of Sisera to the British army, for in truth I do not think the Americans to be the chosen people of God, or their armies the armies of the living God, though they have only and simply *Deo auspice* for their motto on their bills and

standards. I should have finished the above by adding somewhat of a more cheerful strain, but having finished my sheet must conclude with affectionate regards to Mrs. Browne, your son and self. S. CURWEN.

Dec. 25. There have been twenty-eight King's ships, privateers and letters of marque carried into Brest, from 20th ult. to 10th inst.; a very respectable number, truly, considering the English are lords of the ocean! Of the twenty-eight bishops only four voted to adopt the new mode of carrying on the war by spreading carnage and desolation through America, as decreed in the Commissioners' Proclamation. Whatever excuses or reasons politicians may assign for extending or securing temporal dominion by such cut-throat measures, these four servants of the meek and lowly Jesus have exhibited a spirit that should through the duration of time render them infamous, and their names and memory proverbially detestable. In the papers received to-day, appears a manifesto of Congress in answer to the Commissioners' Proclamation, announcing a retaliation of like measures.

Dec. 28. This day I am arrived at my grand climacteric, having just completed my sixty-third year: with more propriety than old Jacob may I say, "*Few and evil have been the days of the years of my life.*" For what I am reserved, is known to God only; many have been my deliverances, many the deaths I have been rescued from. May my remaining days be employed to more valuable purposes, and to my own real honor and advantage, temporal and eternal. Visited by Mr. George Eveleigh, with whom and family I have an agreeable acquaintance. He was one of the first couple my old friend Mr. McGilchrist married in South Carolina, the ceremony performed at Wands, in Christ Church parish. He was educated at Harvard College, and boarded with President Wadsworth; at first sight of me at Bristol two years ago, he recognized my name and person; having been at school in Cambridge while I was a student in college.

CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1779. Origin of Custom of making Presents on New-Year's-Day. Letters on Public Affairs. British Fleet at Torbay. Lord North announces Departure of Spanish Minister. Ordination at Lympstone. Combined Fleet of France and Spain off Plymouth. Author suspected of being an American Spy. Leaves Exeter for Bristol Dines with Mr. Vassall. Dr. Gardiner. Captain Carpenter arrives with Letters, etc., from Salem. Mrs. Erving. William Cabot.

Exeter, Jan. 1, 1779. A delightful day; visited Mr. Eveleigh, and by invitation passed the afternoon and evening there. Why should presents be made upon the first day of January more than at any other time? The original of this custom is attributed to the reign of Romulus, and Tatius king of the Sabines, who governed jointly in Rome in the seventh year of the city. It is said that Tatius, having been presented on the first of January with some boughs out of the forest of the goddess Strenia, in token of good luck, began this custom, and called the present *strena*. The Romans made this a holiday, and consecrated it to the honor of Janus, offering sacrifices to him; and the people went in throngs to Mount Tarpeia, where Janus had an altar clothed anew, and chose to begin their respective employments on this day. They wished one another good luck, and were very careful not to speak anything ill-natured or quarrelsome. The common presents among the meaner sort were dates, figs, and honey, which were usually covered with leaf gold: and those who were under the protection of great men used to add a piece of money. In the reign of Augustus, the populace, gentry and senators, used to send him new-year's gifts, and if he was not in town, they carried them to the capitol. From the Romans this custom went to the Greeks, and from the

heathens to the Christians, who early came into the practice of making presents to the magistrates. Some of the Fathers wrote strenuously against this practice, on account of the immoralities committed under the cover of protection: but since the Governments of the several nations of Europe have become Christianized, the custom is still retained as a token of friendship, love and respect.

TO MR. JOHN TIMMINS, LONDON.

EXETER, *Jan.* 17, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

Inability to provide for one's own support is a mortifying consideration that embitters almost every circumstance of life. Once I thought health with virtue and a competency a happy condition; now I think otherwise; experience has taught me that more is necessary to human happiness. Without something in pursuit, rightly or wrongly estimated worthy, life is insipid. A connection with my fellow-men, constant employment, and a much less sum would render me more pleased with the world and myself, than the supplies I receive whilst I dream the blank of life along, unknowing and unknown. Did I know how to emancipate myself from this tediously uniform state of little more than mere animal life, not an hour should pass before I would fly to any quarter of the habitable earth to accomplish it. My past inactive state often reminds me of a Latin adage, "*Fruges consumere natus*," a reproach I can but ill brook. Man, by the kind intention of his Creator was formed for useful action; selfish ease, indulgence and repose, injure both body and mind; the former without exercise cannot maintain its health and strength, nor will the latter, if unemployed on laudable, worthy objects, refuse to stoop to base ones, or destroy its vigor for want of exertion, or by sensual indulgence.

Your mention of the Proscription Act in your letter I fancy I did not understand, never having seen any names inserted in any Act; if you mean that lately in our newspapers wherein the Refugees are forbidden under penalty of transportation to return, and threatened with death in case of a second

entrance within the United States, that I have seen, but none other of the kind. Yours,

S. Curwen.

Jan. 23. The last "Remembrancer" contains a list of Refugees banished by Act of the Massachusetts Government, specifying only four out of the thirteen from Salem, viz., William Browne, Benjamin Pickman, John Prince, and John Sargent. The omission of my name affords no comfort, fearing it may operate disadvantageously here, being dependent on the bounty of the Court.

Jan. 30. This day is, in Church of England language, "*Charles's martyrdom.*" Attended service; Archdeacon Hull, of Barnstaple, preached a furious, high-Tory address to a thin audience.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

Exeter, *Feb.* 1, 1799.

Dear Sir:

I hope your New England Toryism will not end in English Jacobinism, as your letter seems to indicate. Curiosity led me last night to the cathedral, where, if you are a real believer that those sufferings of the pretended martyr were undeserved, your ears would have been charmed with Archdeacon Hull's encomium on him, and your liberal breast fired with indignant rage at his cruel persecutors. But really, when I see the solemn mockery of a pulpit clothed in black, the staves of the city officers covered with the same grim color, no music in the service of the day, which generally constitutes so essential a part of Christian worship; God most earnestly entreated not to lay this miscalled murder to the charge of the nation, or to require his blood at their hands, who, to compass his own tyrannous purposes, would have involved (and really did as far as in him lay) this island and Ireland in confusion, carnage and desolation; and further that nothing less than the blood of the Son of God can expiate this (in the Church language) inhuman and execrable (but I durst affirm justly deserved) murder, I cannot fail to

wish Government would lay aside a service which insults common sense, is a mere religious grimace, and which all liberal minds justly despise. Were you to have seen the pitiful and thin company, you would have wagered odds that they were hardened wretches, and went merely to save appearances.

I thank you for the mention of my name to your father, which, if I judge from former experience, will be productive of no very comfortable effects to me; my friends having, I fear, adhered to the notion that my departure was an intentional and full adieu. The omission of my name in the Banishment Act I fear will prove injurious to me here. That your father makes no mention of Government or the temper of the people, I presume arises from his prudence and the surveillance of the rulers there, which is, I fancy, strict enough. Very affectionately,

S. Curwen.

Feb. 15. Evening, walked with Mr. Eveleigh's family through Fore-street to see illumination on occasion of Admiral Keppel's acquittal by court-martial on a charge of Sir Hugh Palliser; the result is the highest approbation of his conduct. London has voted thanks for his bravery, and the freedom of the city, and all large cities and towns are following the example.

Feb. 20. James Russell, on his way to Dartmouth, came here to inform me that it was debated in Massachusetts Assembly whether my name should be inserted in the Exclusion Bill, and carried by a small majority in my favor, after a warm debate.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

Exeter, *Feb.* 19, 1779.

Dear Sir:

I presume I am to expect all that is worth hearing from Judge Sewall's letter to you. All well in Salem the last of December, so Mr. Russell informs me. Two or three persons, I am told, who had not money enough for shoes for their feet, are now riding in coaches of their own in Boston.

Solomon says, "I have seen servants on horseback, and princes walking on foot;" I really think the royal preacher was a prophet, and pointed at the events of our day; at least the present state of English America verifies the remark.

Though the general election be not for these two years, a canvass for votes has begun already. Rolle against Baring and Cholwich, who have combined with the Church and Chambers. I have seen one instance and heard of another of such gross condescension, that it has given me a thorough dislike to parliamentary canvassing, and manifests the pitiful notions of a nation's honor, virtue and regard to public interest, which no man of common sense and real integrity, and not poisoned by corrupt principles and practices of the times, can stoop to, and which nothing but sinister, selfish views can digest and submit to. Men of recluse lives only, such as monks and speculative system makers, vent their spleen on the manners, customs, principles and practices of their day, and call their times the dregs and refuse. I will therefore suppose it always was, and ever will be the case, with ambitious men, to use the same low arts and base flattering compliances to gain their selfish ends; be it so, it is still unworthy conduct. God forbid that wealth, power and influence achieved by such means as reason condemns and honor despises, shall ever be in my possession. The nearer I approach the verge of life, the juster I fancy my notions are, and if indeed they shall prove so, I hope to be finally rid of all essential errors before I put off this mortal coil and become an associate of pure, refined, unembodied intelligences.

Yours, etc., S. CURWEN.

TO JONATHAN SEWALL, ESQ., BRISTOL.

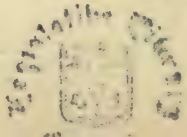
EXETER, *March* 6, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

I delayed answering your last favor, in hopes to transmit you some little intelligence about our own country by means of a Salem captain, who was taken on his passage to Cadiz, and carried into Bristol, from whence he set off for London, and after a short abode passed over to France. His sudden

flight from this land of Toryism and tyranny has deprived me of wished and expected information respecting my family and friends, but instead of granting my request, signified in a letter I wrote, he did not think it consistent with the purity of his principles to correspond with a Refugee, as he told Mr. Timmins.

The Banishment Act, which party resentment dictated, will, like all overstrained penal measures, be its own destroyer, and the malicious designs of its promoters be frustrated by the very means employed to manifest their venom and spite against the friends of lawful government and the constitutional rights of their country; nay, it was soon clamored against, and a noted brother counsellor of your Honor's, whom you well know, of the doubtful or rather double gender, has publicly declared it to be a mad act, to which one may add, as ever disgraced tyranny itself. How unlike is the conduct of our countrymen, who, whilst contending or pretending to contend for civil liberty, are contriving and exciting, with the most rigorous severity, plans of oppression against many of their innocent fellow-subjects, feeble and unarmed, merely for speculative opinions, to the disgrace of their pretensions — I say how unlike is this conduct to those generous Athenians who undertook the expulsion of the thirty tyrants that had usurped the government of that city: themselves reinstated in the rank of citizens, their desires were gratified; they did not persecute with everlasting hatred their enemies, but, determined not to yield to that slavery to which those had basely submitted, they invited them to share the freedom which themselves had so gloriously acquired. The above reference, my worthy friend will candidly suppose is only applied by way of illustration, not comparison, which, however, does not run on all fours, as the saying is. I was going to set down a few remarks on the present state of the nation as it appears to my view; for the good of the nation, you know, in which each individual's happiness is involved, is of too much importance to be neglected by any who wish well to their country; but having made so many false judgments, and remembering the substance in a former



favor, my courage fails, and I think it more prudent to keep my ideas in my own breast. There have been circulating, among some, curious and amusing enough inconsistencies relating to General Campbell in Georgia, from whose successful invasion multitudes augur the quick reduction of America, and have taken anticipatory possession of the remains of D'Estaing's fleet that the flames and sea have not devoured, with Martinique and Guadaloupe. Unluckily the truth of one report dispels, in the minds of judicious people, the succeeding one, consigning it to forgetfulness, which I presume is pretty much the case with you, unless the privateering business engrosses the attention of your Bristol traders, which is not the case with us; but little concern that way, and a declining trade, leave our commercial gentry time enough on their hands, now employed in the laudable purpose of talking and disputing for the honor of Keppel and the good of the nation. These political dabblers, together with clergy and attorneys, rendezvous at Mill's Coffee-House, the mart of politics and scandal, and, I assure you, figure away as notably as Fielding's coffee-house politicians, and are not altogether unequal to them.

Having taken some pains, I hope you will be able to read the foregoing, notwithstanding the abbreviations, which, for despatch, I have used.

I am your affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

Exeter, March 17. Attended a trial at Common Pleas in the castle, Judges Hotham and Perryn; evening, returning home, met a large crowd hallooing, having blue cockades in their hats, with an old man at their head, and streamers flying at the end of long sticks; it proved a triumph for victory gained over the parish priest in a tithe case. I am told it is a customary practice.

April 2. Good Friday. Canon Moore preached at cathedral an excellent sermon, as his always are; he is called Bishop Keppel's sermon-writer, as the latter is not considered a good writer.

April 12. Went to deliver a letter to Mr. and Mrs. Erving, for Judge Sewall, at Bristol, they being about to depart.

TO DR. CHARLES RUSSELL, ANTIGUA.

EXETER, *April* 2, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

You are now very near the intended seat of war; may your little island be protected from the ravages of the enemy. As the events of war are doubtful, I promise myself no certain advantages from the junction of Admirals Byron and Barrington; — shall think it no unfavorable campaign if we can retain our present possessions, expecting no conquests besides St. Lucia, the surrender of which, in sight of a superior French army and navy to British troops, does immortal honor to the victors' bravery and skill. The newspapers that are the mints of falsehood, are daily deceiving us with relations of great distress in the French islands, great dissatisfaction and heart-burnings between Daville, the Governor of Martinico, and D'Estaing; that the latter has, with a disabled fleet and a scanty stock of provisions, been blocked up in Port Royal harbor, Martinico; but our newspaper fabricators have so many purposes to serve quite distinct from truth and the good of society, that I rarely put into my list of facts what for amusement only I read there.

Five or six thousand new levies are designed for America; our privateers have been successful against the East and West Indian French fleets, and the French have nearly balanced accounts by taking and destroying near twenty of our frigates, besides prizes, of which Lloyds' List presents us weekly with no contemptible numbers.

The King's troops are in possession of Georgia, from which some augur the reduction of all America, but from what reason I cannot perceive; one, two, or three Colonies are but part of the confederacy, and there must be some capital defeat, I presume, to cool the ardor of minds so united as the Americans are at present.

I remain your friend, etc.,

S. CURWEN.

(The above, inclosed to William Cabot, London, to be delivered into Samuel Quincy's hands, who is soon going off to Antigua as comptroller at Parkenbay.)

May 10. Walked to Poltimore, the seat of the late Sir Richard Bampfield, five miles out. This miser, for his penuriousness, was called *Tenpenny Dick*, — endeavoring to reduce laborers' day wages to that sum. It is an irregular old edifice, and its office, deserted by its owner, foreshows approaching ruin. The heir, whose name is Sir Charles Warwick Bampfield, is of so different a humor from the late miser, that, in the space of eighteen months he has puffed off sixty thousand pounds in cash, and an income from lands of eight thousand a year, so far as to require many years' mortgages, which the estate is now under, with an allowance of three hundred a year only. It is said his expenses, during his paroxysms of folly, were thirty pounds an hour; a sad instance of folly, thoughtlessness, extravagance, and compliance with the luxurious taste and dissipation of the present age.

May 13, *Ascension Day.* The limits of each parish surveyed by committees, a great number of boys attendant, carrying long slender white rods in their hands; at certain intervals stopping and making loud huzzas.

A British fleet, of nearly five hundred sail, remains windbound in Torbay, under Admiral Arbuthnot, commanding over forty men-of-war.

May 18. Byron's fleet, left in the West Indies, worsted by D'Estaing. By Lord Gower's (President of the Council) own acknowledgment in the House of Lords, the nation is in a woful plight, and justly alarmed lest Spain should take part against us, as Count Almadava, their ambassador, intimated when he should leave: in which case it is my belief we have everything to fear; the combined fleets greatly exceeding ours. Ireland discontented and seemingly ready to join an invader; Scotland uneasy; mutinies and discontent in the fleet, — distraction, etc., in councils.

May 19. Col. Erving and family removing to Exmouth,

by which I have lost one source of much enjoyment; repeatedly pressed to reside in summer with them, which I have hitherto withstood from a dislike to watering places. A fleet of sixteen ships of the line and ninety transports, it is reported, were seen steering towards Ireland; should they land a general defection is to be feared.

June 5. This day informed by Lord Clifford's priest that I may have admittance to see his curiously wrought bed, presented by the old Duchess of Norfolk, said to be the richest in Europe, for which the Queen has offered ten thousand pounds, and been refused. It is said there are four thousand Romish priests and fifteen hundred Dissenting ministers of all persuasions in England and Wales. The former succeed in making converts.

June 20. Yesterday Lord North announced in the House of Commons that the Spanish Minister had left.

June 23. It is said favorable news has arrived to Government; what a pity that views and passions of mankind were not coincident with their real interest, enjoyment and felicity; but, alas! they are at odds too frequently; in the future world all wrongs will be rectified.

June 28. Mr. John Sargent, my townsman, brought a letter from Col. Browne, at Cowbridge; he proposes to abide with me five or six days.

July 8. At Lympstone, ordination of Mr. Jarvis's brother; met my friends Mr. Smith and John Sargent from Sidmouth. The actors were Sir H. Trelawney, Dr. Kippis, of London, and Dr. Priestley, who preached, and exhibited a picture of his own principles, denying in express terms need of particular aids in all cases, since Christ's appearance, being only necessary for the establishment of a religion; — declaring man to be in a similar state respecting moral means as earth is in regard to seed put into it; if it had been in a previous state of fitness for bringing forth, its product would be in proportion; if otherwise, small or none at all.

July 14. Spectators on cliffs amazed with the sight of the grand fleet sailing out of Torbay.

Exmouth, *July* 18. Attended worship at Lady Glenor-

chy's Chapel; principles inculcated not unlike those at Lady Huntington's Chapel. The preacher, a Scotchman, (with a Master of Arts gown,) a missionary of Lady G., who, with Mr. Holmes, of Exeter, fitted this chapel for the propagation of Scotch orthodoxy. Afternoon, at Wythycomb-Raleigh parish, lying at the mouth of the river Exe; the houses are chiefly low, with mud walls and thatched roofs, though there are a considerable number of brick, covered with slate, reputable and handsome, owned chiefly by Exeter people, who come down in shoals on Saturday afternoons for the purpose of pastime and festivity among themselves on Sundays; this being almost the only resort on that day, when the town is full of them; not, as I am told, to the emolument or wish of the inhabitants.

July 22. Received a letter from Mr. Bretland, Exeter, inclosing a card left for me by Governor Hutchinson on his way to London from the West, whither he had been with C. Russell.

Aug. 17. Visited by Mr. Smith and Samuel Sewall from Sidmouth; reported that the combined fleet of France and Spain are off Plymouth; people along the coast and through the country alarmed.

Aug. 23. A levelling spirit has unhappily taken place among the lower classes; menacing expressions; they more than whisper their wishes that the French may land, adding they had as lief have a Louis as a George to reign over them.

Exeter, Sept. 6. Am informed that I am suspected to be an American spy, disaffected to Government; this was reported by one Calhier, a violent hater of the inhabitants of the American continent and of all its friends and well-wishers: his malice I despise, and his power to injure me with Government I defy. Exeter has become the seat of scandal, pride, inhospitality, foppery; an awkward imitation of London manners, to their folly, prevails.

Sept. 23. Left in the coach for Bristol, passing through Wellington, Taunton, Bridgewater, and Cross, and arrived at White Hart Inn, Bristol, where lodged.

Sept. 24. Took lodgings at Mrs. Froade's, York-street, Brunswick-square.

TO MR. GEORGE RUSSELL, BIRMINGHAM.

BRISTOL, *Sept.* 28, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

The alarming condition of public affairs of late has, I presume, engaged your attention, and that of every thoughtful man; what remains for Great Britain to hope, I know not; the causes of fear are too many and too obvious to escape the observation of the most thoughtless and inconsiderate. It is to be wished she may save at least a part of her foreign dominions; which, if not secured by treaty before the following campaign, will, I fear, fall a sacrifice to the ambition of France and Spain, and the resentment of America, notwithstanding the late successes of Sir George Collier, who has wounded the latter in a naval way, though not I believe essentially. To counterweigh this, I fear Sir James Wright, the late Governor, despatched from hence to reassume the government of Georgia, whose sudden departure from thence to New York, and General Provost's abandoning his troops at Beaufort, prove beyond a doubt the pitiful condition they were in, and the great probability of their falling a prey to Hopkins's squadron by sea, and the Provincial arms by land. What a wretched conclusion of so hopeful a beginning, as it seems the Royal Army had at least in expectation when they first set forward in their expedition against Charleston; which seems as if destined by Providence to bring disgrace on the British arms.

I have just returned to this place with Colonel Erving's family, to whom I am indebted for most of my happiness for more than a year at Sidmouth, Exeter, and last at Exmouth. The latter disagreeable by too great a mixture of Exeter folks, "who view with eye malign and looks askance," as Milton describes Satan to have done, all strangers seeming to them as intruders on their property, as they consider Exmouth, and appropriated only to their pleasure: thither many families resort on Sundays, their day of festivity and amusement. Yours, truly, S. CURWEN.

TO WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ., COWBRIDGE, WALES.

BRISTOL, *Sept.* 28, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

I presume you cannot in your distant retreat form an idea of the great distress the southern coast of this island was in during the continuance of the combined fleets in our channel, especially on the lower coasts of Devon and Cornwall. The flight of the inhabitants from Plymouth to Exeter and inland parts during the panic there, spread terror and dismay wherever they came; except to a few, who wished Sir Charles Hardy would, with his thirty-seven ships and fourteen frigates, meet the Hectors of France and Spain, having sixty-seven ships and fifty frigates; and give them, as they phrased it, a sound drubbing: for they were sure of victory in case of an engagement. But thanks to the favorable stars of Great Britain, at that moment in the ascendant, wiser heads governed public councils; he slipped by them and got safely up to Spithead.

This day we have heard that Paul Jones, in the French King's service, has taken a forty-four gun frigate, and entered the harbor of Hull, and destroyed sixteen ships.

What think you of Sir George Collier's Penobscot expedition? The loss of so many ships must be insupportably heavy on our Province, and perhaps irreparable; however, it is a great relief to the English trade, they being all large ships of war, and our sailors expert and adroit in privateering business. Very truly yours, S. CURWEN.

Sept. 28. Visited Col. Erving and family; afterwards dined and took tea with my worthy friend, Judge Sewall; his company, Mr. and Mrs. Faneuil. From thence I went to see Mrs. Gardiner, her husband the doctor, and their daughter, Love Eppes. Meeting Colonel Oliver, late Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts, he informed me of his residence.

Sept. 29. Invited personally by Col. Oliver to a family dinner, meeting only his daughters and his brother-in-law, John Vassall.

Sept. 30. By the "Ladies' Magazine" for August, I perceive that the Massachusetts Bay Government limits the return of the Refugees, or even Absentees, to July, 1780.

Oct. 9. Took tea at Mr. Erving's; his daughter handed me an ancient manuscript copy of Goldsmith's "Hermit," and Mr. Russell's lines on his wife, — both excellent.

Oct. 15. Dined with Mr. Vassall in Queen's-square, in company with Dr. Gardiner and Robert Hallowell, the elder of the Simpsons, Mr. Vassall's lady, and Miss Davis. At dinner, informed by Dr. Gardiner, of many circumstances relating to my countrymen's behavior during the siege of Boston, with which I was not before acquainted; and which, if true, proves that that people, like all mankind when civil commotions take place, are maddened into party rage. I dare say, nothing peculiarly bad, cruel, wrong, or unjust characterizes that people at this unhappy period.

Oct. 17. Papers filled with unauthenticated reports of France having swept the coast of Africa, and taken all our forts.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

BRISTOL, *Oct.* 28, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

I should not have delayed acknowledging the receipt of your last favor until this day, had I not undertaken, by my friend Eveleigh's request, to furnish your Reverence with an authentic and minute detail of the progress of the British Army to Charleston, their retreat, and late (for it seems to be shrewdly suspected here, that at present they are in the hands and keeping of the French and Congress) dangerous and suffering condition at Beaufort. I am afraid there are too strong reasons for apprehending that event, it being rumored here, and generally believed, that Administration has received undoubted intelligence of D'Estaing's destination to Georgia and the southern coast, with six thousand troops, and a much larger naval armament than Great Britain has in those seas to oppose them, with any probability of success, under Arbuthnot.

Should General Clinton, as the papers have lately intimated, drain New York of five or six thousand troops, and proceed to Georgia, and with a slender convoy (comparatively I mean) meet D'Estaing, it is not difficult to foretell the fate of the American war; but this is mere supposition and chance, you will say; the former may arrive on the coast time enough to land himself and troops, and send off his transports. It will be well for England if he should, for the fate of their claims and pretensions on that continent depends on that single circumstance; should the two fleets meet in open sea, the odds will be so unfavorable on our side as to approach the worst consequences. The Penobscot affair does Sir George Collier's conduct and bravery great credit, leaves an indelible stain on our countrymen and our Province, at present in a defenceless condition; to balance this account, the British cause has suffered a disgrace and loss of equal magnitude at Stony Point. Perhaps you have not heard that, but for a misunderstanding between the American Generals, Verplanck's Point, on the opposite shore, had suffered the same fate. Mr. * * * * * read me a letter from Mr. * * * * * , of Falmouth, [now Portland, Maine,] wherein he describes the sufferings of people late in comfortable circumstances, and many in a condition truly pitiable. It raised a sympathy in my breast; I could not restrain the tear of pity, the only part of humanity in my power; nor was I a little hurt by the manner in which it was told; political zeal, like religious, can steel the heart against the feelings of nature. The *succedaneum*, or substitute for bread, of which some have not tasted for months, was dried plaice, powdered. Zeal, for aught I know, is sharpened rather than blunted by sufferings, though that and some other letters suggest that the people are almost worried out by the hardships and evils of war; many no doubt are those, I presume, who gain nothing by it; of which there are but few except the persecuted. I pray God to shorten the time of their tribulation; may all soon experience the blessings of peace, and unite in thanksgiving with one heart and one mouth.

Very truly your friend,

S. Curwen.

Nov. 3. Dined with Messrs. Simpson and Waldo, in company with Peter Frye, Benjamin Pickman, and Richard Routh.

Nov. 16. Visited Mr. Lechmere; drank tea with Judge Sewall.

Nov. 26. Visited Mr. Barnes and Col. Oliver with Peter Frye; dined with them and Benjamin Pickman at Mr. Lechmere's; conversing on American politics and Salem affairs.

Nov. 28. Dined with Col. Oliver in company with Peter Frye and Benjamin Pickman.

Dec. 14. Dined at Judge Sewall's, and played quadrille with Mrs. Faneuil, Mrs. Sewall, and Mr. Francis Waldo.

Dec. 21. Visited Col. Erving; drank tea by Mrs. Sewall's invitation, and passed the evening in company with Mr. J. Vassall and lady, and niece Davis, and Mr. R. Hallowell and lady.

Dec. 23. Received two letters from Richard Ward and wife, (my niece,) the first since my absence; and one from William Pynchon.

TO DR. CHARLES RUSSELL, ANTIGUA.

BRISTOL, *Dec.* 23, 1779.

DEAR CHARLES:

The numerous papers that will go with the fleet, renders it needless for me to send such intelligence as I can at best but imperfectly furnish you with. There is little, however, of newspaper *news*, besides what is contained in the "Gazette," (which does not always give in full, but perhaps as much information as is prudent,) little, I mean, of what relates to the public. The old proverb justly says, truth lies in a well, and difficult it is to draw it up. I believe that of fifty reports five only will be founded in fact. It is the distemperature of the times, not peculiar to this period, however, (as the jaundiced eye gives its hue to every object,) to present only the party complexion of the relator; for all the world here is divided into American and anti-American, ministerial and anti-ministerial. One fact I will venture to relate, to which

I was an eye and ear witness: residing at Exmouth while the combined fleets of France and Spain rode masters of the English Channel, in sight for many days together of Plymouth, it is hardly credible how the brave, magnanimous hearts of the English forsook them; a panic seized the country. The town of Plymouth was, as quick as thought, drained of its inhabitants and property, and all the neighborhood; the people flying spread terror as they fled; even the plague, or an earthquake, could hardly have produced more terrific apprehensions. Strange and unaccountable organization and state of the human mind and body, that sudden fear should produce effects more distressing than a deliberate, sensible view of danger! It is equally unaccountable that the enemy did not land; for had they at Cawsand Bay, then without any defence or works to annoy, and a safe shore, with three or four thousand men, (unprovided as we then were with munitions of war,) Plymouth, with the docks, works, and shipping, would have fallen a prey to the invaders. There was not wadding enough for one round in the garrison. That the enemy did not land and attack Sir Charles Hardy, then lying off Scilly Islands with a very inferior fleet, viz., thirty-seven ships of the line and twelve frigates, with his sixty-seven capital ships and thrice that number of frigates, is to be accounted for only on the same principle that Ahitophel's wise counsel was rejected; for nothing could save our fleet from defeat, and the kingdom from ravage and desolation in consequence; but by an overruling Power, whose wisdom appoints and limits empires and their duration, this kingdom is preserved; the wisdom of the wise we see sometimes turned to foolishness, and weakness made to triumph over strength and courage.

Since those alarms of two months back, another has succeeded of perhaps equal magnitude: Ireland, availing herself of the distresses of her imperious, domineering sister kingdom, has raised forty thousand men with arms in their hands, independent of Government, and a majority of 143 to 42 in their House of Commons; and loudly and peremptorily demands a free trade, which this country has, however

bitter the dose, with seeming complacency and readiness, granted. It is said the Irish are satisfied, and have besides offered to raise twenty thousand men; but where men think themselves abridged of their natural rights, and have, or think they have, power to recover them, it will be lucky for Old England if the Irish do not proceed to require other concessions. The former is not in a condition to reject her demands, or to force her obedience. I will not say Ireland can maintain her independence, but there are powers willing and ready to support her resistance, and England cannot go to war with all Europe. In truth, she receives ungrateful returns for her generosity, unequalled by any state since government obtained amongst mankind, — but enough of this.

I have received a second letter from my friend, William Pynchon, Esq., and his relation in answer to my complaint of my banishment is truly pitiable; what he says will serve instead of a hundred instances to exhibit to your view a picture of the distressful situation of some of our friends, viz.: "If you knew half the inconveniences your continuance here would have occasioned, it would surely lessen your discontent; had you lost your business, all your debts, the fruits of many years' labor, been driven to sell your house and lands for payment of your debts and expenses, and, thus reduced, you still would not freely nor safely walk the streets, by reason of party rage and malevolence, and the uncontrolled rancor of some men."

This comforts me, and ought to console you and every other sufferer. I remain, dear Charles,

Your affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

Dec. 26. Capt. Carpenter called in my absence; he is master of the cartel-ship from Boston, lately arrived; friends well at Salem a month ago, when he left. Went to dock and saw Capt. Carpenter, who handed me letters from Mr. Nathan Goodale, containing gentle hints relating to surprising revolutions in property, which in such times of civil commotions ever take place.

Dec. 29. Capt. Carpenter dined with me, and passed the evening; he gave me a more circumstantial relation of Salem, its inhabitants, and concerns, its present commercial and civil state, than I had received from any one before, though I fancy it is somewhat too highly colored.

Dec. 30. Visited Mrs. Erving and presented her a Massachusetts Bay apple, which she said she should taste with a high relish; adding, "To that country I feel as great partiality and love as to my native land."

Dec. 31. My young townsman, William Cabot, came down from London to visit me, by invitation, in order to confer with Capt. Carpenter. Evening at Judge Sewall's, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Hartford. Thus ends another revolution of the sun.

CHAPTER XII.

A. D. 1780. Manilla Ship described. Visit to Bath. Letters. Mr. *Washington*, a Moravian Preacher. Celebration of Admiral Rodney's Victory over Don Langara. Death of William Hutchinson. Number of Americans at Bristol, and their Names. Remarks on the Theatre. On Public Affairs. Advices from General Clinton in South Carolina. His Success. Tour to the North in Company with the Sewalls. Newport. Newton. Honiton. Kidderminster. Brosely. Shrewsbury. Residence of Samuel Porter. Ellesmere. Wrexham. Chester. Warrington. Canal Locks at Runcorn. Liverpool. Peak of Derbyshire. Derby. Wolverhampton. Iron Bridge at Brosely. Curious Celebration of Gen. Clinton's Success at Charleston by S. Sewall. Passage on the Severn from Bridgenorth to Worcester. Adventure with a Footpad. Return to Bristol. Riots described in Letter to W. Pynchon. Leaves Bristol for London. Amusing Sign at Devizes. Arrival in London.

Jan. 1, 1780. Went with William Cabot through Clifton and Hot Wells; turned into Merchants' Dock to view the large Manilla ship unloading; her length 172 feet, a prize, estimated variously from £50,000 to £300,000. Took tea at Mr. Wraxall's, passed an agreeable hour, conversation turning on history, fulfilment of prophecy, and convenience of *ladies' pattens*. Mrs. Wraxall has been represented as a stiff religionist; the contrary this evening has afforded a proof of: perhaps devotion and a conversible humor have alternately the ascendant; at best we are but a very changing, uncertain, unsteady compound.

Jan. 5. Left for Bath at ten, and arrived there in less than three hours; patrolled the streets, viewing the Crescent, Queen's-square and Parade, Paragon-row, Pump-room; saw there a numerous company, walking, standing; playing whist the only *fashionable* game. This city, in gratitude to Beau Nash, master of ceremonies, had his picture taken at full

length, and put up in the Pump-room; and unluckily between small busts of the great Newton and Mr. Pope, which Lord Chesterfield seeing, uttered these stanzas, viz.:

"Immortal Newton never spoke
More truth than here you 'll find;
Nor Pope himself e'er penned a joke
Severer on mankind:
The picture placed the busts between,
Adds to the satire's strength;
Wisdom and wit are little seen,
But folly at full length."

TO NATHAN GOODALE, ESQ., SALEM, N. E.

BRISTOL, *Jan.* 10, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

I am obliged for the information contained in your letter brought me by Capt. Carpenter, relative to my friends and acquaintances. I am glad to hear that the members of the Monday Night Club are permitted to assemble without interruption. I wish the continuance of it, and an increase to each member of every valuable enjoyment, and thank them for their kind remembrance of me.

You may, if you please, acquaint Mrs. Sargent, with my compliments, that being about to write Col. Browne, I shall inform him of what you mention concerning her. You write me that as I am a friend to America, I shall aways find friends there; that I acknowledge is a most desirable circumstance, but there are other considerations necessary to make any spot on earth an object worthy of any one's wish to reside in. My compliments to Mrs. Goodale and Miss Higginson, and your next neighbors, Mr. and Mrs. Cabot.

Yours, etc.,

S. CURWEN.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ., SALEM, N. E.

BRISTOL, *Jan.* 10, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

I commence writing, my worthy friend, without knowing on what subject or subjects, as there is scarce any that party

prejudice may not wrongly interpret and draw unfavorable inferences from; besides, the governing powers in times of war, tumult and confusion, assume a liberty to dispense with the settled regulations of the State in peaceable times, and among other precautions, open letters from foreign parts. I fear you are in the same predicament; perhaps it may be right, but it is a sad and mortifying restraint on distant friends, and prevents that agreeable intercourse, which supports friendship and adds to the enjoyments of life.

With regard to my peculiar situation, connection and sentiments, I must be reserved; in general my condition is comfortable, although in England it requires as many hundreds as I can realize scores of pounds. Some people who came from your side of the Atlantic affect to prefer this country to their own, whether it be from affectation or a real preference, I pretend not to determine; *pour moi*, I wish for nothing more than peace and to return thither; no approaches to the former I can as yet perceive.

A few weeks since we heard of John Adams and Francis Dana's arrival at Paris from the Congress: little good fruit, however, is to be expected unless one or other of the parties are disposed to recede from their pretensions, which Great Britain seems not at all inclined to at present. For my native country I feel a filial fondness; her follies I lament, her misfortunes I pity; her good I ardently wish, and to be restored to her embraces is the warmest of my desires. This country is, or might be, a paradise of delights to those who enjoy a full purse, and are by education and habit formed to relish its delights, amusements, and pursuits; but for me America is good enough.

I was going on, having forgot to tell you that this is designed to acknowledge receipt of your two last agreeable favors, for which I acknowledge myself indebted to you in no less a sum than ten thousand thanks. Great as this sum is, I am rich in them, sincere ones too; but I am not likely to lessen my capital from the demands of my American friends, you being one of the very few to whom, in the epistolary way, I owe any debts. Ten letters from Salem are all

I can boast in the course of almost five years, when scarce a countryman of ours but can count as many yearly. My complaints on this head have proved fruitless and vain, and have more than half determined me to suffer myself to be forgotten abroad, with a very few exceptions; and render measure for measure, and repay silence by contempt. But the tender feelings of the heart are not to be wholly overcome: what was anger and resentment, is by age the endurance of evils; and, perhaps, a better way of thinking, changed into grief. Can you then wonder, situated as I am, at my anxiety and distress? I do assure you the silence and neglect on the part of my friends and acquaintances has, more than banishment, oppressed my mind; the latter is not a light burden, and when added to the former, exceeds my religion and philosophy to support. The heart of old age, if not rendered callous by vicious indulgences, is tender as in infancy; but, to quit the plaintive strain, — you tell me I forget *de Repub.*, &c.: I confess I am like poor Faithful in "Pilgrim's Progress," ever almost in the Slough of Despair; would it were in your power to dart a ray of hope into my gloomy mind. I thank my countrymen for the less unfavorable opinion conceived of me than by some others. For my part, I would cheerfully promote to the extent of my power the good of individuals, and that of the public; but with regard to the latter, I cannot give my approbation to their whole system of politics. The present circumstances of affairs do not allow me to indulge one wish to return, till they are a little better settled; and can easily imagine the evils you suggest, which, at my time of life, would quickly overwhelm my poor crazy bark; hardly able to keep above water even where the waves are not rough. Please remember my kindest regards to all my acquaintance; particularly the members of the Monday Night Club, which I learn still subsists; I wish its continuance and increase of worthy members. I fear my worthy old friend, Mr. McGilchrist, has forgotten me; *apropos*, it has been my good fortune for a course of three winters passed in Exeter, to find a worthy and intimate friend, who, in his moral, religious, and philosophical

character, bears the nearest resemblance to my said Salem friend. To him I am indebted for much useful information and entertainment; for his and the sake of a very few, I left that quarter with reluctance. It has been frequently in my thoughts to make a collection of the best pieces that the press affords, for the benefit of my friends and myself; but that depends on contingencies. The execution of that, and some other designs I have had in my mind and view, must be deferred, I fear, to a distant day.

Our friends are scattered all over the face of the land, and if soon to be summoned to appear before the last tribunal, they might truly be said to be brought from the east, west, north, and south. Present my kindest regards to Mrs. Pynchon and all your family. Sincerely wishing you a healthy body, quiet mind, and a full purse, which I think comprehends all earthly blessings,

I am, with perfect esteem, your friend,

S. Curwen.

Jan. 13. Capt. Carpenter, young Jonathan Gardner, both of Salem, and a Mr. Leavitt, having arrived in a cartel-ship from Boston, dined with me, and passed the afternoon and evening.

Jan. 20. Took tea with Mrs. Gardner, in company with Mr. Randolph, brother of the Congress member, though of contrary political principles.

Jan. 30. Charles's martyrdom; attended service in cathedral; young Camplin preached a serious discourse from "Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord." He modestly and laudably avoided any reference to the day. I could not fail to notice the difference between this mock solemnity here and at Exeter: here, no mayor nor corporation attended in a procession of city officers, with their staves covered with black, nor was the pulpit in the same grim color. The service was read, with singing, as on other Church holidays; assembly of an indifferent appearance, far from numerous.

TO WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ., COWBRIDGE, WALES.

BRISTOL, *Feb.* 10, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

Perhaps it may amuse you to be made acquainted with a few particulars relating to our own country and town, that may not have come to your knowledge. About six weeks ago a prize ship from Boston arrived here with thirty-six passengers, who were suffered to depart, under verbal promise to return back again to captivity if this Government should not acknowledge the ship to be a cartel, and send back an equal number of Americans to Boston or to France. In the event, no notice is taken of them, as might be expected; the ship is claimed, and as yet *sub judice*, though it is thought it will be determined in favor of the claimants. The American owner is a Mr. Mitchell, Irish by birth, American in principle and alliance, being married to a daughter of George Bethune. The master, a Mr. Carpenter, who you know married the youngest of the Gerrishes, and tried to be a Loyalist (applying, unsuccessfully, however, for a pension,) about two years since, whilst he resided with his wife at Brompton-Row; on his rejection he took wit in his anger and returned to Salem. From him and young Gardner, only son of Jonathan Gardner, Jr., I have obtained the annexed list of prices, which, instead of a score of arguments, may prove the low condition of Congressional credit, and show the exorbitant rate of the useful articles of life, and perhaps their scarcity. It is a melancholy truth, that, whilst some are wallowing in undeserved wealth that plunder and rapine have thrown into their hands, the wisest, most peaceable, and most deserving, such as you and I know, are now suffering want, accompanied by many indignities that a licentious, lawless people can pour forth upon them.

Those who, five years ago, were the "*meaner people*," are now, by a strange revolution, become almost the only men of power, riches and influence; those who, on the contrary, were leaders and in the highest line of life, are glad at this time to be unknown and unnoticed to escape insult and plunder,—

the wretched condition of all who are not violent, and adopters of Republican principles. The Cabots, of Beverly, who, you know, had but five years ago a very moderate share of property, are now said to be by far the most wealthy in New England; Hasket Derby claims the second place in the list; and * * * * * * puts in for a place amongst the first three; Mr. Goodale, by agency concerns in privateers and buying shares, counts almost as many pounds as most of his neighbors. The following are persons of the most eminence for business in Salem, as far as my memory serves, viz.: Hasket Derby,[1] William Pickman, George Crowninshield, William Vans, Capt. Harraden, a brave and notable privateer captain, Joseph Henfield, Capt. Silsbee, Samuel Gardner, Joseph and Joshua Grafton's sons, Francis Clarke, Capt. George Dodge's youngest sons, and Jos. Orne. E. H. Derby's Province tax is £11,000, and his neighbors complain he is not half taxed. The immensely large nominal sums which some are said to be worth, shrink into diminutive bulk when measured by the European standard of gold and silver. In New England a dollar bill is worth only 2⅔ of an English halfpenny. Pins at 1s. a piece, needles at 2s., beef 2s. 6d., veal 2s., mutton and lamb 1s. 6d., butter 6s. per lb., rum eight dollars per gallon, molasses two dollars, brown sugar 10s. per lb., loaf sugar 15s., Bohea tea seven dollars per lb., coffee five dollars, Irish pork sixty dollars per barrel, lemons 3s. apiece, wood twenty dollars a cord, ordinary French cloth twenty-two dollars a yard, hose nine dollars a pair. A suit of clothes which cost five guineas here, would cost five hundred dollars in Boston. Yours, &c.

S. Curwen.

Feb. 13. To the Moravian Chapel; Mr. Washington, the settled minister, preached from "*And being fashioned as a man*," etc. The great point insisted on, as usual, was that the Supreme Deity, the God and Father of all, or to use their own language, "*the eternal Jehovah, suffered death actually, truly and properly, in the person of Christ, or was the real*

[1] Charles H. Derby.

suffering, dying being, who expired on the cross." In the course of these extemporaneous or *memoriter* effusions, such terms and expressions were used that made my blood more than once almost forsake its channels; in truth, I was astonished and hurt to an extreme degree, and it has caused me to resolve on forsaking this and all assemblies of like over-zealous orthodox tenets.

Feb. 16. To the "Wells," over St. Vincent's, through Clifton, by Sir William Draper's; from thence across Brandon Hill to Judge Sewall's, where drank tea in company with Mr. and Mrs. Barnes, Miss Arbuthnot, their niece, and Miss Russell.

Feb. 29. Took a walk and went on 'Change with Mr. Erving; then a passage in the Bath coach at four o'clock, and at half past six alighted at the "Three Tuns Inn;" from thence on foot to the coffee-house in Orange-grove, where I remained for two hours reading papers, drinking coffee, etc., and received information from John Boylston, my countryman, that my friend Isaac Smith, for whose sake I took this ramble, was to leave at nine to-morrow for Bristol; so I bespoke a seat in the same stage. Passed two hours in the streets and Abbey-square among the crowd — ears entertained by musketry discharged from the abbey leads and ringing of bells, to celebrate Sir G. Rodney's victory over Don Langara; retired to the inn, supped and lodged. Gov. Hutchinson's son William died on the 20th instant.

Bath, March 1. After breakfast I entered the carriage and departed with my friend Smith, and at twelve o'clock alighted at the White Hart, Bristol. Mr. Smith dined with me; he having engaged himself to Mr. Wright and lady, who were this afternoon to pay a visit at Mr. Erving's; my friend and I joined company to tea; at eight o'clock with the family took a turn in Queen's-square, to view the illuminations, which were brilliant, in honor of Sir G. Rodney's victory of 16th January.

March 4. By invitation dined at Judge Sewall's with Mr. Smith, R. and N. Lechmere, Col. Oliver, Mr. Simpson, Mr. Francis Waldo and Mr. Vassall.

March 5. Engaged at tea to partake of Mrs. Bearpacker's "mothering cake." It is a custom here on Mid-Lent Sunday for a cake to be brought to mothers, in conformity to which custom some females make a large one and present it to their acquaintance. This custom continues in Gloucestershire, and is said to be derived from Joseph's making himself known to his brethren.

March 6. Dined at Mr. F. Waldo's with Mr. Simpson, his nephew, and young Borland.

TO MR. LAKIN, BIRMINGHAM.

BRISTOL, *March* 6, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

You are pleased to compliment me on my knowledge of the state of affairs in America, but really, should I attempt a narrative of its present political and commercial condition, I fear it would be too imperfect to afford you much useful information. So great a revolution in both respects has taken place since my departure, so different is the channel of business, so little the concerns that I have amongst the commercial people here, and so slender my advices about them, being chiefly newspaper intelligence, which you know is not always the word of Apollo, that it would be rashness to commit to paper my undigested thoughts on those subjects. I strongly suspect the independency of America, or a system of political and civil government, will sooner or later be established there, to the utter overthrow of the Navigation Act of Charles II., and the commerce of Great Britain with the American Colonies and her other foreign dominions, if she will be powerful enough to retain any, which I fear; in this case it may be easily discerned that by opening new channels, trade will assume a new face, and be conducted by very different people, and on quite different principles.

You propose undertaking a journey here, and I assure you of a cordial welcome to my lodgings, to pass your time while here; and as conversation admits of less restraint than writing, I shall with the greatest cheerfulness communicate as

much as lies within the compass of my knowledge relating to the subject of your inquiry. I wish the benefit you might derive from my information would bear any proportion to the pleasure I shall receive in communicating; for you can scarce be more obliging than to afford me an occasion of paying in person my respects to him for whose former civilities I am indebted more than is in my power at present to discharge. To your kind inquiry I am happy to answer, my friends, far removed from the seat of war, escape descents on their coasts and inroads on their frontiers, which their brethren in the Southern Colonies unhappily do not. A more particular relation I must defer to a personal interview.

Yours truly,

S. Curwen.

March 11. Dined at Mr. Erving's with two daughters of a Mr. Ewen, who had been residents on Rhode Island, but driven off by civil storm; and being told that Capt. and Mrs. Fenton with myself, intended to dine with them at Brislington, expressed their pleasure to see us next Monday.

March 14. Took tea at Judge Sewall's; company Mr. Simpson, Mr. F. Waldo, Mr. Faneuil and lady, and Miss Russell.

April 14. Visited by Nathaniel Coffin and R. Hallowell; meeting widow Borland's eldest son John, recognized each other, made mutual compliments and invitations.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ., SALEM, N. E.

Bristol, *April* 19, 1780.

Dear Sir:

The bearer, being acquainted with the state of our political affairs, will communicate more than would be prudent for me to commit to paper, should I be disposed to dabble in that dangerous business, politics. A tedious, uniformly insipid inactivity soon renders every place displeasing; but my removal from hence depends on contingencies not to be foreseen. If I leave, I shall engage in a week's ramble, and like the father of the faithful, go, not knowing whither; the

world is all before me where to choose my place of rest, hitherto unfound, and with no land of promise before me.

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Perhaps it may be amusing to you to be informed of the number of Americans in Bristol, who are comprised in the following list: —

Col. Oliver and six daughters; Mr. R. Lechmere, his brother Nicholas, wife and two daughters; Mr. John Vassall, wife and niece, Miss Davis; Mr. Barnes, wife and niece; Miss Arbuthnot; Mr. Nathaniel Coffin, wife and family; Mr. Robert Hallowell, wife and children; Judge Sewall, wife, sister, and two sons; Samuel Sewall with his kinsman, Mr. Faneuil and wife; Mr. Francis Waldo and Mr. Simpson, together with Mrs. Borland, a son and three daughters. I send this by young Gardner, who with Mr. Leavitt and Capt. Carpenter leaves us to-morrow, and will shift for their passage to America as they can. Very truly,

S. Curwen.

TO MR. RICHARD WARD, SALEM, N. E.

Bristol, *April* 19, 1780.

Dear Sir:

Your two favors of the 5th and 12th of November are at hand. You say, that "to the many we have written you, we have received no answer;" it is not a little unaccountable that of many not one should have arrived to me before these two; for that in truth is the case. That neither you nor my niece should in the course of five years take the least notice of her only uncle, was in my judgment a singular instance of forgetfulness; that you was a partisan I well knew, though not in the rankest degree I hope; and it is natural that she should be biassed to the side you took, and I thus accounted for the dead silence through the long interval between my departure and the receipt of yours; but your declaration has explained the difficulty, and I find, greatly to my satisfaction, that other causes than those I suggested to myself have prevented my receiving those instances of notice and regard which your relation to me demanded. That I

find no acknowledgment in yours of the receipt of even one of the many sent to my niece and you, is to be accounted for in the same way.

The Irish, availing themselves of the embarrassment of Great Britain, have got an enlargement of privileges, and talk of making further demands. That the war is at a distance from your own doors, the melancholy reports from the southward afford you the strongest reasons for daily thanks; may it not be your misfortune in the Massachusetts Bay to experience the sufferings, ravages, carnage and devastation of her sister Southern Colonies.

Absence from all I hold dear on earth is an evil, and the peculiar condition I am in, increases its severity; but I endeavor to muster my whole stock of religion and philosophy, and with the united aid of both, and a few amusements, life is tolerable. I cannot prevail with myself to quit a peaceful region, and attempt a passage across the Atlantic during this state of turmoil; should I choose a place to reside in on the western side of the globe, Halifax would not be the spot; nothing but the prospect of great gains, which reconciles all climates and people, would make that place in any degree tolerable; besides, the expense of living is as extravagant as in England, without any of its advantages to counterbalance their many inconveniences and evils. I thank you for the expressions of kindness and good-will from you both respecting my peace of mind. Tell your son, my namesake, I shall answer his letter soon.

With unfeigned regard, your uncle,

S. Curwen.

April 24. This day, five years are complete since I abandoned my house, estate, effects and friends. God only knows whether I shall ever be restored to them, or they to me. Party rage, like jealousy and superstition, is cruel as the grave; — that moderation is a crime in times of civil confusions, many good, virtuous, and peaceable persons, now suffering banishment from America, are the wretched proofs and instances. May it please God to inspire with wisdom and true policy

the principal conductors in this truly lamentable war on both sides the Atlantic, and give peace in our time. Did I know how to emancipate myself from this constrained, useless, uniform blank of life, and enter on an active course, I would joyfully seize the occasion.

Evening at theatre to see "Belle's Stratagem"; entertainment "Waterman." I would not indulge a cynical, surly disposition, but cannot help acknowledging that I find great disappointment at the theatrical performances. Actors fall below my idea of just imitation; to my seeming they overact, underact, or contradict nature; — a hero is a bully, a gentleman is a coxcomb, a coxcomb a fool, a lady affected, pert, or insipid; but gamesters, chambermaids, footmen, indeed, the whole series of under-characters, not illy played.

April 28. A lethargy respecting the public interest has seized the people of this country; which the selfish principles, supremely governing, or rather tyrannizing over all ranks and orders, ages, sexes and conditions, has brought on them; they are devoted victims, and so I leave them to their impending fate. I really think that neither Administration nor Opposition is composed of uncommon characters; for if other men in each line were to succeed these that now figure on the political stage, the same, or nearly the same parts would be played; for in the corrupt state of this people, ministerial conduct, such as it is, is necessary; I do not say expedient, for the wheels of government cannot move an inch without money to grease them. Did the circumstances of things admit, I verily believe my favorite Lord North, who I take to be one of the best characters in the whole British Empire, would shine one of the brightest luminaries that ever enlightened the political hemisphere.

Walked abroad, and met one of my countrymen, who informed me that, by a packet twenty-five days from New York, advices had been received that General Clinton, after two months from thence, had arrived at Georgia; and had proceeded to within a mile and a half of Charleston, S. C., before which he was to have opened his batteries of forty cannon on the 11th of March; that the town had from four

to six thousand troops within, and a great plenty of military and other stores; that it was divided into four parts by deep trenches or canals filled with water, intersecting each other at right angles; that the Americans were resolved to dispute the ground inch by inch; but party representation adds, however, that they had no great relish for a patriotic death.

Afternoon and evening at Judge Sewall's; company, Mrs. Long, of Ireland, Mr. and Mrs. Faneuil, Mr. Oxnard, with young Inman and his wife, a son of Ralph's, in the military line, and Miss Inman.

May 14. Evening at Lady Huntingdon's Chapel; Mr. Wills preached; who took an affectionate leave, being about to depart on a converting progress through South Wales. He warmly contended against the damnable doctrine of Arianism; the professors of which, at one blow, he condemned to eternal perdition. Pity it is that orthodoxy, meaning thereby not right, just thinking, but the belief of established notions, under the sanction of civil authority, should always, in all cases, and at all times, be accompanied with uncharitableness; the understood characteristic of the false church.

May 17. Public expectations are at the highest pitch respecting the success of General Clinton, and the great advantages Government will derive from it; if it shall be the occasion, supposing he shall become possessed of Charleston, of producing a reconciliation on generous and safe terms, my joy will accompany the general acclamation.

May 19. Nathaniel Coffin is going to Bath for his health. Meeting R. Hallowell in the street, he read some paragraphs in a letter from his father, Gardiner, at Poole, informing of the distresses of our country, discontent of people at the continuance of the troubles, and intimating wishes to return to former connections with this country, wherein I cordially join; would that that happy event might soon take place, with honor and safety to all parties!

May 29. This being Restoration-day, some houses are distinguished by oak-branches in front, which is a mark of attachment to monarchy; and by many of regard to the ex-

cluded family, at least in some places, as Manchester, Exeter, &c.

June 5. This being the appointed day for setting out on a tour of pleasure to the North by Judge Sewall, Samuel Sewall and myself, I was early notified by a thundering at the door; being awake, I soon descended, and found my friend's eldest son with a message, desiring my immediate presence at breakfast before departure. Complying with the summons, on going over, I found the family up, and all things in readiness, but the owner of the carriage delayed us for an hour; at length it arrived, and taking leave of our friends, we set forward in an unpromising air; the morning being cloudy, with the appearance of rain, which through the day came down in the form of a drizzle. At nine, we alighted at the Bell Inn, Newport, distant eighteen miles; hence to Gloucester; roads for the greater part dirty and bad; grounds fertile; farm-houses, barns, and avenues slovenly; fences in ill-repair and low. At twelve alighted at King's Head Inn, at the last mentioned place; here took a collation; taking a relay, departed for Newton. Here it came into my head to inquire of our host, who seemed to be a lazy man, whether his was the house referred to in Tom Jones, where Sophia Western's muff was picked up by her paramour; to which he replied in the affirmative, and offered to show the bed where it lay; had his invitation been to see the charming young lady herself, I doubt whether my answer would have been what I gave him. Here we stopped no longer than to have fresh horses put to. Hence to Worcester is twelve miles, and over excellent roads; pleasant hedges and well cultivated lands in view.

Worcester, *June* 6. Strolled for two hours, viewing the cathedral and new bridge, which latter is now finishing, and a beautiful structure. The new street leading to the centre of the city on one end, and to the bridge on the other, will, when completed, be a fine avenue, and among its greatest ornaments. At ten departed hence to Horbrook, eleven miles; here took a new relay, and choosing the road through Kidderminster, alighted at Bridgenorth, distance from former

stage sixteen miles. This town lies in Salop, and for situation is most singular: part being on a lofty plain, faced with a rock in some spots nearly perpendicular, the ascent to which is by slopes and steps in a kind of serpentine line; on the front is a terrace, affording a view of the lower town. The town is situated on both sides of the river Severn, communicating by a bridge; a well cultivated country is in prospect from the upper part, bounded by hills in a circular line, rising gradually one beyond another; the lands interspersed with rows, clumps and forests of trees, and scattered habitations of farm-houses and gentlemen's seats. In the upper town are the remains of an ancient castle, destroyed when Cromwell took the town, that before was in the King's interest; one side or line of the wall to the height of forty feet projects fifteen or eighteen feet, occasioned either by the settling of the ground, or by force of many cannon-balls striking on it at once. The effects on the front yet appear in the very many excavations in the stone of the size of eighteen and twenty-four pound balls; it is separated by a chasm or breach of twelve to fifteen feet wide, and as many long from the standing part; thickness six feet. Cement, not of hard consistency, has retained its present state much beyond the memory of man. Be it as it may, the inhabitants are well satisfied it will continue till a great convulsion of nature shall overturn the great fabric of the globe itself. The town on the hill has two churches exempt from the bishop, and called "*peculiars*," under jurisdiction of the Whitmores, who have right of visitation; also right of advowson, and can exercise all right of ecclesiastical jurisdiction except sacerdotal.

After an *en passant* survey, we took fresh horses and conveyance, and set off for Brosely, distant from hence eight miles; to this place arrived in an hour; took a look at the iron bridge. Next stage Much-Wenlock, distance hence twelve miles; a pitiful inn and town, where we lodged; Shrewsbury, our last stage, lying at twelve miles distance. Here we visited the residence of Samuel Porter, late of my native place, Salem; but the *prima facie* view of my townsman's lodgings convinced us that it was not a fit place for us to re-

main at. After hearty congratulations, bid him adieu for the present, and returned back to the Talbot Inn, leaving our other companions, Samuel Sewall and Samuel Porter, to measure the distance through the fields on foot, where they soon arrived after us. Here we proposed to fix our tent for two or three days; having bespoke dinner, we had a social *tête-à-tête*, and after a hearty meal, and a few glasses of port, took myself off to find out my other townsman, Capt. Poynton, who has also become a resident here, and whom I found at a namesake's, living on Pride Hill, so called, within the town. After tea I took him to our companions, and all joining issued forth to see the town and ascertain the expense of living, which we found higher than at Bristol. Shrewsbury is populous, having several churches; there is a most agreeable walk of a circular form on the banks of the Severn, half a mile in extent, and surrounded by lofty trees. There are still ruins of an old castle, now become private property and the seat of the owner, standing on a lofty eminence and commanding the town. There is also a large building intended for a foundling hospital, but not succeeding, is now fitted up for Spanish prisoners, when they catch them.

Shrewsbury, June 9. We reassumed our post-chaise seats and departed from "proud Salop," as it is called, for having refused the offer of the Crown to make it a city, saying, "It is better to be a large town than a small city," — leaving our two townsmen to their respective enjoyments. However, before leaving this place, I must observe, Mr. Samuel Sewall and myself, with Capt. Poynton, dined at Samuel Porter's lodgings, which we found well provided; and the next night, being the night preceding the one to our departure, passed at the "Gullet" Inn, the resort of all better sort to hear and tell news. During my stay within, I heard read several letters from Lords, Sirs, etc., from London, with relations of the mob that was raging there. From hence to Ellesmere, sixteen miles, we ran in two and a half hours, being accommodated with fresh horses; thence to Wrexham, eleven miles; respectable in buildings, some fine streets, a market and well built church, erected about the time of the Reformation; its

tower superbly decorated in Gothic style. Next stage was Chester, at eleven miles distance; stopped at the Golden Talbot in Eastgate-street; house of best repute, large, with a handsome coffee-room, ball and drawing-rooms, it being the assembly house. This small city is singularly circumstanced, having a delightful terrace-walk on top of walls encompassing it round, in length near two miles, defended with a breast-work or parapet about three feet high; has no guns nor embrasures, nor platforms for unevenness of surface within the walls and adjoining grass; the walk in some places is but a few feet above the level within, and others as high as tops of chimneys. On the quarter bounded by the river Dee it is sixty or eighty feet above the surface of the water; on one or two streets is a covered way or walk raised one story above the street called the Rows; the ascent is by many flights of steps from the streets, rendering it very convenient to foot passengers, especially in foul weather; these are filled with shops and stores above and below; the passage-ways are paved with flags, the breadth twelve to fifteen feet. This city has the appearance of antiquity, though there are many very genteel, tasty, and noble houses: I should judge the number between two and three thousand; inhabitants about seventeen thousand. Just within the walls is a most beautiful race-ground. I forgot to mention the cathedral, of no great extent and rather indifferent appearance; it was, however, in decent repair, but contained nothing remarkable.

Having taken a view of the whole place, we took leave of Chester, designing for Manchester by way of Duke of Bridgewater's Canal from Warrington; on that route our first stage was Fordsham, an indifferent small village, distance ten miles. The keeper of the inn, an Irishman, not wanting in the characteristic mark of that country, — a bold, unblushing face; after a plausible commendation of his carriages and horses, he gave us a sorry post-chaise and a pair of miserable cattle; he yet had the impudence to apply to us to procure the land from Warrington to this paltry village to be made a turnpike, saying it would be pounds in his pocket, which I really doubt. He mistook us for *Parliament-men*. From

hence to Warrington ten miles; the inn, the "*Red Lion*," tolerable. Streets narrow, dirty, and ill-paved; like many other towns, with a gutter running through the middle, rendering it inconvenient passing streets. This town abounds in Dissenters, and has an academy for young preachers of that persuasion. Governor Hutchinson was to have been buried at Brompton yesterday.

Warrington, June 11. Set off on foot for London Bridge, so called from its lying in the great London Road across the canal, at two miles' distance herefrom. This spot is a common rendezvous, whither flock all passengers whom curiosity prompts, or business urges, to sail up to Manchester, at twenty miles' distance; or down to the Locks at Runcorn, on the other hand, ten miles distant; or across the Mersey to Liverpool, this being the common route. Two boats daily carry passengers up and down. Diverted from our intended route, Manchester, we turned our course to a contrary direction, sailing down to Runcorn to view the celebrated Locks; passed in our passage under sixteen bridges laid across the canal, consisting of one brick arch of eighteen to twenty-two feet span, and twelve feet high. Of these we were told there are sixty-four; probable enough, including the branches and Marine Cut, for Judge Oliver counted on the Grand Canal forty-eight. The boats for passengers are fifty feet long and fifteen wide, and will hold a hundred persons. Arrived at Runcorn in two hours, and supped at "White Hart" Inn. Samuel Sewall and myself having amused ourselves for two hours in seeing a barge enter from the river Mersey into the first lock and through to the canal, we returned back and met our companion the Judge, whose curiosity did not stimulate him to stay so long in the cold as ours did; and found the inn crowded with great numbers of jolly lads and lasses, met to congratulate our landlady's daughter, lately married and just returned home, after a week's absence. The concluding scene of Sunday, being considered in England as a relief from labor, is generally spent in ale-houses by the middling and lower sorts, in merry-making.

Runcorn, June 12. Walked abroad, shaping my course to

the church-yard, where I saw the curate and his clerk; name of former was Sewell. I returned by the way I went, acquainting my companions, who had arrived before me, of the adventures. They regretted my neglect in making no inquiry, nor informing the curate of their names; but I was loth to incur the imputation of impertinence, which he justly might have made, in instituting inquiries about such matters, as people of this country are shy about communicating to strangers. At eleven o'clock, reshipped ourselves on board same barge, and returned back to whence we came, where, finding a chaise ready for Liverpool, we again diverged from our right-line course, Manchester, and struck off for that town, twenty miles distant; returning back to Warrington, proceeded to Prescott, at ten miles' distance, where took a relay. This town is noted for coal-pits and watch-movements; from the former, Liverpool is principally supplied by wagons.

Entered the city of Liverpool, so celebrated for its commercial character; houses by a great majority in middling and lower style, few rising above that mark; streets long, narrow, crooked, and dirty in an eminent degree. During our short abode here, we scarcely saw a well-dressed person, nor half a dozen gentlemen's carriages; few of the shops appear so well as in other great towns; dress and looks more like the inhabitants of Wapping, Shadwell, and Rotherhithe, than in the neighborhood of the Exchange, or any part of London above the Tower. The whole complexion nautical, and so infinitely below all our expectations, that nought but the thoughts of the few hours we had to pass here rendered it tolerable. The Docks, however, are stupendously grand; the inner one, called Town Dock, lying in the centre of it, and filled with vessels exhibiting a forest of masts; besides this, are three very large ones lying in front of the city, communicating with each other by flood-gates, intermixed with dry ones for repairing. The lower or new one has a fine wide quay on its outer side, an agreeable walk, being lined with trees on either hand; below this, on the river, is now building, nearly finished, a circular battery with embrasures

for thirty cannon. Parade and barracks are in hand, and when completed will afford a charming walk and prospect if allowed to the inhabitants.

Liverpool, June 12. Taking a circuitous ramble through this, to us, disgustful place, returned to inn, paid our bill, and entered the carriage we came in, which the driver and owner would fain, but for Judge and Samuel Sewall's resolution, have jockeyed us out of, designing craftily to shift us off to the common stage; but his plan being disappointed, we were replaced in our own carriage, with no company but ourselves. Bidding adieu to Liverpool, we set forward to Prescott, where we took a relay and proceeded to Warrington; here we were detained two hours, waiting the arrival of boats. At two o'clock we reëntered our apartment, filled with fresh passengers, among them Mrs. Dawson, wife of the Governor of the Isle of Man, returning from an excursion; she was a native of Nova Scotia, and daughter of a Colonel Hamilton, and had resided in Boston. Mr. Corbet, an attorney of Brosely, also added no inconsiderable pleasure by his social turn, while sailing on an unruffled surface through a finely improved country, over hills and dales, rivers and bridges; in five hours we arrived safely at Manchester. Examined the ingenious machinery and operations of calico-printing. Took carriage for Castleton, at the Peak of Derby, passing through Stockport and Disley. The country, as we approached the Peak, hilly. By persuasion the Judge reluctantly walked out to the cave at Castleton, being desirous to defer it till the following morning, accompanied by Samuel Sewall. After breakfast, taking leave of the vale, we ascended the hill overlooking the town; the road extends to the further end in a circular line, affording a pleasing view of the lofty surrounding hills, and a charming vale beneath, diversified with trees, live hedges, scattered farm-houses, villages, and towers; the descent on the side of the vale is quick, and in case of accident hazardous. In ascending, Mr. Sewall and myself chose the safest and most expeditious way on foot, not indeed the most comfortable, being surrounded by a gang of children who constantly accompany carriages, that neces-

sarily move at a slow pace, soliciting charity with piteous looks and accents, which from earliest childhood they have been taught to frame. At length we arrived at Bakewell, fourteen miles, and whilst changing horses I visited the church-yard on an eminence, whence is a pleasing view of the vale, rendered more so by its contrast with the naked, barren hills wherewith it is encompassed on all sides. This plain, with scarce a rising to intercept the sight for miles, abounds in pastures, grass and corn lands inclosed by live hedges, and trees in rows and clumps; of the latter there are many inclosures of considerable extent, and of great height and bulk. Most of the best improvements are on the Duke of Rutland's estate, who has a large and noble old mansion-house, called Haddon Hall, within sight of the traveller.

The road to Matlock is an excellent turnpike, through this delightful vale, distance twelve miles; the eye is refreshed a good part of the way with a sight of the river Dee, a gentle stream which continued to and beyond the last-mentioned place, where we arrived at twelve o'clock. Dismissing the coach, we took up our abode in this indescribably pleasing, romantic spot for a few hours — sadly regretting after leaving it, that we had not dedicated longer time to it. This cluster of half a dozen houses, including tradesmen's and the large inn for servants and short visitants, as our company, are filled with apartments for the reception and accommodation of those who resort hither for sake of bathing, to which it is confined. Its remote situation (its nearest neighbor on one hand Bakewell at ten miles, and on the other Derby at sixteen) separates it, in a manner, from all society. It is situated on the banks of the Dee, which, by the approach of the craggy hills, contract to little more than the bed of the river, which flows even to the foot of them. This spot lies under a circular range of hills conforming to the course of the river; the side of this range is in spots clothed with bushes, shrubs, and trees of various dimensions, interspersed with bare spots and shelving rocks, overhanging and threatening instant fall. In some the ascent is quick, in other parts easy, and in the midst of this unpromising barren wild are

levels that nature or industry have made, now improved as habitations for the poor but perhaps contented few, whose lot has cast them into this dreary spot; each hut being accomodated with a small plat for garden and yard. To the spectator on the other side, a view of these singularly situated habitations is picturesque and pleasing. Just below the houses for company's residence, on a plain lying but little above the level of the river, are covered baths, supplied by streams from hills, issuing under the foundation of houses, but they have no distinguishing character.

Crossing the ferry, of a hundred feet, we found a serpentine walk, cut and levelled for a quarter of a mile, then limited by a lead mine, now working. This walk is a delicious retreat in a sultry day, the trees on either hand forming an embowering shade; it is accommodated with field seats, from whence are vistas, two terminating in natural cascades, rendered, however, more perfect by art. Returning back from hence to end of walk, we began our ascent over slopes and steps to the summit of this very craggy hill, which is extremely tedious, and puts the lungs as well as muscles to no small exercise. About three fourths the way up, stands an alcove to rest the weary traveller, where we were glad to avail ourselves of a seat for awhile. Having at length gained the summit, we thought ourselves fully repaid for fatigue by the charming prospect, both in respect to its extensiveness and variety. Though we were so exalted, the Fox, as it is called, being the extreme end of the range of mountains on other side, almost insulated, lifted its aspiring head nearly as much above us as we were above the surface of the river that we beheld flowing just under our feet. The manner in which visitors live together is social and harmonious; the meals taken in a common room, none having a precedence; their mixture promiscuous; attendance at a certain hour notified by a bell. Hither also they repair to form parties, as chance or inclination points: some to cross the water to Serpentine Walk, to climb the craggy cliff; others to ride on horseback, or in carriages; others again for cards. Generally after supper, cards or dancing fill up the space to time of re-

pose. Their lonely situation contributes not a little to inspire all with a desire to promote mutual enjoyment, which is supposed to be met with here in this retired, solitary retreat in a more extensive degree than in any other place of public resort through England. Here are manufactured neatly polished pieces, in the fancy way, of Derbyshire spar, stone, etc. Judge Sewall and myself bought each a sugar-basin and cream-bucket, edged with gilt pinchbeck, and ladles with metal handles of the same, having bought an egg-cup and pair of salts before at the Peak.

After dinner, departed over a fine turnpike, reaching to the town of Derby, distant sixteen miles, which we measured in two hours, and alighted at the "King's Head" Inn. Here we met a singular phenomenon in the person of John Tompson, a waiter at this inn for forty-three years; the fifteen years immediately preceding the present service, porter to Sir Robert Sutton, and the eleven years before that to the Earl of Ferrars. He is now eighty-seven, and although somewhat decrepit and stooping, carries no mark of age in his face; that still retains a rubicund complexion without a single wrinkle. His memory, and indeed all his faculties appear in full vigor. The Ferrars family show a respect for their former servant by sending a carriage for him now and then, especially at Christmas and holiday times, when he is made welcome; and "so late as last Christmas," said he, "I danced from eleven to four o'clock there, and good music inspires me with vigor to acquit myself to the satisfaction of my partners, and makes me, for the while, return to youth."

Derby, June 16. After breakfast we all repaired with a conductor to the silk-mills, for which this town is famed, these being the originals of this kind of manufactures in England, having been introduced from Italy in a surreptitious manner by Sir Thomas Lambe. At twelve we departed for Burton-on-Trent, thence to "George" Inn, Litchfield, and from thence to Birmingham, where stopped at the "Hen and Chickens," High-street. Soon after our arrival, S. Sewall and myself sallied forth, leaving the Judge, reluctant to exercise, to entertain himself. It seems that sitting by the

window, he espied a countryman of ours, resident here, passing by; on opening the casement, the other seeing him, came over and remained with him till our return. He called again, accompanied by Mr. Elisha Hutchinson, son of our late Governor, who together passed an hour and then departed; the former inviting us to dine next day, promising to accompany us to the manufactories.

June 17. Soon after breakfast, Judge Oliver, being the other countryman before mentioned, agreeably to last evening's promise, came, and in a post-chaise accompanied us to Bolton and Fothergill's manufactory, called Soho, about two miles out of town, for gun-barrel boring by a fire engine. From thence to a ramble *modo pedestri*, and afterwards to Judge Oliver's to dinner, and at tea Mr. Hutchinson joined us; in the evening went over to Mr. Lakin's.

June 18. Soon after breakfast, Judge Sewall's impatience to be gone hurried us into a post-chaise, taking the road to Wolverhampton, distant from hence fourteen miles, passing through Wednesbury, where the coal-pits are that supply Birmingham with coals; we arrived at Wolverhampton in three hours. The town contains one church, the parish is fifteen miles in length, reaching near Litchfield. It is a deanery, and has a vicar or curate, salary from only £20 to £50, notwithstanding the pomposity of the churches. This is annexed to Windsor. From hence to Shiffnal, our next stage, is twelve miles; thence to Bronckton, a village, three miles from last inn, and to Brosely three miles, where we supped and lodged.

June 19. Mr. Corbit, surgeon, coming to our inn in order to fulfil a promise of last night, accompanied us in a post-chaise, procured and ready against his arrival; entering the vehicle, our first visit was to the porcelain manufactory, noted for its fine Nankin blue color: no other colors attempted here. Lately was sent off, as we were told by one of the burners, a complete set or table service for the royal table, a sample whereof we saw; from hence directed our course to the iron bridge. For a more perfect view of this curious and singular piece of pontal architecture, we returned back as many miles

as the day's journey consisted of; and the world affords not its like: a bridge perfect in all its parts, composed entirely of cast iron. It is laid over the Severn, from a town in Shropshire, called Brosely, to Colebrook-dale side, and adjoining a truly romantic spot noted for coal-mines and iron-stone, wherewith it abounds. Dined at the inn, company same as last evening; afterwards we all together walked to Surgeon Corbit's, our guide and attendant; S. Sewall and myself drank coffee with his spouse. Leaving this house, Judge Sewall and myself returned to the inn, where I passed a heavy, sleepy evening; S. Sewall was engaged in loyally celebrating General Clinton's success at Charleston, by discharging a two-pounder half loaded several times in a private garden! The town of Brosely, where we now are, is long and straggling; the houses seem to owe their present situation to mere chance; in general it has a dark, sooty, dirty look, — few only of the houses in decent style.

June 20. Having accomplished the object of our return, and being accommodated with a post-chaise, took our departure, and in an hour were set down at Bridgenorth, having determined to take passage on the Severn to Worcester at thirty miles from this; this variety in mode of travelling an agreeable one, especially as the fare is but one shilling and sixpence, which consideration has weight with those whose funds begin to ebb fast, I having already measured, of turnpike chiefly, almost five hundred miles. Adjusted all with the master for passage next day; the interval between the present hour and time of rest was checkered by eating, drinking, walking, and playing at backgammon.

June 21. Entered our conveyance, which we found common, and for commodities instead of a passage boat; filled with wool and bulky articles some feet above the gunwale, leaving us and one fellow-passenger but scanty room in stern sheets. First delay was at Brindley; here we refreshed with a collation; next at Stourport, at junction of the great Staffordshire Canal with Severn; at six o'clock landed at Worcester, just below old bridge. Jumped on shore, leaving companions and baggage, who, before they left the banks of the

river, engaged to-morrow's passage to Gloucester, nearly same distance. From boat adjourned to the "Hop-pole" Inn; soon after Mr. J. Vassall entered, we being seen by his servant; he is on his return from Birmingham, having been there on a reconnoitring plan, and speaks of it with the greatest dislike, as a dirty, ill-built hole. So different are men's tastes that my companions make it daily a subject of their praises. For my own part I think it deserves neither extravagant praises, much less execrations. It is of an amazing extent, all its new streets spacious and straight, and not ill-built; here are many excellent buildings, and London itself does not exhibit a more spacious and well-built one than Newhall-street, though its paving is not of best quality. Bespoke beds and supper, and left the inn for a ramble; directed course to new bridge and then to Castle Mount, seeming a work of art, of a regular form, agreeable walk to the top or flat about eighteen feet over, having evergreens around its border. Hence returned back to inn. We partook of a splendid supper, which, with other acts of a different complexion from the late-adopted plan of economy, shows that inconsistency is a common fault among frail men.

June 22. At twelve departed, our boat more lumbered and dirty than before, and passengers of still meaner sort; and it having taken three hours to arrive at a landing within three miles of Upton, to which we walked by land, distance passed by water being just seven miles from Gloucester. Under such ill-omened circumstances were discouraged from proceeding further by water, and therefore on arrival of boat, ordering out our baggage, and taking, as the sailors phrase it, London tack on board, proceeded to next stage of fifteen miles, called Newport, where changed horses. Our home is distant from this place eighteen miles; at three or four hundred yards without turnpike-gate at the head of Stokes, we crossed a short, thick foot-pad, who, running out from under hedges, seized the reins of our horses, threatening instant death to the driver if he did not stop; whereupon he stopped, and giving up the reins, ran to chaise door and was going to demand our money, when S. Sewall, supposing him

only a rude fellow, raising himself forward, made a push at him with his cane; at which the pad retreated back a few paces, discharging his pistol at same instant, and ran off, presuming he had executed his threat, which was, "damn you, I 'll do for you." Judge Sewall thought he perceived the wind of the bullet as it passed; be that as it may, it was found next morning. It grazed the moulding, which diverted it from a course that otherwise must have entered S. Sewall's body, but how his head escaped is inconceivable; it pierced through the lining and lodged between it and leather top, proving a slug near three quarters of an inch long, and was picked up next morning. Thursday evening, June 22, concluded a journey of five hundred miles in eighteen days.

TO MR. JOHN TIMMINS, LONDON.

BRISTOL, *June* 24, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

I take the earliest opportunity after my excursion of eighteen days to acknowledge the receipt of yours. I hope the execrable mob in London is thoroughly quelled, and the promoters of it in safe custody, ready for the execution of deserved justice. I wish Government may arrive at the bottom of this infernal plot, for that there was one, no man in his senses can doubt. Through the great extent of country we passed during its rage, there appeared an universal detestation against them; though should the flame catch at some populous places, there are villains enough to be found ready to join in plunder, rapine, murder, and burning.

Very truly yours,

S. CURWEN.

June 30. Walked to the quay to find a vessel bound to Whitehaven, intending, if practicable, a water conveyance to Workington, in Cumberland.

July 6. Foot-pad taken in Bath-road; Judge Sewall seeing him, thinks he is the one that attacked us.

July 8. Met Mr. R. Hallowell, who informed me of his going to London. Received a letter from J. R., inclosing one from R. Ward, Salem, by Isa. White, *via* Amsterdam.

TO WILLIAM BROWNE, ESQ., COWBRIDGE, WALES.

BRISTOL, *July* 13, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

By two letters from Salem, one from our friend William Pynchon, of May 3, *via* Amsterdam, I am informed of the death of Mr. McGilchrist on the 20th of the former month; a man of undissembled virtue and singular integrity, and the most friendly heart; to whose memory I cannot fail to pay the tribute of a tear. Besides whom, the late ranting patriot J. W. is also gone to the former generations. As for the rest, all our friends are well and longing, but as almost without hope, for the good old times, as is the common saying now, except among those, as he expresses it, whose enormous heaps have made them easy and insolent, and to wish for a continuance of those confusions by which they grow rich. Our friend wishes to hear from you and other of our townsmen and friends here. If you are disposed to oblige in this way, a letter inclosed to my care, left at the New-England Coffee-House, London, soon to be my residence, shall be forwarded. I am far from being sanguine of essential good effects from Clinton's success. Truly yours,

S. CURWEN.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ.

BRISTOL, *July* 15, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

This may serve to inform you of the receipt of your favor of May 3, and to convey my acknowledgments therefor; nor do I know any favors more deserving of thanks than letters from distant friends and acquaintance; in truth, I think, Solomon never uttered more truth, or discovered more knowledge of mankind, than in the following proverb: "Good news from a far country is as cold water to a thirsty soul." To be made acquainted with the welfare of my friends is among the first and warmest wishes of my heart, nor doth it feel more pleasurable sensations than are derived from that source. Since my last, the political state of affairs seems in

many people's opinion to have taken a more favorable turn for this country, but good and ill often succeed each other in the whirl of human affairs in quick succession; for amidst a deal of good news daily pouring in from abroad, a most tremendous cloud suddenly and unlooked-for arose and covered our horizon, threatening instant destruction even to the very being of Government itself. For some days it was feared the city of London would be laid in ashes, during which the most abandoned and profligate miscreants that were ever nourished by, or have proved the curse of society, were to have availed themselves of the conflagration and terror occasioned thereby, and plundered what the less cruel felons might have spared, perhaps murdering those against whom their spite might have been levelled. On the day that the petition of the Protestant Associators, as they denominated themselves, was to be presented to the House, the subscribers were by an advertisement of Lord George Gordon, their president, desired to meet in St. George's Fields; the reason alleged was, that no building in London was large enough to hold the expected numbers, and from thence to accompany him with the petition to the house — meaning by so numerous an appearance to give weight to it, or enforce it more effectually. The rabble, many of whom were signers, likely enough for the most villanous purposes, for with such the more mischief the better sport, joined, making no less a number, it is credibly said, than forty thousand; a number of such characters, and under such circumstances, truly alarming; from hence they paraded through the borough of Southwark and along London streets, at first it is said orderly, but no sooner had they reached palace yard than they filled that and all the avenues leading to the House. Throwing off the mask, they bawled aloud for liberty and the Protestant religion; and now their insolence began, for many members of both houses undistinguishingly received marks of their indignant rage; some were stopped and threatened, otherwise abused and assaulted, pulled out of their carriages, and glad to get off without hats, wigs, with lacerated garments and flesh-wounds; whilst many were happy to retreat unhurt and absent them-

selves from the House for that day at least. The distinguishing badge they wore was a blue cockade, which the president, Lord George, had the boldness to wear in his hat to the House, but being espied, he was desired, nay, even menaced, and with reluctance suffered it to be taken out. The most sober, and many such, doubtless, there were among them, retired peaceably and in good order; but the rabble, by far the greater number, having raised themselves into a frenzy, for fire you know is kindled by collision, adjourned, resolving to plunder and destroy the houses of those who from liberal principles had promoted a relaxation of the supposed too great rigor of the Act of William and Mary against papists, that had been for many months the occasion of a paper war on the subject, and excited a real or pretended terror in the minds of many who were, or affected to be, afraid of the increase and prevalence of popery. The houses of these and some unoffending Roman Catholics fell a sacrifice the first day to their rapine and malice; what became not plunder, was destroyed, or devoted to the flames. In the number were Sir George Saville's, a most worthy character, a steady whig, and an anti-ministerialist; but being a friend to taxation, and a man of property, was a suitable subject, and worthy of these sons of liberty and supporters of the Protestant cause to exercise their patriotism upon.

The second day, Lord Mansfield's house employed their patriotic labor; his valuable library, pictures, and household goods, to the amount of near thirty thousand pounds, were plundered, broken, destroyed, and devoted to the flames;—among other things was a large collection of manuscripts on various subjects, of immense loss to the world, it is said. In short, as Lord Loughborough, late Mr. Wedderburne, says, seventy-two houses and four prisons are now lying in ruins; of the latter, the fine new building of Newgate-street Prison, King's Bench, Clerkenwell, and Surry Bridewell; from whence were let loose all the debtors and felons who assisted in promoting those atrocious crimes, for which they were soon to have suffered the justice of the laws. Had they directed

their aim at the Bank the first or second day of their rage, it is to be feared they might have annihilated the books, papers, and records: a blow that might have shaken Government to its centre, and involved the nation in evils too horrid to mention. The third day it was attacked; providentially, the fate of a score or two, and a strong party of dragoons and light-horse surrounding the palladium, saved it from the merciless claws of these ravening wolves. For three or four days, ten to fifteen houses were seen at one time in the centre of the metropolis lighted up by design; and to complete this most abhorred plan of destruction, a design was formed to cut off the new river pipes, but, in the moment of execution, it was most happily prevented.

Thus this great city and the Government are still preserved, monuments of Divine forbearance: it hath pleased Him who saith to the boisterous waves of the sea, "hitherto shalt thou come, and no further," to put a stop to the rage and madness of the people, and for the present to control the malicious designs of our inveterate enemies; for, that the ravages of the late banditti took their rise from abroad, has a face of probability. Though I cannot take upon me to warrant the following or any paragraph in the newspapers to be the word of Apollo, it is yet confidently asserted in them, that "a gentleman lately arrived from Holland has affirmed that he heard the French ambassador there declare openly, that London would be laid in ashes within a month." So deep was the plan, and so seriously in earnest to ensure complete destruction, that such situations and kinds of business were pitched upon, as afforded the most combustible materials for supplying a fierce flame, as oil-dealers, distillers, warehouses, &c.; but a kind interposing Providence stopped the devouring fire, and all is now once again settled, quiet, and, it is to be hoped, safe. To secure which, and overawe the profligate and daring, enough of whom all great cities abound in, a large encampment is still continued in Hyde Park of light-horse, dragoons, and foot, and are to be kept up during the summer; besides a party (notwithstanding the

city mayor and patriotic gentry's remonstrance about city rights,) patrolling and keeping guard in London, to the great annoyance and terror of the turbulent and dangerous.

Bath and Bristol were intended to have been theatres whereon to have exhibited the future acts of the same tragedy. At the former, the Roman Catholic chapel and the priest's house were purged of all their effects that fell within the claws of these destructive harpies, and the combustibles they committed to the unrelenting flames; but a party of the Hereford Militia, and a troop of dragoons, being at callable distance, seasonably arrived to prevent further mischief. The latter city, by a vigorous internal police taking early precautions, dispersed a threatening storm; three or four hundred banditti, collected in St. James's parish in this city for the patriotic purpose of rapine and burning, were, by a well-timed early association, scattered and driven back to their dens; all the well-disposed arming and patrolling through the streets for several nights. During this miscreantic insurrection, Judge Sewall, Samuel Sewall, and myself, were on an excursion in the country, wherein we dropped on the abode of our townsfolks, Samuel Porter and Captain Poynton; the former carrying indelible marks of personal identity, the latter of an amazingly increased bulk and gouty habit; their present abode is Shrewsbury. I rather envy than lament our worthy friend, Mr. McGilchrist, who is now in a more peaceable neighborhood, I dare say, than that he has quitted, and I fancy without regret; would that you and I were with him, resting, perhaps, in undisturbed quiet till the last grand tribunal scene shall open, and restore the sleeping dust to life and activity; or, perhaps, roving in the unbounded fields of immensity, exploring and admiring the astonishing operations of Omnipotence.

Know you that the two great objects of American odium are now no more: Governor Bernard died some time since, and lately Governor Hutchinson, suddenly, as he was stepping into his carriage.

Mr. Timmins has recovered from a very severe fit of sickness, and has taken up his residence with his family at Chel-

sea, for the benefit of the air. My future abode will be at London, or its neighborhood. Letters will reach me there addressed to be left at the New-England Coffee-House, Threadneedle-street.

With great esteem, your assured friend,

S. CURWEN.

July 16. Attended worship at College; Mr. Porvis, one of the prebends, preached a very ingenious discourse; afterwards I was told it was not of his own composing; as it is not an unusual custom among the Episcopal clergy to read others' performances in the pulpit. Afternoon saw Mr. Coates, who repeated his son's invitation to tea, and on returning home, finding no one waiting for me there, directed my footsteps to Bank-terrace, meeting a multitude, as is ever the custom on pleasant Sundays.

July 18. From this day we have an addition to our family of my countryman Nicholas Lechmere; supped with him and a friend of his, named Maddocks.

July 19. Just finished a long letter to my friend Mr. Pynchon, inclosing Lord Loughborough's speech to grand jury on St. Margaret's Hill, at the trial of some of the London rioters.

July 23. Afternoon, walked with N. Lechmere over Durdham Down to Ostrick; crossed over to Cooke's Folly, a tower on the banks of the Avon.

July 30. Drank tea at Mr. R. Lechmere's, and after a social *têt-à-tête* walked with him, and lady and daughter and brother to College Green, where joined four Americans. Wrote to advise my friend Timmins of my intention to bid adieu to Bristol, and make London my residence till I shall be no more, for I despair of ever leaving this island.

August 2. By invitation dined at Mr. R. Lechmere's with Admiral Graves' lady, etc.

August 3. Mr. N. Lechmere accompanied me to the stage for Bath, where took leave. Found a female of fourteen the only passenger. At Temple-gate were joined by the well-known Mr. Heathin, late of Honiton, in Devonshire, with his

maiden sister; the former very loquacious, who without partiality, seems a compound of strong sense, knowledge, vivacity, and vanity. . . . . My attention was drawn to his reading the quack doctor's speech to the gaping mob, his attendants, in "Launcelot Greaves," written by the late Dr. Smollet; he solicited my interest with Mr. Nathaniel White, (whose preaching I had attended, and proposed still to attend at Old Jewry,) in order to procure for him the use of his meeting-house on Sunday evenings for lecture. At six o'clock alighted at Castle Inn, Market-street, Bath. After tea, taking a ramble, met my said loquacious fellow-traveller; joining me, proceeded to a long walk in a lonely road, of which he seemed glad to avail himself to recount his own adventures.

Bath, August 4. Arose at seven o'clock, and joined by a Mr. Graves, a young clergyman of Suffolk, whose obliging, social behavior rendered him an agreeable companion. On the road, about half way to our first stage, a parson named Goddard overtaking us, alighted from his own horse, delivered it to a servant, and entered our carriage, adding a third to our company. For the first half hour, our two Oxonians kept to themselves the whole conversation, wherein were disclosed many clerical and academic tales, stories, and anecdotes; among others, I recollect the following: Dr. Barton, Dean of Bristol and Rector of St. Andrews, Holborn, who was, according to British mode of expression, dark, meaning stone-blind, being of a humorous disposition and great self-command, having a mind to entertain himself, invited four eminent persons, in the same desolate condition as he was, to a dinner, none other being present but the servants. These were Sir John Fielding, of as eminent a character in the juridical line as perhaps any man in the civilized world; Mr. Stanley, the well-known musician, and others whose names I forget. After partaking of a joyous feast, they took a humorous leave and departed. At eleven o'clock we alighted at the Black Lion in Devizes, where, after taking refreshment, I walked forth to ramble, and espied a sign, for quaintness of its device here noted. On the sign were painted five

men, well known by the name of the "*five alls*"; the first in order, according to present mode of arrangement of church before king, stands the parson in his sacerdotalibus; *he prays for all:* second, the lawyer, in his gown, band, and tie-wig; *he pleads for all:* third, the soldier in uniform, with a fierce countenance; *he fights for all:* fourth is a physician, with great wig and solemn phiz, and boluses and juleps in his hand; *he kills or cures all:* the fifth and last is the farmer, with his settled, thoughtful countenance; *he pays for all.*

Leaving this place, with fresh horses, arrived at "*Great Castle*" Inn, Marlborough, at two o'clock; distant thirty-two miles from Bath. This inn is famous through England for grandeur of structure, it having been a nobleman's mansion-house; the excellence and expensiveness of its accommodations, provisions, etc., are of the highest style. Passed grounds wherein is a mount made by art, the ascent to the summit in a spiral line of so gentle a rising as to be imperceptible, in length half a mile, though encompassing it but four times. The mount does not exceed a hundred feet diameter, nor more in height; the top is a plain, planted with trees, from which is to be seen a distant view of the town, consisting of one long street and a few short ones at right angles.

Newbury, our next stage, is a long town, consisting of buildings in middle and lower style, decent and in good repair; has one Episcopal church and four Dissenting meeting-houses. Its inhabitants are avowed friends of American liberty, and disavowers of the war. Departed hence at seven o'clock, slept at the "George Inn," Reading, a large, handsome, well-built town, principal of this fine county (Berkshire); from hence to Colebrook, where I stayed again and dined; then travelled my last stage, London, being set down at the Swan Inn, Holborn Bridge, at the end of Fleet Market, at six o'clock. After a short rest, daylight still remaining, as it did some hours after, I walked forth to view the ruins of Mr. Langdale's house, etc., almost adjoining the inn; proceeding forward to Newgate, but little distance, which was

lying in a deplorable state of ruin, destroyed by the mob. I returned back to my inn, filled with honest but fervid indignation, which ought to warm the breast of every peaceable well-wisher to order, laws, safety, and the rights of individuals: sleep put an end to my mortifying reflections.

CHAPTER XIII.

A. D. 1780. Letter to Judge Sewall giving an Account of the reported Dark Day in America. Reply of Sewall. Visit to Ruins of King's Bench Prison and Surrey Bridewell, destroyed by Mob. Remarks on the evil of French Troops in America. Opening of Bartholemew Fair by the Lord Mayor at Smithfield. Richmond Gardens. Elections in London. Sadler's Wells. Plowden's Funeral Monument at the Temple. Roman Coins. Disputing Club. Excursion to Hempsted.

London, Aug. 8. Engaged lodgings at Mrs. Councel's, No. 22 Castle-street, Falcon-square.

TO HON. JONATHAN SEWALL, BRISTOL.

LONDON, *Aug.* 14, 1780.

DEAR SIR :

I have been told by Mr. Jos. Green and his wife, and with such an air of serious earnestness as to lead me almost into a belief of it, that advice had last Saturday been brought to town by a vessel said to have arrived from America, that on the 19th of May, the moon being just then beyond the full, the sky clear and unclouded at sunrise, and to all appearance promising a fine bright day, continuing some time in this state, when all at once a sudden darkness overspread the face of the heavens, and so palpably thick was it, that candles were lighted in the houses during its continuance till three o'clock in the afternoon, to conduct the common concerns and intercourse of life. A short interval of light or twilight ensued, but was succeeded by a tenfold darker night than was ever known. Perhaps I am misinformed; if you have not heard of this extraordinary and uncommon phenomenon, suspend your belief till better or no information follows, or in the former case a fuller and more particular relation shall

be made. Time, the great revealer of secret things, will soon convince you of its truth or falsehood. I am not myself determined in my opinion; the belief of uncommon events requires strong evidence; should this be true, you have astrologers, soothsayers, magicians, and wise men enough among you to explain its meaning.

Very truly, your friend,

S. Curwen.

TO COL. WILLIAM BROWNE, COWBRIDGE.

London, *Aug.* 16, 1780.

Dear Sir:

The contents of my last were chiefly to acquaint you of the receipt of a letter from our common friend, Mr. Pynchon, dated Salem, May 3. I shall now give you a part in his own words: "I am pleased at having so safe a conveyance, but should be more so could I write with freedom; as I cannot, you will make allowances for my scrawl. I may, however, acquaint you that your family and friends are in health, and bear with cheerfulness and fortitude the rubs, jostlings, and vexations of turbulent times; they are wishing to see you, to tell you a hundred things which might make you laugh, admire, and sometimes stare. During the winter we have been blocked up with snow; the oldest inhabitant remembers not such quantities of it on the earth at any one time. But we are now thawed out, and begin to rejoice that the price of wood is fallen from $4.50 to $3.00 a cord. Had other necessaries been proportionably dear, some of us might well wish for a return of the good old times, as they are now called; and those whose enormous heaps have made them easy and insolent, might wish for a continuance of the confusions by which they grew in the Frenchman's style, "*horriblement riches.*" Our worthy friend, Mr. M'Gilchrist, foretold that he should not live to see an end of it, and feared that few of his old friends would; he has gone into the vale, a true prophet — he left us on the 20th April. His patience and fortitude continued to the last; his sickness and death were of a piece with his life, and that you know was a lesson of virtue. He

delayed making his will a little too long; some of his prejudices and resentments appeared on that occasion. He gave to "the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" all arrears coming to him, being three years' salary, and his part of the donation made for missionaries who had suffered in these times. I often wish to hear of Col. Browne and others of our townsmen and friends there."

In answer to a letter of mine some time ago, mentioning the evils of exile at my time of life, he says, "What would your feelings have been, my good friend, if while here you had lost your business, all your debts, the fruits of many years' labor; had been driven to sell your house and land for the payment of debts and expenses, and the remainder had sunk in your hands fifty per cent.; and that though thus reduced, you could not freely nor safely walk the streets by reason of party rage and malevolence, and the uncontrolled rancor of some men." A wretched and truly pitiable condition this! a just picture, I fear, of American popular liberty. Dr. Charles Russell died at Antigua last June, and his brother James, who by lucky captures by a letter of marque has realized fifteen thousand pounds sterling, is soon to be settled a Bristol merchant, and bound in the matrimonial chain to Mr. R. Lechmere's second daughter, Mary, whom I think a fine, well-accomplished lady. Mr. Jo. Green and wife told me the story of a dark day having occurred in New England, on the 19th of May, such as was never before known; — in order to maintain the common intercourse of life, candles were lighted and kept burning. For my own part, though I am no believer in omens, I cannot but take this to be a most extraordinary and terrifying event. Darkness, in the oneirocritic art, denotes distress, anguish, trouble, loss, sickness, death, and the whole train of evils, physical and moral. Perhaps the fearful among our country folks may find in themselves a disposition to be reconciled to the thoughts of a reconnection with this country, which seems more likely to force terms on them than since this foolish, needless, baneful quarrel commenced.

Here, or in this neighborhood, I propose to continue till I

shall take my flight to the upper regions, or descend to the shades below; for I am quite unsettled in my own mind whether a state of activity or insensibility shall fill up the interval between death and the future state of endless existence.

My respectful compliments wait on Mrs. Browne and son; and ardently wishing you and them the highest felicity, I remain, With great esteem,

Your faithful friend,

S. Curwen.

P. S. Mr. Francis Waldo, who will soon be with you, will inform you of the troop of New Englanders resident in Bristol.

Aug. 18. Took a long, solitary ramble through Charterhouse-square, thence through Gray's-Inn-lane to Clerkenwell-green, wherein is a building not before seen or heard about, called New Hicks Hall, or Middlesex Sessions House, a large and handsome structure; thence through Smithfield and Long-lane, a narrow, dismal, dirty street, to Aldersgate-street.

Aug. 19. Called at Francis Waldo's lodgings in Pall Mall, and at Arthur Savage's in Brompton-row, and left a card for the absentees; not a little jaded by the circumambulation.

Aug. 20. At Westminster Abbey; the vergers not thinking proper to offer me a seat, I left the choir, and, like the multitude, passed the hour of devotion in gazing at the monuments and reading inscriptions. From thence passing through cloisters, proceeded to Dean's Court, inclosed in part by Westminster school-buildings; returning back, stayed in choir during part of prayer and sermon, and passed half an hour in Poet's Corner. Thence to St. Margaret's Church, the preacher having just then ascended the pulpit; I was minded to stay, but these church servants neglecting to open a pew-door for me, I soon departed homewards.

Aug. 23. To artillery-ground to view manœuvres of the military association, who performed manual exercises, firings, and evolutions commendably. My curiosity, though still

active; is soon satisfied; nor do I find a more convincing proof of its increasing imbecility, if the expression be not improper, than in this particular.

FROM HON. JONATHAN SEWALL.

BRISTOL, *August* 22, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

By a letter from Mr. Waldo to Mr. Simpson, the account of the miraculous darkness at Boston had reached Bristol before I was favored with yours. The story I firmly believe to be true, but like many Jewish stories in the Old Testament, I take it not in a *literal*, but in a metaphorical or *allegorical* sense. Take it as an allegory, and it is easily to be credited: but as this kind of writing is now become rather obsolete, it is necessary to premise, that under the present tyranny in America, no man there dares write upon political subjects in *plain English;* if he writes at all, it must be in *dark enigmas*, and in this scriptural style I presume the letter from which you derive your intelligence is written. Interpret it thus: The writer wished to let his friend here know what effect the news of the reduction of Charleston had upon the minds of the Boston rebels, (or saints, if you like that word better,) but he dared not communicate his intelligence in a language intelligible to all, and therefore chose to give it in an allegory, trusting to the sagacity of his friend, who, being a New England *saint*, as I presume, he doubted not was well enough versed in Old Testament allegories, to translate it into literal English, and thus it is: On the 19th of May, by a private hand, the news arrived of the surrender of Charleston, and though at sunrise the sky was clear, and promised a fine day, *i. e.*, they were till that morning assured Clinton would be defeated, yet this fatal news at once darkened their bright prospect and induced a gloomy horror, so that candles were lighted in their houses, — *i e.*, Adams, Hancock, Dr. Cooper, and other rebel leaders went from house to house to assure the people the news could not be true. This was the short interval of light, or twilight, that ensued; but soon after, on the same day, or perhaps the

next, (for allegories, you know, do not and need not go on all fours,) an express arrived with an official account confirming the dark tale, and then the twilight was succeeded by a tenfold darkness — a dark horror and blackness of despair fell on all. This is my interpretation. *Si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.*[1] It is consoling, *pro tempore*, at least. In my sense of the story, you are not *hummed* nor misinformed, but you only, like many other commentators, misinterpret.

I cannot *devise* the meaning of your quaint *device* in the *devises*, unless *the five alls* intend five *shoemakers*, but this seems too far-fetched to deserve even the epithet of "quaint;" perhaps were I to see the figures in their characteristic attitudes, I might make a better guess; but with my present data, I give it up, and wish you would explain it, or if you choose to try my genius at expounding enigmatical paintings, which, I assure you, is but a sorry one, give me the characteristic attitudes; paint it to me as it is, and I 'll try again.

I am mightily pleased with the news of the day: *La Nymphe* taken by the *Flora*, which must be true, and the French seventy-four gun-ship by the *Bienfaisant*, which, as I always hope the best, I hope is true; besides a frigate taken and carried into Halifax, which I likewise hope is true. I rejoice also that Admiral Geary is arrived in the Channel. I hope the eighteen Russian men-of-war will be taken into safe custody, and held till we are sure they can do no mischief. Were I his Majesty's premier, I would not for a moment trust a b—— of a queen, who could murder her husband and mount his throne — there's no trusting such a jade; if she means fair, her ships are safe in our hands; if, on the other hand, as is most probable, she means, in conjunction with France and Spain, to play the devil, *obsta principiis* ought to be our motto. Nip her in the bud, secure these eighteen ships, and her marine power is annihilated — and considering the brimstone, besides murdering her husband which I would never forgive, has been the instigatrix of the northern associa-

[1] "Pray adopt it; unless you can suggest a better one."

tion, why the deuce should we stand upon ceremony with her? Why should England regard the laws of nations, while every power in Europe is setting them at defiance? No, no. Providence, or their evil genius, has put them into our hands, and all nature will ridicule us if we let them escape. I hope his Majesty, — God bless him, — Lord North, Lord Sandwich, and all the Lords of the Council, — God bless them all, — see the thing in the light I do; if they do, I am sure the Czarina's eighteen ships will soon be manned by British seamen, and added to the British fleet. Her consummate impudence in sending her fleet into our harbors, after the infamous step she has taken, and our own security, — the first of all laws, — will amply justify. Tell Lord North what I say when you see him next.

I should not have troubled you with my scolding at the Empress of Russia, (against whom I have no personal enmity, except a little for the murder of her husband, which I think concerns all husbands,) had I not learned when I got half down the other side, that Danforth goes for London on Thursday, by whom I can send this, so that a cover will cost you nothing.

With very little malice against the Czarina, and none against any other of God's creation, I am your sincere friend and humble servant, J. Sewall.

Mr. Curwen.

FROM HON. WILLIAM BROWNE.

Cowbridge, Wales, *August* 22, 1780.

Dear Sir:

I give you many thanks for your kind favor just received, and gladly avail myself of your kindness to forward the inclosed, as addressed. I have also to acknowledge the receipt of two former letters, which have long lain before me, waiting for spirits to support the *ennui* of writing a single line. In short, to tell you a truth, our prospects with regard to America were till lately so unpromising, my finances were so small, my family and expenses so increased, that, added to the common catalogue of vexations which attach themselves

to us all, more or less, every exertion became a burden, and I had nothing to do to be easy but to do nothing and care for nobody. Better expectations have produced better spirits, and brought with them better dispositions. It is with pleasure then that I wish to revive a correspondence with an old and much esteemed friend. It has puzzled all the wise men of Cowbridge to divine from what part of London you have dated your letter; various are the conjectures, some humorous and some plausible, but none satisfactory; so we have agreed to suspend our speculations until we could consult the inhabitant of this unknown region.

I thank you for the extract from Mr. Pynchon's letter. A detail of their sufferings would give us pain if they were all strangers; how much more then when we have so many friends among them? It brings, however, this pleasing reflection, that we made a wise choice in leaving them. When you have collected an authentic and satisfactory account of the phenomenon you mention to have happened at Boston,[1] I wish you would communicate it, with its circumstances, consequences, and impressions, unless it should first appear in some public print.

I think you do perfectly right to make choice of London for your residence the coming winter. It is the only place in which a single man can spend the gloomy months with any satisfaction. I wonder as much that more of our countrymen do not resort there at that season, as that so many of them continue there when they ought to be sporting in green fields and by the side of purling streams. *Sed trahit sua quemque voluptas.*[2]

I lately received a line from Mr. Porter, describing, in the most gaudy colors imaginable, the happiness to which his situation has introduced him, encouraging all the world to come to Shrewsbury, and promising every felicity that the golden age could ever boast of. What strange mortals we are! Some men are always happy where they are, some where they have been, and some where they shall be; and

[1] Dark day.

[2] "Every one follows the bent of his own inclinations."

yet we are none of us satisfied with either past, present, or to come. I wish I could remove your doubts about the interval you mention, for then I could also administer some satisfaction to myself. At present I have only that of subscribing myself, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend,

WM. BROWNE.

MR. CURWEN.

Aug. 25. Visited the ruins of King's Bench Prison and Surrey Bridewell, — sad proofs of popular folly and violence; the former repairing.

TO THOMAS RUSSELL, ESQ., BOSTON.

LONDON, *Aug.* 25, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

I am ignorant in what light my silence to you may appear; indeed, I am not satisfied of the propriety of it myself; however, I doubt not your candor, when I declare upon honor, that want of real esteem and regard was not in the remotest view a cause. Your obliging favor demanded an answer and thanks; do not say it is too late now, for I now offer them with equal warmth and sincerity. I presume Lane and Fraser have long since informed you that I availed myself of your friendly offer, that did me an essential service; but having determined not to mention any circumstances relative to business in letters, for very obvious reasons, to which I have steadily adhered, you will therefore please to excuse anything further on this head. Would that the safety of intercourse between the two countries by letter was greater, but God only knows when a period will be put to this execrably baneful war. I fear it is hardly arrived to half its length, unless this country gives up the chase, for the obstinacy of the Americans supplies the want of resources. Yesterday, news arrived of the most melancholy complexion. Our western-bound fleet, (the convoy and one ship only excepted,) fell into the hands of the French and Spaniards, consisting of forty-nine merchant-ships, transports, and victual-

lers, including five outward-bound East Indiamen. This is the most capital blow England ever felt by an enemy at sea; particulars in papers that accompany this.

* * * * * * *

Of the penchant of noble and wealthy ladies to vie with their partners of the other sex in the laudable pursuit of gaming, etc., take the following instance: At the time of my first arrival in London, a house opposite Governor Hutchinson's, in St. James'-street, was then finishing, called "*Sçavoir vivre*," being a gaming-house of the highest modern taste, perhaps much more magnificent in architecture and furniture than English America can boast, and designed for gentlemen exclusively. The ladies' pride being piqued, they bought up that which the Governor lived in, and the two on either side of it, and though in excellent repair, demolished them, erecting in their room one in the same taste as its opposite neighbor; and to this day these two temples are devoted to the worship of the blind deity, — *Fortune*, on whose altars are nightly sacrificed thousands, besides the peace and support of many of her foolish and equally blind devotees. These, among a multitude of other instances, are proofs and memorials of the expensive taste and diversions of this age and country.

Messrs. Byles and Brattle having been refused a residence in their own country, renders my return (who I presume stand not so fair as either of them) more doubtful, or rather more impracticable; and though it has ever been the first and the last wish of my heart to return, and you know that very well, I presume you think a permission not obtainable, having received no encouragement on that head.

Most ardently and sincerely wishing you every blessing, I am, with love to Mrs. R. and little family,

Your obliged friend,

S. Curwen.

FROM HON. JONATHAN SEWALL.

BRISTOL, *Aug.* 24, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

Since I wrote you by Mr. Danforth, Mr. R. Temple and family have arrived here in thirty-two days from Boston, from whom I learn that the story of the dark day is literally true; but, as they relate it, the phenomenon was truly wonderful, far beyond my comprehension. They say the morning was not as you state, fine and clear, but rather lowering and drizzly, though far from dark; that at nine o'clock an uncommon darkness came on, without any appearance of a thick cloud. Mr. Temple said it seemed as if a veil was drawn over them, which he seemed to look through, and see the heaven beyond it. The darkness increased till they were obliged to light candles, and this continued till three o'clock, when it lightened up a little; but before sunset the darkness returned, and the night resembled the darkness of Egypt, which might be felt. It was so intense that many persons in Boston and the country were bewildered in going from house to house where they were intimately acquainted. They say that during the darkness in the day, the green grass appeared of a dark blue color; and on the next morning, both the water and land were covered with a dark greasy or oily substance; that the darkness extended northward, as far as Hudson River; and westward, as far as they had heard from — I say as far as Lake Champlain; and that it was the devil spreading his wings over northern rebellious colonies, and if they do not repent, the next time he will certainly fly off with them all. I give you this account to atone for my infidelity in my last, and with all the allowance I can make for the subtle workings of the imagination. I confess, I am puzzled to account for the appearance; the young ladies, the Misses Temple, who were in Boston, say candles were lighted all the day in the shops and houses; but in the evening, they were at a wedding-ball with a brilliant company; which, if they don't exaggerate, would put me in mind of the inhabitants of the Old World, who were eating and drinking, feast-

ing, and frolicking, till the flood came, &c., &c. They add another circumstance which increaseth the wonder; namely, that during the darkness there was not the least appearance of fog, smoke, or haziness. I wish you would consult that learned body, the Royal Society, upon this *lusus naturæ*, and let me know the result; for I do not believe all the wise men of Boston will be able to explain it.

I have seen Boston papers to the 17th of July; but they contain nothing new, except the arrival of the Chevalier de Ternay at Rhode Island, with seven ships of the line, and troops; upon this occasion, all their pens are at work to rekindle the dying patriotic fire. Washington, it seems, in expectation of de Ternay's arrival, had made a requisition upon all the States, of men, horses, provisions, &c.; but, by the complaints in the papers, the levies went on heavily. The plan seems to be to muster their utmost force, and in conjunction with the French, to attack New York, and drive the British forces from the continent. I wish they may have courage to attempt it. General Kniphausen has burnt the little village of Springfield in the Jerseys. A paper of July 6th, says, General Clinton was returned to New York; but that of the 17th leaves him up North River, near forming a junction with General Kniphausen. The ladies of Philadelphia have opened a subscription for supplying the army with comforts and conveniences; they have appointed a treasuress to receive, and a committee to distribute the donations; and all the ladies upon the continent are earnestly and pathetically exhorted to follow this laudable and patriotic example. If the zeal and spirit of the peasants can again be raised, I think this will prove a decisive campaign. Admirals Graves and Arbuthnot, it is said, are at New York; so that if the Chevalier de Ternay did not get away with ships soon, they very probably, ere this, are added to the British Navy; which would console for the loss of the East and West Indiamen.

I must mention an advertisement I read in one of the papers, which shows the value of the paper money there:— "*Forty dollars* is offered a pound for horsehair, or *three shil-*

lings in hard money." Or which is better, "the advertiser will work it up at the halves!"

Yours very truly,

JONATHAN SEWALL.

Aug. 26. Visited Mr. Jo. Scott: — Dined at Mrs. Hay's, with James Harwood and S. Conant, (two young Americans, strangers to me,) and was after joined by Mr. Thomas Danforth, the first time of seeing him since my return, he having been absent on a three months' excursion to the westward; he brought me a humorous letter from Judge Sewall.

August 27. Met S. Walsh and Peter Johonnot.

TO HON. WILLIAM BROWNE, COWBRIDGE, WALES.

LONDON, *August* 29, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Francis Waldo's intended journey to Cowbridge on a visit to his sister, Mrs. Flucker, affords me opportunity of acknowledging receipt of your favor of the 27th inst. Yours indorsed to Mrs. Sargent will go off to-morrow for Holland under cover of mine; having ordered the bearer in case of capture, (though my letters contain neither treason, love, nór politics,) to throw them into the sea, yours will follow their fate. My present residence is not that of the gay and fashionable, and therefore unknown, suiting me in this state of degradation not a whit the less on that score. The different views and appearances that are daily arising in and about London, are as great and almost as frequent as the different phases of the moon in one of its revolutions, and render many spots and places a mere *terra incognita*, that to those who have been absent a few years were well known. For having about ten days since wandered to the further end of Mary le Bone, being designed to a distant quarter, on finding myself there, I inquired for the gardens which you remember to have been resorted to by company, and where fireworks were exhibited; to my surprise, the whole ground is laid out in streets and covered with grand and elegant

houses, and even beyond it. In this ramble, accident revealed a secret that has puzzled you and the wise men of Cowbridge, that probably I should otherwise never have possessed. Some months since a letter was addressed to me by James Russell, dated Manchester-square — the location of which was beyond the reach of my knowledge, or any of those I had consulted, having never before heard of it; chance, however, in this ramble directing my steps among rows of new buildings, and directing also my eye to a corner house in an unfinished square of noble structures, inscribed Manchester-square, this unimportant secret was thereby revealed.

I am afraid your sunshine of happiness is a little overclouded by the mortifying advices in respect of our eastern and western fleets; the most capital blow England ever received by an enemy at sea since King William's reign, fourscore years ago, when nearly four hundred sail were lost at one time. The loss is estimated at a million; I hope it will not be more. To this another stroke has succeeded in the capture of twelve Quebec ships, supposed next in value to the East-Indiamen outward. I observe that Samuel Porter, our townsman, has presented to your view a picture in gaudy colors, as you expressed it, of the felicity of his situation; that he is pleased and contented, none has a right to doubt, for he affirms it, and he is a very honest fellow, and knows his own feelings; but our tastes, however, are various as our faces, and he, doubtless, has not made an improper choice for himself, though I dare say Judge and Samuel Sewall could tell you it would not be a proper one for you or themselves; and were either to paint it, not in high, but modest colors, you would find a difficulty in restraining the exercise of the risible muscles. Diogenes was delighted to take his abode in a tub, and although one may disapprove his taste, who has a right to condemn his choice?

Pardon the dress of this letter; for ever since my arrival in town I find myself incapable of application; the present hurry and confusion, to which I have for several years been unused, dissipates and overwhelms the small share of spirits

left me, and which old age is daily lessening. I am often reminded of "Taunton, dear Ned," as the song has it: —

> "My head is astunned with the naise and the cries
> Of their cruds and their creams, and their whot puden pies;
> And they keep zitch a naise all over the town,
> Ich think that the world wor a turn'd up-zide-down."

With the kindest love and regards to Mrs. Browne and family, I remain your affectionate friend,

S. Curwen.

August 31. To Mr. Francis Waldo's, at "Gentlemen's Hotel," Pall Mall; met Mr. Jo. Greene on Holborn Hill, and walked to Brompton to call on Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Savage; both absent. At a bookseller's in St. Paul's Church-yard, met my Scotch townsman, Andrew Dalglish, from Glasgow, and he wishes me to recommend him private lodgings. In the Strand met Mr. Fr's. Waldo, and accompanied him to Canon Coffee-House, Spring Gardens, and took tea, where were joined by Jo. Scott, and remained till eleven o'clock in talking politics. In the "Courant" of this day, find a summary of form of government to be established in Massachusetts Bay, to commence next October. It will be well if it be productive of as much security as the old. There are not wanting those, I fancy, many on both sides the great water, who do with me fear the dire consequences of an estrangement from governmental power and protection, and a pernicious alliance with a faithless people; many there are as well affected to the real interest of that country as the most ardent Republicans. If French troops in the English colonies in North America be not pregnant with direful evils, and destructive of American independence, my foreboding fears are imaginary — may they prove so. I wish, however, the hot-brained politicians there may in time foresee the baneful consequences early enough to prevent them, — if not, woe betide the inhabitants! I heartily wish they never may experience the cruelty and oppression that befell Flanders during the Duke of Alva's sanguinary tyranny, and may its oppressions

be of less duration, should they ever experience them from their present allies. The politics of the Court of Versailles are not in their nature formed to promote the liberty of English subjects; nothing but party rage intercepts between the mental eye and a truth visible as the sun at meridian in a cloudless day.

Sept. 2. Circuited to Smithfield, in order to see the ceremony of opening Bartholomew Fair by the Lord Mayor — just finished. The whole is a mere rabble rout, relishable only by "*mene peuple;*" conducted by men, women, and children, in painted masks and merry-andrew tawdry dresses. The amusements consist in jumping, dancing, riding on roundabout horses with legs, speech-making, etc., performed on scaffolds; together with sleight-of-hand tricks, in front rooms hired for that purpose; the ascent whereto is by a kind of rough ladder-stairs, actors and performers inviting in by a thousand antic postures and gestures. Passages round, lined with booths and tents, crammed with gingerbread, pastry, and all kinds and varieties of baubles.

Sept. 3. To Richmond Gardens; they fall short of my expectations, — a dead level, laid out in long, straight gravel-walks, not in the best order, — lined with trees and stumps, great numbers, we were told, cut down to serve the King's kitchen for fuel. A little beyond is a fine lawn, interspersed with trees, and accommodated with field-seats, commanding a delightful view of the river Thames, here a smooth, gentle stream, gliding along the side of a delightful raised terrace, eight feet high, between gardens or lawns, for a mile and a half, reaching to Kew *House* — for the pompous appellation of *Palace* it merits not. This walk reminds me of Sir John Dunham's beautiful couplet: —

> "Though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull;
> Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full."

From this only pleasing spot departed, taking a final leave of these (I know not why) celebrated Gardens, and directed our steps to the Queen's Terrace, so called, on Richmond Hill, commanding, though not a very extensive, yet a distinct

and pleasing prospect, having many fine objects in command of the eye besides the river, which is almost under foot. Ascending to the top, passed the well-known inn of Star and Garter, remarkable for its elegant accommodations, and consequent high charges, and entered Park, celebrated for its natural beauties.

Sept. 9. Met Mr. J. Waldo, of Bristol, and a Capt. Fletcher, both violent Americans in principle; the latter commander of a letter of truce, (falsely so called,) who brought over Mr. R. Temple and family.

Sept. 12. At Guildhall, to see the polling for city members for new Parliament; conducted with regularity, the avenues crowded with distributors of party papers, bawling aloud for their employers' favorites, friends of the respective candidates bringing on voters, single and in shoals.

Sept. 15. Charles J. Fox shot ahead of Lord Lincoln greatly yesterday (candidates for Westminster); the latter, it is said, proposes to keep the election going on till after some borough elections are over, in order to have a numerous host of friends, but he must rally great numbers.

Sept. 16. To Mr. Timmins's, and after an hour's abode, walked together; encountered Van Coulster; his shabby dress gave me uneasiness, indicating want; he seemed in good spirits, however, and inquired my lodgings — gave him a card.

Sept. 17. Attended worship at Lincoln's Inn Chapel. Samuel Peters preached — he is an indifferent speaker and composer — how he got there is as hard to conceive as straws in amber. After, at Essex Chapel. Mr. Lindsay preached to a very respectable-looking assembly; church is not crowded at this season — a most excellent discourse, delivered with suitable gravity, and, I am disposed to believe, sincerity.

Sept. 19. Market crowded with mob huzzaing for Fox.

Sept. 21. Election for sheriffs; all but livery excluded from the hall on election of city officers.

Sept. 23. Walking through Old Bailey, and seeing a great crowd, learnt that two pickpockets were to be whipped.

Jack Ketch, a short sturdy man, soon appeared with the culprits, one after the other; the first seemed like an old offender, and was moderately lashed; the mob said he had bought off the minister of justice; he writhed but little. The other was young, distress painted strongly on his countenance; he cried loudly; his back seemed unused to stripes; from this time it will carry the marks of legal vengeance, and proofs of his folly and wickedness. Going forward, passed through the Strand, and returned by way of Covent Garden to see election, which had been ended and poll closed for two hours, and the elected members, returning from the procession, were just entering James'-street, mounted on two arm-chairs, placed on a board that was carried on eight men's shoulders, accompained by thousands with tokens of victory: red and blue ribbons in their hats.

Sept. 25. At Covent Garden Theatre; performance, "Beggar's Opera;" parts well played, but great impropriety, not to say indecency, in Mrs. Kennedy's personating McHeath. Bravery, gallantry, and a fearless disregard of death, the characteristics of that notorious highwayman, which female softness awkwardly imitates. Following *entertainment*, falsely so called; execrably foolish and childish. I am sorry to arraign even the shilling gallery for want of judgment, in suffering such unmeaning stuff to pass for a farce.

TO WILLIAM CABOT, ESQ., NO. 7, LAMBETH-TERRACE.

No. 22, Castle-street, Falcon-square, *Sept.* 28, 1780.

Dear Sir:

Recollecting a request you made of me some months since by letter, I now acquaint you that by reason of absence of mind at that time, it was not in my memory that Mr. Lindsay, the minister of the Unitarian society meeting at Essex House in the Strand, had published a liturgy reformed agreeably to Dr. Samuel Clarke's plan, free from the errors and peculiarities of any and every particular sect among Christians; making the supreme God and Father of all, in contradistinction to every other being, *the sole object of religious*

worship; but in the name and as the disciples of Jesus Christ, whose Lord, head, and master, all true Christians acknowledge him to be. If you have not bought one, they are to be had of Mr. Johnson, bookseller, 72 St. Paul's Church-yard. His mode of worship, I profess to think agreeable to the genuine spirit of the Gospel, and myself to be one of his worshipping congregation. His plan, in my view, is scriptural; his worship plain, simple, unmixed with superstitious, unmeaning ceremonies, as all establishments are more or less burdened with. His preaching is instructive; his delivery serious, pathetic, and intelligible; his language energetic and clear; the assembly, the most respectable for its numbers I ever saw.

Yours truly,

S. Curwen.

Sept. 29. As I was walking in Holborn, observed a throng of ordinary people crowding round a chaise filled with young children of about seven years of age; inquiring the reason, was informed they were young sinners who were accustomed to go about in the evening, purloining whatever they could lay their hands on, and were going to be consigned into the hands of justice. Great pity that so many children, capable of being trained to useful employments and become blessings to society, should be thus early initiated, by the wicked unthinking parents of the lower classes in this huge overgrown metropolis, in those pernicious practices of every species of vice the human heart can be tainted with, which renders them common pests, and most commonly brings them to the halter.

Oct. 6. At Treasury, Mr. Rowe out of town; no orders till the 20th — the delay a hardship; every expedient is used that craft can devise and power execute to squeeze dependants. Evening at Saddler's Wells; a variety of exhibitions, tumbling in great variety; among others was the following: a lad about six years old, standing on a man's hands, with arms outstretched, in an erect posture, turned his body backwards so as to bring his face in a line with his legs, and be-

tween them. After continuing in this seemingly strained condition for a half minute, he gradually returned back to his natural shape, keeping his poise without any aid. In rope-dancing were the two following instances: a young person, habited and in appearance a female to the waist, and like a boy downwards, on the curtain being drawn up, was first seen lying on her back, and swinging to and fro three feet above the floor of the stage; rising without any assistance, she walked backwards and forwards on it; whilst in motion, a whalebone hoop of greater diameter than her height was placed on the wire, into which she stepped and walked backwards as before, and whilst in it received in her hand a smaller hoop, whereon were placed two tumblers, about two thirds full of red liquor, and whilst she was swinging whirled the smaller hoop round many times without spilling a drop. The same afterwards mounted a tight-rope, having baskets of the size of a half bushel fastened to her feet; with these she walked backwards and forwards, displaying various motions. After divesting herself of these incumbrances, she first walked as before backwards and forwards, leaping, vaulting, and throwing herself down. Her performances on the tight-rope were accompanied by a balance-pole in her hand, and by two men who slightly touched the pole when it descended below the horizontal lines. Whilst on the slack-rope, she went through the whole exercise of flourishing colors, consisting of a great variety of motions — holding a standard in each hand.

TO ARTHUR SAVAGE, ESQ., NO. 7, BROMPTON-ROW.

No. 22, Castle-street, Falcon-square, *Oct.* 14, 1780.

Dear Sir:

Your agreeable and obliging favor of the 11th instant came to hand the day after its date, but a severe cold, yet confining me, prevented the attention your politeness demanded.

I thank you for the kind information it contained respecting the Roman denarii and English coins; a few of which, if not above the reach of my purse, I would gladly procure.

If my indisposition goes off and the weather permits, I will

wait on you next Monday afternoon. With compliments to Mrs. and Miss Savage, I remain, etc., etc.

S. Curwen.

Oct. 15. Sunday afternoon, at the Temple. Stood for a time to take another stare at old Plowden's funeral monument; the figure in a decumbent posture, near the altar — a most expressive face; he died in 1585. This church is a noble old large structure, containing many funeral monuments and inscriptions. Just without the church, and under arches, lie in a decumbent posture ten Templars, in their military garb and appurtenances, contained within two separate inclosures. From church retreated with the company into the gardens, always open on Sundays between and after services.

Oct. 16. Visited Mr. A. Savage, and abode there till late in the evening.

Oct. 17. To Oxford-street, to examine some silver Roman denarii and Greek and English coins — for which they require far more than I think them worth — a Cromwell half-crown at thirty-six shillings! But am not medal mad.

Oct. 18. Received an order from the treasury for my quarterly allowance. Bought ten silver Roman denarii. Mr. Samuel Hirst Sparhawk and Andrew Dalglish drank tea with me.

Oct. 19. Went with Mr. Sparhawk to Disputing Club, at King's Arms, Cornhill — Question: "Is it for the advantage of mankind, that at the institution of Government, rewards should have been given to virtue, as well as punishments inflicted for vice?" The proposer varied the question, or rather dispute, by repeatedly declaring the impossibility of establishing it, from the unsuccessful attempts of ancient nations, as Egyptians, Chinese, — former and modern. This point was however contested, as in the instance of the Romans, who made some faint attempts in *corona civica* and *muralis* — allowing valor to be a virtue, and by exempting from taxes the father of four children, placing the increase in society in that predicament; and in modern times the French, in be-

stowing the order of St. Louis, and even the English in some instances, particularly the order of the Bath — the late honor and pension to Capt. Farmer's eldest son and widow; all of which had and have a tendency to raise an emulation in the breasts of gentlemen in that line. The whole of which and many other fine things on this side the question, were smartly and pointedly ridiculed by a Dr. Dodd, whose brilliancy of expression, liveliness of wit, and keenness of satire, kept the assembly in almost one continued roar of laughter and applause. Some of the speakers acquitted themselves to very general approbation, and none failed to receive marks of applause. However low public virtue and public spirit is thought to be, and unfortunately really is, I could not but remark, with great satisfaction and delight of soul, the loud and very general shouts of applause to every lively, just sentiment and expression in favor or in support of the virtues, public spirit, regard to the constitution, and the rights of mankind.

The room was large and handsomely furnished with glass chandeliers; and the entertainment so highly pleasing, amusing, and instructive, that I am determined to attend hereafter every Thursday evening, when circumstances shall permit. The President enters at eight o'clock, and continues till ten. When the question has been debated, and no one, after a silence of two minutes, offers to rise, he puts the question, or rather reads it very deliberately; the vote is then taken and declared; in the present question, in the negative.

Oct. 25. It being Accession-day, Park guns fired; saw a great collection of people.

Oct. 26. Walked with Mr. Dalglish to Hempsted, passing Caen Wood, Lord Mansfield's seat; from thence to Highgate; at Gate-house we dined — from thence to Bagnigge-wells to tea — passing home, we abode there two hours, and departed to King's Arms, Cornhill Disputing Club; — question proposed was, "*Would it be proper at this crisis, considering our successes in South Carolina, to offer the Americans independence?*" After much warmth of expression on both sides, though without scurrility or abuse, the question was

put; though the first time declared by the President uncertain on which side the majority lay, to me it appeared in the affirmative; none denied the President's declaration. The second time it was plainly in the negative.

Oct. 28. Had an agreeable *tête-à-tête* with Mr. T. Danforth, on his Holland tour. Dined at Mr. Sparhawk's; company, J. Scott, B. Cutler, and a young Mr. Perkins, late from New York. Heard many novel stories about America and the Americans.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND, EXETER.

LONDON, *Oct.* 31, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

I should not have failed to have answered your obliging favor of the 30th ult. before this time, but the daily expectation of giving a satisfactory reply to your inquiry, (concerning the state of the air previous to the darkness on which your conjecture was founded,) has been the only cause of this delay. The young person who brought the relation first to London from Boston, being gone to Holland, has not yet returned; nor has it been in my power to obtain sight of any one from that country since; despairing of it for some length of time, I cannot prevail on myself to delay any longer.

Your ingenious accounting for the appearances during and after the darkness is natural, pleasing, and intelligible. The trouble you have taken to commit your thoughts on the subject to writing, demands my thanks. The late performance of Dr. Priestley, which you wished me to read, I have bought and read with great delight; for when the very existence of the Deity, as well as His moral government, is denied and made the scorn and subject of light mirth among the young, thoughtless, and profligate, in conversation as well as in the writings of philosophers and pretenders to cool, dispassionate, unprejudiced reasoning, I am pleased to find one of Dr. Priestley's known abilities stand up in support of this most important of all the articles of belief. Two or three difficulties having occurred to me in reading, (which was done in a kind of *currente pede*,) I shall give it a second or third exam-

ination, and hope by the friendly aid of my worthy friend, to arrive at a more comprehensive knowledge of the subject. I am glad Mr. H.'s arrogance and malevolence, if you will allow the expression, against moral obligation, is corrected by so masterly a hand; but could wish the Doctor had not rated his philosophical abilities so low; for should his defenders find the least mistake, misrepresentation, or misquotation, his warmth will be construed to have proceeded from envy and a bitterness of spirit against an author of established fame; nor will the friends to that side of the question fail to magnify it and trumpet it forth to the Doctor's disadvantage.

I am sorry I cannot give an answer of a contrary kind to my friend's wish, so flattering to my pride, of my return to Exeter; but the increasing infirmities of old age, the advanced season of the year, and, above all, the approaching period to the American dispute, forbid my leaving the city. I fancy you will wonder at the last reason assigned, but in truth that event, it is my real opinion, is much nearer than is generally expected. I acknowledge I am not acquainted with one courtier or court-lounger, nor informed of the deliberations or opinions prevailing in the cabinet. It is from the appearances of affairs only I form my judgment. In a chequered state of things, as is the case in common wars, the sentiments, opinions, and judgments of all men vary with the vicissitudinary, changing state of events; but in this baneful, woful quarrel, such a continued, unbroken series of disappointments, disasters, and mortifying events have taken place, that it seems to me to be morally impossible but the eyes of all thoughtful, prudent, knowing men must open and discern the impolicy and impracticability of accomplishing the great end for which this war was undertaken — the reduction of the Colonies to the obedience of the British Parliament. It may be objected that our prospects are brightened, and we are in a course of conquering; — that I deny, for one swallow makes no summer. We have beaten the rebel army, and expelled that army out of Carolina with half their numbers; have riveted the inhabitants to our interests; they are become loyalists, and have sworn allegiance,

and that they will always do whilst you can command their estates and persons. This reminds me of the lines in Hudibras: —

> "'T is he that breaks an oath who makes it;
> Not he who for convenience takes it."

That the Americans practise this rule is true, but how far they believe it to be just, I won't say. For proof I refer you to Rhode Island, Philadelphia, and those parts of Long Island and the Jerseys, relinquished; there are, besides, many other instances; while under British power they are loyal, that power removed, they as naturally return to their former condition as any elastic body returns to its natural form when the force is removed. That the reduction of South Carolina, with the defeat of Gates, will draw North Carolina and Virginia, I no more believe, than that Rodney will overpower either of the fleets of the combined powers, and of course take possession of some of their islands in the West Indies, which nobody dreams of.

The situation of this country respecting neutral powers, is alarming; should Portugal declare against us, we shall not have a port on the sea-coast of this terrestrial globe to carry our prisoners into out of our own dominions, whilst all the nations far and near shelter and protect our enemies; and that she is on the point of forsaking our alliance, is but too probable. If Great Britain shall retain her rank among the great nations of Europe, and a respectable part of her foreign possessions, the miracle of her salvation will be as great and auspicious as the deliverance of the children of Israel from the oppressive power of Pharaoh and his hosts when they stood trembling on the banks of the Red Sea, just before it opened by Divine command to let them pass through, and thereby escape his power. Could my prayers and tears prevail, a plenty should not be wanting to save our country from utter ruin, to which I fear this once happy, favored isle is hastening by large strides.

Please make my compliments to such acquaintances as you know I did and ought to esteem, and believe me very truly,

Your friend, S. Curwen.

CHAPTER XIV.

A. D. 1780. Visit to Parliament House. Ladies' Disputing Society. Guildhall Meeting. Lord Mayor's Day. Chancery Court. Essex House Chapel. Rev. Mr. Lindsay. Carlisle House. Montague House. British Museum. Lottery Drawing at Guildhall. Disputing Club. Affair of Major André. Mr. Copley's Picture-Room. Painting of Death of Lord Chatham, etc.

London, Nov. 1, 1780. Went to Parliament House, through Court of Requests to lobby of House of Commons; thence to passage to the House of Lords; the crowd in both great. I could gain no admittance. I saw Lord George Germain for the first time; a large, stout, raw-boned man. Met Mr. R. Temple and family in the passage to the Lords, waiting to see Mr. Querme of the black rod; questioned him about the state of the air in New England previous to the mid-day darkness in May last year; he remembered but little about that event, or declined to say much about it. In clearing the House to go to the Lords to attend the King's acceptance of their Speaker, and hear his Speech from the throne, I was drawn away, when otherwise I might have seen Lord North, that for the space of five years, my residence in England, I have not hitherto been favored with.

Nov. 4. Accompanied Mr. Dalglish to La Belle Assemblée, or Ladies' Disputing Society. The question proposed was: "Would it not be prudent and proper, considering the great demand for public supplies, and the difficulty of raising them, to lay a tax on old bachelors?" The lady who first spoke, moved to alter the question and include old maids, which was objected to by a fine young lady, who answered in a lively, pleasing manner; her objection was, however, overruled by a vote put by the President. Question then stood

as including old maids. Twelve female speakers stood forth in succession, and the question was carried in the affirmative. There were many excellent thoughts expressed and some witty ones; some acquitted themselves to the approbation of the company. A few, through diffidence or forgetfulness, stopped short in mid-race, and sat down, unable to proceed; these met with polite and kind indulgence, and were clapped by way of encouragement.

Nov. 8. Towards Guildhall meeting; great crowds to view the preparations for to-morrow, when the Mayor is to be sworn in and invested with the regalia of the chief magistracy. The floor of the hall is raised, half of the lower part partitioned off and inclosed for the entertainment of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, with their guests. In the central line, through the whole length, are hung three noble chandeliers, and round the walls, in festoons, are placed small lamps of different colors. The lady mayoress' drawing-room is also adorned in the same manner, and a music-gallery built up for the present occasion.

Nov. 9. Lord Mayor's day. My Lord goes attended in a pompous procession from Guildhall to Queenhithe Stairs, and thence in the city barge, gaudily decorated, by water to Whitehall Stairs, from whence he rides in a coach to Westminster Hall, to be sworn into his new office by one of the barons of the Exchequer. He returns by water to Blackfriars Bridge Stairs, where he lands and goes in city stage-coach to Guildhall, to partake of the banquet there provided, and pass the remainder of the day in festivity, accompanied by city councils, sheriffs, and other officers. Streets lined with crowds, besides company-stands or tents erected in Cheapside, on both sides as far as King-street, leading to Guildhall. A man in complete armor attends the armorer's company on horseback, with such a weight of iron as renders his duty a heavy and fatiguing one. Called on by Samuel Sparhawk, to accompany me to a friend's house on Ludgate Hill, for an advantageous sight of the procession, but being too early, continued our walk to the Park, where we met Mr. Clarke (father-in-law of Mr. Copley) for the first time since my re-

turn to London; he kindly welcomed me back, and invited me to renew my visits at his house.

TO HON. JONATHAN SEWALL, BRISTOL.

LONDON, *Nov.* 19, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

The delay to answer your favor of August 24, arose solely from successive disappointments in my endeavors to obtain a true and intelligible relation of the state of the air immediately preceding the darkness that covered the face of the heavens on the 19th of last May; the knowledge of this circumstance seems necessary in order to assign a strictly philosophical reason for it. As the fact at present stands, all reasoning about it depends on the truth of hypotheses; my philosophical friend, Mr. Bretland, of Exeter, has sent the following conjectural account of its cause, which I shall transcribe for your amusement, and doubt not you will think it both ingenious and probable.

"The uncommon phenomenon of which you have favored me with an account, is deserving the attention of philosophers: the previous circumstances of the atmosphere where it happened, seem necessary to enable me to give a satisfactory explication of its causes. If I may be allowed to conjecture, I suppose that before it came on, there had been much dry and warm weather, and an extensive stagnation in the air. If these were the previous circumstances, it may, I think, be accounted for by supposing that the air having been very much dried, and the putrefaction of lakes and vegetable substances having become very great and extensive, there was a copious ascent of vapors, which are well known to have frequently a blue or purple tinge, and at the same time not to form themselves into clouds sufficiently dense to obstruct the passage of the rays of light, or wholly interrupt the view of objects between which and the observer's eye they may chance to be situated, though dense enough to reflect a very large proportion of the rays of light from the upper surface, and sufficiently colored to tinge the rays that pass through them, and so communicate their own color to

the objects on which these rays fell. Perhaps you may more clearly apprehend my meaning by an example. Take a spectacle-glass, of deep purple color, and look through it at an object, and you will find that you can see the object distinctly; and let the light shine through it upon an object, and you will observe the object but faintly illuminated, and to receive in some degree the color of the glass. Now the greasy substance that fell in the night, seems to have formed during part of the day a vast spectacle-glass, as I may call it, through which the heavens were visible, and from the rays passing through which, the glass received a blue or purple tinge. The light that came through that immensely large glass was so little that a great darkness was occasioned by the want of those inconceivably more numerous rays that were reflected by the upper surface of the great spectacle-glass, and had no object interposed, would have fallen as usual on the earth's surface. If the boundaries of the vast spectacle-glass had been discoverable, the people of Boston would have perceived that there was a vast cloud hanging over them; but as they looked through a medium, the limits of which they could not perceive, they were not able to discover any cloud, but as Mr. Temple justly remarked, the heavens seemed to be covered only with a large transparent veil."

So far my friend. I could wish it were possible to procure a just account of this necessary circumstance in order to ascertain the true cause of so singular a phenomenon, but this I fear is not obtainable. How great was my disappointment at meeting your informant a few days since in the lobby of the House of Lords, where I had some conversation with him on the subject, but to no purpose, he I fancy not having examined it with a philosopher's attention, or even puzzled his head to investigate natural causes.

Much greater effects might have been expected from the almost miraculous success of Lord Cornwallis, than we have now reason to expect; but knowing my views of things are very different from yours, I will not trouble you with my

foreboding fears, and shall bid adieu to the subject, which I never consider without reluctance.

Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

Nov. 11. Entered Chancery Court, the Chancellor sitting as he, or the Master of the Rolls when he presides, always does, with hat on, taking minutes of the case, as is customary in all thecourts for Judges to do.

Nov. 12. Attended worship at Essex House Chapel; Mr. Lindsay preached. In mid-service, a well-dressed Scotch lady entered the pew wherein a gentleman and myself were sitting. After service, she inquired of me if the preacher did not deny the divinity of Christ, or rather, she affirmed that he did; adding, she never heard it so plainly declared in public before; to which I assented, telling her this congregation was set up professedly on Unitarian principles; disavowing all other objects of religious worship and adoration, but the supreme, everlasting God, the Father and Lord of the universe, the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; who, in the text, is declared to be the Son of the everlasting God. The settled members hold themselves the disciples of Christ, and members of that body of which He is head. She further added, that Mr. L. was a Socinian; which I neither was disposed nor could I deny, referring her to himself for a justification of his principles, as far as he could make it satisfactory to her, if her curiosity or wishes led her to make further inquiries; giving her a short relation of his conduct with respect to his forsaking the Church of England, whereof he was a settled minister seven years ago; but his scruples in relation to the divinity of Christ had forced him to relinquish a valuable living, and lucrative, honorable prospects in that establishment, for an uncertain support among those of his own more liberal sentiments; and his integrity had been rewarded here by this society. She seemed disposed to lengthen our conversation, but having said all I had proposed to impart at present, took a sudden leave.

After tea, called on Mr. Dalglish, whom, with his friend, I

accompanied in a coach to "Carlisle House," at a Sunday evening entertainment, called the Promenade, instituted in lieu of public amusement; and to compensate for twelve tedious hours' interval laid under an interdict by the laws of the country, yet unrepealed formally by the legislature, though effectually so in the houses of the great and wealthy, from whence religion and charity are but too generally banished. The employment of the company is simply walking through the rooms; being allowed tea, coffee, chocolate, lemonade, orgeat, negus, milk, &c.; admission by ticket, cost, three shillings; dress, decent, full not required; some in boots; one carelessly in spurs happening to catch a lady's flounce, he was obliged to apologize and take them off. The ladies were rigged out in gaudy attire, attended by bucks, bloods, and maccaronies, though it is also resorted to by persons of irreproachable character: among the wheat will be tares. The arrangement of the house is as follows: From the vestibule where the tickets are received, the entrance is through a short passage into the first room, of a moderate size, covered with carpets, and furnished with wooden chairs and seats in Chinese taste; through this the company passes to another of a larger size, furnished and accommodated as the former; passing this, you enter the long-room, about eighty feet by forty; this is the largest, and lighted with glass chandeliers and branches fixed to side-walls, against which stand sofas covered with silk, — floors carpeted. Hence, tending to the left, you cross the hall, and enter the wilderness or grotto, having natural evergreens planted round the walls; the centre an oblong square, about twenty-five feet long and fifteen broad, fenced with an open railing, a few shrubs interspersed, flowering moss and grass; in one of the angles is a natural well, with a living spring, which the attendant told me was mineral. Fronting the entrance, in the centre, at the further end is a cave cased with petrifactions, stones artificially cut into resemblance of the former, and spars, with here and there a dim lamp so placed as to afford but an imperfect sight of surrounding objects. To the top of the arch leading to the cave, is an ascent of two

flights of steps on each hand, and over it a room not unlike in form the cave below, painted in modern style in oval compartments, containing hieroglyphics and ancient stories; on the same elevation is a narrow gallery, continued on either side to about half the length of room, fronted near three feet high with an open Chinese fence or railing: this room is about fifty feet deep by thirty wide, lighted as the others with variegated lamps, but rather dim; next enter into two tea-rooms, each with tables for forty sets or parties.

So far for my imperfect description of this house, wherein the well-known Mrs. Cornelly used to accommodate the nobility, etc., with masquerades and coteries. Dress of the ladies differed widely; one part swept their track by long trails, the other by an enormous size of hoops and petticoats. The company usually resorting there about seven hundred, as the ticket receiver told me;—this evening the house was thronged with a good thousand. The rooms were filled, so that we could scarce pass without jostling, interfering, and elbowing; for my own part, being old, small, and infirm, I received more than a score of full butt rencounters with females; — whether provision was not made for so large a company, or whatever the cause may be, it was full two hours before I could procure a dish of tea, after fifteen vain attempts, nor was I singular; and when served, it was in a slovenly manner on a dirty tea-stand. I never saw a place of public resort where the company was treated with so little respect by servants; even common tea-houses, whose character is far humbler, as "Bagnigge Wells," "White Conduit House," "Dog and Duck," etc., are in this respect preferable. It would be treating "Ranelagh" with great indignity to bring it into comparison with this which is designed to supply its place during the long vacation of that fashionable resort; nor are Vauxhall Gardens less than a thousand times beyond this in every eligible circumstance, unless I saw it under peculiar disadvantages.

Met Peter Frye and young William Eppes there; also saw the Duke of Queensbury, who I was told is a never-failing attendant on places of dissipation, which his seeming age

should, one might think, restrain him from such juvenile amusements; but old habits are strong, and too powerful to be resisted when long indulged. Tired of this scene, I took myself off at the early hour of twelve, and bidding adieu to Carlisle House, after a few *égaremens* arrived with no small content at my own lodgings.

Nov. 14. While rambling, Montague House came in view; it occurred to me to take another view of the Museum; I entered and applied to Dr. Harper, the under-librarian, who referred me to the ticket-porter for admission the following day at eleven o'clock. Arriving at home, Wm. Cabot drank tea with me; S. Sparhawk came in afterwards, and abode two hours; from whom I heard the first account of Arnold's intentional withdrawing himself and four or five thousand troops under his command from Congressional service to the Royal standard at New York; the failure of this scheme of treachery, and his lucky escape from his enemies' hands. From him also the relation of the seizure of Mr. Laurens' papers, late President of the Congress, and now a State prisoner in the Tower; giving an account of the desperate situation of their affairs, with complaints of failure of their resources, and their inability to support the war any longer without loans from Holland, France, or Spain. The above comes from Benjamin Thompson,[1] a native of Massachusetts, (formerly an apprentice to my next-door neighbor in Salem, Mr. John Appleton, an importer of British goods,) now Under-Secretary in the American Department.

Nov. 15. Mr. Snelson calling at my lodgings by accident, I told him of my intention of visiting the British Museum, and took him with me. Dr. Gifford, the librarian, indulged me with the admittance of my companion without a ticket. The company numerous, of both sexes; several inquisitive and chatty ladies not a little heightening the entertainment. In the Harleian Collection was an ancient manuscript, near twelve hundred years old, most curiously illuminated; a copy of Genesis in Greek capitals, written by Origen's own hand in a quarto size, inclosed in a beautiful tin-gilt box resem-

[1] Afterwards Count Rumford.

bling that fold, containing only its remains, being unfortunately almost wholly destroyed in the Cotton Library conflagration many years ago. On the same shelves were also many others of distant antiquity in the same wretched plight with this. Here, also, are the remains of the original Magna Charta, granted by King John at Runnymead, part of which is scorched and illegible by the same catastrophe. An exact but not perfectly fac simile copy stands by its parent's side, with the arms of those noble barons who extorted it from that unworthy prince, emblazoned and surrounding it. Also that most valuable manuscript, the Alexandrian copy of the Bible, in Greek capitals, of fourteen hundred years' duration.

Among the shell-fish kind is one of the smallest size, which looks like the vertebræ of a small animal, for which an Italian curioso paid three thousand sequins. Sir Hans Sloane at length became possessed of it for thirty pounds sterling! Among pearls is one of the size of a pea, of a light purplish water, valued at five hundred pounds. So liberal of money are men of curiosity, that the last-mentioned sum has been offered for it. The innumerable curiosities in the natural as well as artificial way, coming fast upon me, confounded my memory; the latter destroying the traces of the former by the quickness of their transition. Dr. Gifford's respectful and cheerful attention is very pleasing; he is eighty-one years old, lively and sprightly to an uncommon degree. I observed against the wall of the Cotton Library a bust of Pope Benedict XIV., called from the liberality of his sentiments "the Protestant Pope." In the room of antiquities, received from Sir William Hamilton, and brought from Italy, is a vase having an inscription of Etruscan original, in the ancient mode of writing in Greece, soon after the importation of the sixteen letters from Phenicia by Cadmus.

Nov. 16. State lottery being to be drawn, curiosity led me to Guildhall, where a gallery for spectators is erected with seats, one of which I obtained for sixpence. The first object that struck me was a great number of clerks writing down the numbers of tickets and quality as they were proclaimed.

The wheels were placed on either hand upon a stage raised about six feet from the floor, at the bottom of the hall under Beckford's statue; between were seated the commissioners at a long table, and a boy at each wheel. After delivering the ticket, the boy raises his hand above his head with fingers displayed open, and after two flourishes thrusts it into the wheel, delivering the tickets severally to the man on either side, who on cutting the tickets open, being tied and sealed, declares the number. To prevent future pranks from boys employed to draw out the numbers, a commissioner sits in a box directly opposite each boy and near him; who besides is obliged on taking out each number to raise up his hand, holding the ticket between his fore finger and thumb, delivering it to the man, who after cutting it open announces its fate or fortune.

Walked to New England Coffee-House to inquire after new lodgings; from thence to the Disputing Club at King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill; the question to be spoken, for properly it was not debated, was, "*Can the doctrine of polygamy, endeavored to be established by a well-known divine in a late publication, be defended on the principles of reason, religion, or sound policy?*" After many humorous and some solid arguments against it, in defence however of which no one stood upon Dr. Maddam the author's grounds, it was voted in the negative, one hand only in affirmative, producing a hiss or laugh of contempt and indignation. A gentleman whom I took to be in the law line, stood up and modestly said the argument had not had a fair discussion, as no one appeared but to condemn and reprobate; and after an apology, presumed to suppose it might under certain regulations and restrictions by the legislature, in certain supposable cases, be allowed, whereby some evils, the too common attendants of matrimony, might be avoided without incurring greater evils. This met with not the least countenance, yet the speaker, who was a well-behaved man of knowledge and ability, was treated with respect. It was moved that the company should publicly reprobate the doctrine, but prudential considerations prevailed to negative the motion.

Nov. 21. Left cards and compliments at Mr. Clarke's for himself and Mr. and Mrs. Copley, who are abroad.

Nov. 22. Mrs. Cowley, a celebrated playwright, dined with us; she is a small, sprightly body. Evening at a new play called "*Generous Impostor*."

Nov. 23. Went to Crown Coffee-House to meet Mr. Arthur Savage — disappointed; proceeded to Westminster Hall — courts sitting. Saw Lord Loughborough for the first time since his title and presidency of the Common Pleas; he was single on the bench, being on trials after term. Saw Judge Buller on King's Bench; he appears shrewd, quick, ready, and promises for an active Judge — this being my first sight of him since his advancement.

Nov. 24. Taking out Mr. Dalglish, proceeded to Adelphi Hotel to visit, *en passant*, Col. Peter Frye and his daughter, Mrs. Oliver;[1] after a short stay departed for Westminster Hall, the doors of neither Lords nor Commons being open; returning passed through the Park, and met Samuel Sparhawk, who joined us to Spring Garden Coffee-House.

Nov. 28. At Westminster Hall; courts sitting. Mr. Justice Skinner, lately advanced to chief baronship on Exchequer bench. Saw Mr. Justice Heath on Common Pleas bench, whom I knew, and frequently saw a sergeant at Exeter, his birthplace.

Nov. 29. Six provinces out of seven of the Dutch union have acceded to the armed neutrality of the North, to prevent British search of neutral ships suspected of carrying naval and military stores to the enemy.

Sunday, Dec. 3. Walked up the Strand, when to my surprise I found myself all alone, not a person within sight, not a coach to be seen or heard; which, considering the hour, (five P. M.) was singular. In this predicament I walked on a hundred yards or more; arrived at Spring Garden Coffee-House, and over a dish of tea read the "Morning Post," containing letters of Generals Washington, Clinton, Arnold, and Major André. The latter, though pitied here, perhaps justly, is doubtless to be ranked in the class of spies, and his punish-

[1] Afterwards the wife of Sir John Knight.

ment, however censured here, was in my mind not undeservedly inflicted, and to be justified by the universal practice of all nations, civilized and uncivilized, on persons of that character.

Dec. 4. At New England Coffee-House, where conversed for the first time with William Jackson, from whom learnt particular circumstances of harsh treatment he received from fierce partisans in Boston, Newburyport, etc.

Dec. 5. Evening at Patagonian Theatre, Exeter 'Change; a bauble of a thing. The show a burlesque farce, but I know not of what; performance in puppetry, speakers below the stage and invisible; machinery awkward, scenery pretty. Among the auditors was Lord Molesworth.

Dec. 12. Samuel H. Sparhawk called; accompanied him to Ladies' Disputing Club, at King's Arms, Cornhill. A lady presided and acquitted herself very commendably. *Question:* "*Was Adam or Eve most culpable in paradise?*" Mrs. President addressed the assembly with great propriety, just accent, and pleasing voice; explaining the nature of the meeting; justifying ladies appearing to speak in a public promiscuous assembly. She was frequently applauded; on ascending the chair, she turned round and gracefully saluted the company, discovering perfect self-possession, void of all embarrassment. The other speakers also acquitted themselves laudably, and were frequently clapped. Some spoke, I won't say argued, on one side, some on the other; very little serious argument, unless declamation, quotations from Hudibras, etc., can be so denominated. The subject afforded matter for mirth, but the most serious speeches turned against the mother of us all.

The concluding speech was foreign to the question; the subject was the term "congress." The speakers were lively, and their wit and humor produced shouts of laughter. The principal speaker introduced her speech by observing that the word being understood here as implying rebellion, she at first apprehended American ladies were coming over in shoals to seduce the young gentlemen from our island ladies; but after considering the subject, and being informed by a clergyman,

to whom she applied for its meaning, had found that the word has a harmless signification, and had been used on this side the water in treaties of peace, as the Congress of Ambassadors of belligerent powers at Nimeguen, Aix-la-Chapelle, etc.; that it is derived from a Latin word signifying a meeting together to compose or reunite discordant parties. She was pleased to hear it was not likely to give disgust to our State physicians, who were laudably employing their skill and labor in administering harsh medicines to the disordered members of our consumptive empire. After a series of lively observations, she closed by wishing success to the institution, and that it may do honor to female eloquence. Question being put, whether Adam was most in fault, vote by three hands only, negatived by one. Thus Eve stands acquitted in this female school of oratory of being the most guilty, though I fancy the major part considered as females are not so clear in the affirmative.

Mrs. Hayley, the great frequenter of all public city assemblies, was there. A small interruption happened by a dirty boy's mixing with the company; the President declared her surprise at it. In all large public collections of people of mixed character, persons of unruly disposition are to be found, who will indulge themselves in undue freedoms, if it can be done with impunity.

Dec. 14. Col. Browne called on me twice to-day in my absence.

Dec. 15. Called on Col. Browne and also on Arthur Savage; both out, the latter gone to Bristol with William Cabot. In my way, met Thomas Hutchinson, whom I had not seen for four years.

Dec. 17. Afternoon, accompanied by John Parkhouse, I attended the famous Herries's chapel of ease, St. John Square; he preached in an animated style, with oratorical delivery, to an audience crowded and respectable.

Dec. 19. Called on Mr. R. Clarke, in company with Col. Browne; we were invited to Mr. Copley's picture-room, wherein were two exhibition pieces, viz., Brooke Watson's wonderful deliverance from a great shark that had twice

seized him, and had bitten off one leg. The other piece, Copley's own family, comprising himself, wife, and three children, and his father-in-law, Mr. Clark. Here is also a large piece representing the House of Lords, when Lord Chatham, in the height of his patriotic zeal, was seized with a fit which proved fatal; the piece represents the moment of his being raised from the floor on which he had fallen, and was lying in the arms and lap of the Duke of Cumberland, his son-in-law; number of Lords sixty, in their dresses, attitudes, etc., either as they then stood, or as the painter fancied they might, faces taken from life as they successively sat for this purpose. It is to be engraved for a print, deliverable next August twelvemonth, at three guineas each. Mrs. Hay appeared in view so very like, that the first glance announced for whom it was intended. After amusing ourselves for some time, took leave and separated at door. This day removed my lodgings to No. 10 Furnival's Inn Court. Appearances are for enjoyment here; experience manifold has taught me not to rely on them, nor shall I draw up a verdict till supported by issue at departure.

Dec. 20. William Jackson called, (he lodges at No. 5 this court,) and passed the evening till tea.

Dec. 21. More snow has fallen than has been known to be on ground at once, or in same space of time, for many years.

Dec. 23. Samuel H. Sparhawk called to let me know he had received letters from New England so late as October 19. Mr. Jos. Green died about three weeks ago.

Dec. 26. Called on Mr. Peters; he was absent, being officially engaged at church, this being St. Andrew's day.

Dec. 28. This is my birthday, allowing for difference occasioned by altering the style. This day I have completed a circle of sixty-four years; but to how little moral advantage, it humiliates me to think. May the short remainder of my probationary state be marked with brighter lines, and the review of the interval, the present and last hour of my rational life, when that awful and important hour shall arrive, yield me a comfort that the retrospect of the past cannot afford.

Being at Furnival's Inn Coffee-House, Mr. Peters and a Methodist parson entered, joining company and conversation for a short time.

Dec. 29. Paid my first mourning visit to Mr. Joseph Green's widow; she seems greatly oppressed with grief.

Dec. 31. Attended public worship at Essex-street Chapel.

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1781. Description of Entertainment at Covent Garden Theatre. Letters. American Academy of Arts and Sciences founded in Massachusetts. Trial of Lord George Gordon. Visit to Priory, Clerkenwell. Greenwich Hospital. Mrs. Cowley's New Play. Col. now Governor Browne. House of Commons. Debate. Mr. Burke. Visit to Westminster Abbey. Mary-le-bone. Dr. Priestley. British Museum. Curiosities seen there. Benj. Thompson, (Count Rumford.) Intercepted Letter of General Washington. Excursion to Windsor. Personal Description of the King and Queen. Eton College. Chiswick House. News of the Burning of New London. Admiral Rodney's Fleet at Torbay. Consequences of Surrender of Lord Cornwallis. Henry Laurens discharged from the Tower on Bail.

London, Jan. 1, 1781. The first day of the new year; may it please God to crown the endeavors of good men to bring about that desirable event, peace and quietness among the contending powers, before another annual revolution, to the honor and safety of all concerned.

Jan. 2. Dined at Barley-Mow, Salisbury Court. Meeting Harrison Gray, learnt the capture of the vessel in which S. Conant sailed from Holland; she was carried into Cork. By this means, several letters I addressed to different friends are thrown into the abyss.

Jan. 3. I know not whether the mercantile portion of the nation consider aught but present objects — view of gain by privateering — always successful at commencement of war. Ships of the enemy being generally unprepared for defence, fall an easy prey; they therefore seem pleased with the spirited declaration of the Sovereign, if it may be so called, of war. Letters of marque and reprisal offered. By Lloyd's books three hundred Dutch merchant ships are taken and safely moored in our ports, and more than three thousand

sailors. But this additional weight, added to that of France, Spain, and America, already on our hands, the successful issue of which we seem to have but too much cause to despair of, calls for united bravery, intrepidity, and efforts that this nation has in times of like imminent danger exerted, and by Divine favor, with unexpected success. May we still experience the same kind and favorable interposition, and make more grateful returns. Dined in Salisbury Court. Samuel Sparhawk drank tea with me, and told me of my townsman Col. Browne's advancement to the governorship of Bermuda; an unexpected elevation, and I doubt not acceptable to himself, encumbered, as he is, with a wife and three children.

Jan. 6. Mr. Peters and Mr. Erving called; the latter's lodgings, Charlotte-street, Islington.

Jan. 9. Accompanied Mr. Dalglish to Covent Garden Theatre; comedy, "Busy-body," — entertainment, the tasty performance of "*Freemason Procession*," — scenery pompous, former part to my taste unpleasing: Harlequin in dumb show; why he is said to be a Freemason, I cannot divine, unless investing him with a square, one of their badges, suspended by a ribbon and hung round his neck, so constitutes him. The skipping about of an antic dressed out in a merry-andrew's coat, his face covered with black crape, and a wooden sword by his side, put on for the purpose of showing how ready he is at drawing it forth to slap his brother antics on face, shoulders, etc.; displaying the wonders of his transforming power in converting trunks, dogs, and chests, into watch-boxes, arbors, chimney-pieces, etc.; his principal aim being to make grimaces and wry faces at his favorite Columbine, who, by the way, is a fine-looking girl, and made to be deeply in love with a fantastic ape, without one probable reason for it. These species of pantomime seem at present greatly in vogue; to arraign the taste is perhaps conceited; but this remark will never come to light, if ever, till, I dare say, it will be as despised as it is now relished, especially by the more enlightened class; as to the lower, they ever were and ever will be too gross for any entertainment

above the lowest humor. I am, I confess, so totally void of all relish for such diversions that I forbear condemning them, although I consider them as a proof, among many others, of the depravity of the present day. I would fain call it vulgar, but too many box spectators seem to enjoy it and join the galleries. I can't, however, but believe that all sensible persons do disapprove of these shows as unworthy, but dare not openly avow their opinion. The comedy was excellent, and well performed; and much exceeds in point of wit, plot, etc., the, to me, flattish sentimental compositions of the present day, with a few exceptions. After the silly harlequin had skipped behind scenes, a most grand procession began, preceded by a standard of light red color, the ground of all the following ones: the first contained a scroll whereon was painted in large golden letters, ENOCH, the first grand-master; his representative following, accompanied by two attendants; at a little interval appeared NIMROD, second grand-master, with his representative and four attendants; next was brought the front of the Temple of the Sun at Thebes; afterwards, the great Pyramid of Egypt and the Sphynx; then, front of the Temple of Jerusalem, built by King Solomon; Pharaoh's two daughters next followed, attended by their Egyptian and Jewish female and male servants, the high-priest properly habited, holding a pot of incense in his hand, — breastplate, and other insignia on, — closing with a long stream of attendants and servants in rear; next, front of Pantheon at Rome, the founder or repairer, for it is uncertain which, M. Agrippa's name in a list under the capitol; then, Temple of Jerusalem, built by Herod, destroyed by Vespasian, represented as in flames; next, William the Conqueror, and behind him was carried a prospective view of the Tower of London, as if built by him; then, Edward the Third, accompanied by his son clad in black armor, from thence denominated the Black Prince, — giving liberty to, and taking the chains off the legs of two captive kings, John of France, and James II. of Scotland, at the instance of his son, followed by a train of attendants; the front of St. Peter's at Rome then succeeded, Julius II.

having in his hand a crosier, and on his head a triple crown, — alluding to his regal authority: he was attended by a train of ecclesiastical officers and servants, and had the keys hanging to his girdle, as lord chamberlain of the state-rooms in the upper regions, and jailer in the lower dungeons; — and like Jack Ketch, who sometimes has a practice of his own office tried on himself, it will be a wonder if some of the pontifical jailers, when others succeed, have not the keys of lower apartments turned upon them.

Next in order came Queen Elizabeth, dressed in royal robes, and attended by her servants, both state and domestic; then followed King James, surrounded by court sycophants; front of Banqueting-House as it now stands, undefiled and undilapidated; next, Guy Fawkes, in dress of his day, holding a dark lantern, — alluding to the Gunpowder-Plot, — he was forcibly seized and carried off; next followed Inigo Jones, the restorer of Greek and Roman taste in architecture, preceded by an ensign, having his name in a scroll, with the Masonic letters D. G. W.; then came Charles II. and attendants, followed by the front of St. Paul's, the present noble structure, founded in his reign; at length appeared William and Mary, the former holding a sheet of paper with this inscription, *Bill of Rights*, — words that I wish could be indelibly impressed on the minds of kings, lords, commons, courtiers, and people of this island; for, on the practical remembrance of this short sentence depends the security of this unparalleled constitution, which I verily fear is near its dissolution. Then followed the grand-master, seated in a magnificent alcove; then an arch, having an inscription, *Ancient Masonry;* then two pillars, on the top of each a globe, — on one the celestial, the other a terrestrial, — and on a list, by which they were kept steady, was inscribed *Modern Masonry*. The last in the procession were Solomon and Pharaoh's daughter, seated on a throne of state, and over it a rich canopy raised by six steps; on the bottom steps, on each side, stood two lions guardant, between them two young Egyptian damsels, dressed in white, — and on each side of the throne, all the principal personages of the procession

ranged, with standards displayed, made a grand and glittering appearance. A fine chorus was sung, and when ended, a universal shout of applause rang through the house, and the curtain dropped.

Jan. 10. An extremely cold day, scarcely ever exceeded in New England; abode within all day, glad to have a shelter, which many a poor wretch wants. I never felt stronger reasons for gratitude; may the sense of it ever remain on my mind, for sure I am it is a most pleasing sensation or feeling.

Jan. 12. Mr. Timmins brought me a packet from Salem, by way of St. Kitt's, containing a long letter from Dr. Holyoke, and one from Richard Ward.

Jan. 15. Colonel Erving and Mr. Arthur Savage called.

Jan. 16. Visited Mr. Wiswall; accompanied Mr. Dalglish, at his desire, to a visit at Samuel H. Sparhawk's. A second unsuccessful one to Mr. Hughes, who was keeping his birthday at his sister Hutchin's.

Jan. 17. Drank tea with Mr. Barnes; his lodgings, No. 5, our court; in conversation till eleven.

Jan. 19. Visited Treasurer Gray, — he absent; his son John at home. S. H. Sparhawk and Mr. Barnes took tea with me, and passed evening; former says a Mrs. Thompson, arrived from New England, informs that people in Massachusetts utter complaints and discontents at Congress and the French without restraint. When common sense resumes its reign, as it usually does, sooner or later, the scales which party zeal had clapped over the eyes of the deluded people will fall off, and they will discover the errors their own madness and ill-judged submission to leaders of selfish, wicked schemes have seduced them into. She adds, Continental dollar bills have, notwithstanding Congressional authority, sunk to sixteen for one since their emission, though sent abroad for the express purpose of restoring their credit; so ineffectual is human power to create something out of nothing; also reports that taxes are risen to such a height as to exceed the produce of the land. Those who have left America since the rupture, have brought accounts so exaggerated that renders it prudent to receive them with caution, and not

give too hasty credit. However, that the people are oppressed with taxes, is notorious; that they are in want of money, of the common essential articles, is also well-known; and personal safety is very precarious, etc. Nothing, I presume, but despair, under the power of an American and French army, can reduce this once happy people. May these destructive locusts soon be expelled from the face of the country, and selfish purposes be abandoned; for the true interest of the English Government consists in a friendly and indissoluble union of all its members.

Jan. 21. To No. 8 Haymarket, to see Lieut. William Browne, (my friend Col. Browne's son,) of the 38th Regiment; he had departed for Portsmouth in order to take shipping for Gibraltar.

TO JONATHAN SEWALL, ESQ., BRISTOL.

LONDON, *Jan.* 23, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

A few days since, I received a long letter from our common friend, Doctor Holyoke, who informs me that the winter of '79–80 exceeded any since 1740. It began before the middle of December, and it should seem, lasted till June nearly; no vegetation taking place till the last week in May; that the snow continued to fall till the 11th of January, when it was between two and three feet deep. Not a day in all January, nor till 10th of February, was it warmer at eight o'clock, A. M., than twenty-eight degrees of Fahrenheit's scale, — which I fancy pretty thoroughly cooled them; and, on the 29th of January, the mercury stood at six degrees below zero within doors, and abroad sunk two degrees lower. Under all our distresses, we here enjoy, he says, one prospect promising public happiness in future: — four or five years since, less than half a pint of Siberian wheat was sown among them, producing so incredibly, that, in the northern counties of New England especially, there is reason to believe the harvest this year will yield seed enough for the whole State another year.

Notwithstanding the evil doings of our countrymen, are

not you pleased to think they are likely to become independent of the Southern Colonies, and eat, like the inhabitants of the other improved countries on the face of the earth, Christian's food, and be no longer confined to that which everywhere else is raised only for the nourishment of horses and poultry? I am glad at heart, but fear that even this blessing, like food taken into a disordered stomach abounding in acrimonious juices, but the more increases its morbid state, — for this unexpected supply, and at this juncture, will afford the crafty, political, and spiritual misguiders among them but too plausible an occasion to trumpet forth this seemingly seasonable interposition of divine Providence in their favor, and confirm and harden them, amidst all their sufferings, in their infatuated destructive resistance to a power as necessary in my mind to their safety and honor as a parent to his children in an infant state. Nor do I fancy it would be a difficult matter for the aforementioned gentry to persuade them that Moses and Joshua's prophetical declarations to the children of Israel, that they should possess a land flowing with milk and honey, and be filled with the finest of the wheat, — the two former of which you know they had plenty enough before, — did ultimately refer to themselves, was typical of them, and was now accomplishing, — so entirely do they seem to have surrendered up their understandings to the insinuations and influence of their guides. The last year's taxes in Massachusetts were more than commensurate to the produce of their lands, under the best improvement; if the force that keeps them under such deplorable circumstances is not insurmountable, their political folly exceeds any recorded in history.

With perfect esteem, your friend,

S. Curwen.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

London, *Jan.* 24, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Were I to write a theme, as you know was customary in the last years at our schools, and should choose Tully's cele-

brated line for the subject, "*Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ*," our Massachusetts might be quoted as an example. For, amidst the din and clash of arms, the hurry, tumult, and confusion of war, as though they were enjoying the sweetest blessings of a well-established, secure peace, the rulers of the present Government there have instituted and incorporated a society for promoting literature and the liberal arts, etc., by the name of the "*American Academy of Arts and Sciences;*" of which the following is a short relation, received lately from my friend Dr. Holyoke: "Our legislature has lately incorporated sundry gentlemen in the several counties, to the number of sixty, enabling them to hold real and personal estate, and has granted them other ample powers and privileges, for the purpose of promoting those arts and sciences which may be either useful or ornamental to society." To which he adds, "I doubt not, you will wish the society may flourish; the cause of science being the cause of humanity." I do fervently wish its encouragement and increase; glad at heart that they have been disposed to promote any plan to soften that ferocity and hardness of heart which war, rapine, and plunder have lately spread among them, and which the wisest and most prudent among them have viewed with horror. I have never read this paragraph in my friend's letter, but it reminded me of a line in Horace, unless I mistake the author, "*Emollit mores nec sinit esse feros.*"[1] I was, for a time, at a loss to account for their choice of this particular period for such a purpose, considering the great and important business upon their hands of forming a new State, etc., but am now fully satisfied the foregoing hint was the true and pressing cause.

Dr. Langdon has quitted the chair of the Presidency of Harvard College, but for what reason I am not acquainted.

The late emission of paper by Congress cannot find credit enough to obtain a currency — the old bills are eighty for one.

I remain truly yours,

S. Curwen.

[1] Letters soften and refine the character.

TO ROWLAND SAVAGE, ESQ., HALIFAX.

LONDON, *Jan* 25, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

By mere accident, going to the "*Blue Post*," almost opposite my lodgings, I saw Mrs. Savage, which gave me great pleasure; by her I was informed of your appointment at Halifax, being the first intelligence concerning you since my ill-omened departure from America. Hope your post affords a genteel subsistence; in these times, no unfavorable circumstance to Refugees, in which case I most heartily congratulate you. Wishing you a supply and continuance of all needful blessings, I am your friend,

S. CURWEN.

Jan. 27. Mr. Barnes called on me to inquire about Colonel Erving's lodgings, Islington.

Jan. 28. At St. Paul's. Dr. Whitfield preached; company, as usual, small but respectable. Passed an hour at Gray's Inn Coffee-House; received a list of the seized and forfeited estates in Massachusetts.

Feb. 1. Dined at White-Heart Inn, Bishopgate-street, at Mr. Dalglish's invitation, in company with Messrs. H. Hughes, Hutchins, John Inman, and Whitlock.

Feb. 5. At Westminster Hall, being the important day of Lord George Gordon's trial; floor stowed as bale goods in a ship, and as closely packed. Soon took myself off, rather than hazard death by suffocation: the collection was miscellaneous. Trial lasted till four o'clock next morning, when he was acquitted on the score of insanity.

Feb. 6. Accompanied Mr. Arthur Savage to Clerkenwell, by his desire, to view an old secularized religious house, called Priory, now belonging to the Duke of Portland, tenanted by a carpenter and undertaker, who civilly accompanied us through; there is now nothing remaining of old buildings but a small portion of cloisters, at the end whereof is cut, "*Jordan Bridget, Murrell Bridget, founders*, 1100." In a distant part are small remains of a wall, supposed to be

in a state of decay, and the two arches, a larger and a smaller, the former ornamented, and both portions of a circle, which form prevailed before the introduction of the Gothic or Norman styles. Returning from thence, turned into a court of several narrow alleys, filled with small, huttish kind of houses, the habitations of filth and vice, named *Blueberry Alley*, notorious for its constant supply of Tyburn. Ten have been dragged out from thence in one session, for thievery and other enormities, and graced the halter. Met our late Mr. Fisher; I turned in with him to Mr. Hutchins's auction-room, who was then employed in disposing of natural and artificial curiosities from the South Sea, just imported in the *Resolution*.

Feb. 7. Visited Col. Browne and lady; meeting Mr. Dalglish, took him with me, and after a short stay departed to Mr. Timmins's; thence to Mr. Arthur Savage's, Brompton-Row.

Feb. 9. Mr. Dalglish called for me to accompany him to Greenwich Hospital; walking to Gracechurch-street, after half an hour's delay, entered stage and soon arrived there, and thoroughly examined it within and without. Dined in a detached room belonging to a tavern in the town, built and projecting over the river Thames, from whence is a view of the Isle of Dogs, Blackwall, and Long Reach. Returned in stage; in our passage was told the following: An inhabitant of this town walks every day, and has done so for some years back, from seven to eight miles, having measured within the period from whence the computation began to some months since, forty-five thousand miles. Evening at Crown Tavern Lodge; Quick, the celebrated comedian, was raised to Masonry — a humorous, funny companion, who I fancy intends to entertain the public with the secrets of this society.

Feb. 10. Accompanied Mr. Barnes to St. Nicholas College Abbey, Old Fish-street. Dr. Porteus, Bishop of Chester, preached an excellent and elegant sermon in style and composition, and pleasingly delivered.

Feb. 13. Visited by Parson Peters and Parson Clarke,

late a townsman; from a cold taken on board a prison-ship in Boston harbor, to which he was consigned by the patriots in punishment of Toryism, he has lost his voice, and is scarce able to articulate. This, added to his deafness, renders him a lonely, pitiable object; he has received twenty pounds per annum from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, — Government declining to give him a settled stipend, though it has once and again presented him with a scanty gratuity.

Feb. 15. At Col. Browne's. Mrs. Browne informed me of her treatment at Salem and Boston, after her husband's departure to England.

Feb. 16. At Bow Church to hear an annual sermon to Society for Propagating the Gospel in *partibus transmarinis;* Dr. Hurd, Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, preached; present the Lord Mayor, two Sheriffs, two Archbishops, Butler of Oxford, Thomas of Rochester, and Markham of York.

Feb. 19. Evening, at an Address on heads, exhibited in transparency, as follows: Sterne, a pathetic apostrophe; Capt. Cook, the celebrated circumnavigator, an encomium, etc. Breslau's surprising tricks on cards followed, interluded with music, and an imitation of the thrush, blackbird, skylark, nightingale, wood-lark, and quail.

Feb. 24. To theatre to see Mrs. Cowley's new play; unfortunately it was hissed off the stage just before the conclusion of the last act; being in its progress of acting alternately and frequently hissed by its foes and cheered by its friends; the latter proved the minority, and therefore unsuccessful, as all in minorities are in State and Church, as well as theatres. Many came for the express purpose of supporting or damning it; her husband, a writer in one of the daily papers, employs his pen in criticising works of all other stage writers, and has, by the severity of his remarks, raised up a host of determined foes to crush whatever proceeds from his quarter; though no foreign considerations were needed to banish this piece from the stage, its own intrinsic unworthiness was more than enough; being a low performance, and unworthy the pen of the author of "*Belle's Stratagem*" and "*Who's the Dupe.*" Knowing the writer and her connections,

I feel severely for them, especially, too, as her brother is a fellow-lodger, whose exquisite delicacy of feeling must be cruelly wounded on this occasion. The prologue and epilogue were excellent, and did great credit to the performers, Mr. Lewis and Miss Young, who were rewarded with universal applause.

Feb. 26. Drank tea at the widow Greene's, in company with two Misses Joye of Boston, by whom I was informed of the following, viz.: A younger son of Francis Greene, from Boston, who was born deaf and dumb, who was under the tuition of a person in Scotland, in the course of one year arrived to the power of forming articulate sounds, and can now converse on any subject so intelligibly as to be understood without difficulty by those acquainted with him; music only excepted; he writes letters with propriety and even elegance. This person engages to instruct dumb pupils in all languages, and has examples of his success to prove his art; he has more than a hundred now under his management. A proposal is about to be presented to the King by the Duke of Montague for establishing academies in several parts of England, to instruct children of the poorer sort in this unhappy predicament, on a public foundation; may it succeed, and thereby be brought into usefulness many of promising parts. This plan is suggested by Dr. Hunter, whose avocations render it impracticable to himself.

March 8. Met three of my countrymen at three different times, Dr. Perkins, Mr. R. Clarke, and Mr. Elisha Hutchinson.

March 10. Colonel, now Governor Browne, called on me with complaints of my neglect, which sundry avocations caused.

March 11. At Charing Cross just as there was passing a most pompous procession of funeral coaches, attended on each side by numerous flambeaux-men holding in their hands lighted torches in branches of four.

March 12. Passed eight hours at Col. Browne's in a friendly *tête-à-tête*.

March 22. To Westminster Hall, and passing through,

came to foot of steps leading to the lobby of the House of Commons, where, seeing an officer standing unemployed, I inquired about the disposition and arrangement of rooms belonging to, and under and adjoining the pile called St. Stephen's Chapel, Lords' House, Star-Chamber, Painted and Jerusalem Chamber; and from him received a more particular and satisfactory account than I had ever before had. Proceeding thence to the lobby of the Commons' House, I found it filled with gentry in livery; just peeping in, I went directly to the hatch leading to the antechamber of the gallery, which the old enfeebled keeper opened to me. After the delay of a quarter of an hour, I obtained entrance, and found many persons there before me. The House was very full below; among others, Lord North, whom I discovered on the treasury bench by his blue ribbon. The members sit with their hats on, but always uncover when they rise to speak, and on departure salute the chair by a bow. The Speaker is always covered, and with the clerks habited in black gowns; after some time he commanded to order, and some members to their seats; then directing his looks to a Mr. Minchin with a motion of his head, the member arose, when a profound silence ensued, and continued to be strictly observed through the whole of the speech. He began by informing the House of a motion he had to make and the subject of it, viz.: That a regular and intelligible account should be rendered of the money granted by Parliament for the navy, for which inquiry and motion he assigned three reasons; one being the waste in expenditure. The proof of this article arose from thirteen ships, of which he mentioned one instance only as a specimen; the others were in the same predicament. The *Narcissus*, in 1772, was estimated at £3,000, to complete with guns and stores; on estimate of 1778, she was put in at £5,000; in 1779, £5,500; and in 1780, at £3,600; in the total £17,100. At the end of that period she lay in dock untouched, without a farthing's worth of stores or one gun on board, and in the same unfit, unrepaired condition as at first. During the course of his speech he was now and then interrupted by a murmur on the other side the House,

which was at times succeeded by "*hear him, hear him,*" and very generally attended to.

Sir George Young followed, but was less minded. Sir Charles Bunbury spoke next, who made a long and more formal oration on same side, pretty well listened to, and frequently complimented with "*hear him, hear him;*" which expression was also used to two men who followed, viz.: Admiral Keppel, who spoke well, and with some warmth, and Sir Hugh Palliser, who was called by name by his party. He arose and began by justifying the Admiralty, attributing the present state of the Navy, though respectable, to malignant influence of party, which has, he said, diffused itself effectually into the King's Dock-yards, teaching the inmates to form associations, whereby wise measures of the Admiralty had in some degree been defeated. He having finished and set down, the House resounded with "*Burke, Burke;*" hereupon the Irish orator arose, and in a loud and manly voice, with singular energy and compass of expression, and a torrent of eloquence, reprobated Sir Hugh's account, exposed the futility of his arguments, excited universal attention, and frequently raised more than a smile in the features of his listening hearers. I should have mentioned Mr. Penton, one of the Navy Board, who rose next to the motion maker, and justified the accounts rendered, as a mode adopted and by experience found the best for more than a century past; to which the reply was that he had mistaken the meaning of the objections in three particulars.

March 23. With Mr. Danforth fetched a long walk to Session Green, in Paddington Road.

TO DR. EDWARD A. HOLYOKE, SALEM.

LONDON, *March* 23, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

Meeting the bearer this afternoon, he informed me of his intended departure to-morrow for New-York. The shortness of the warning puts it out of my power to be so particular in my answer to your agreeable favor as it was my determi-

nation to be. In my next, if I can procure a conveyance not exposed to State inquisition, I shall fulfil my first purpose. I am now to acknowledge the pleasing and interesting relations yours conveyed, and am glad that at any rate our native country is and has been free from those oppressions, sufferings, and distressing evils that intestine commotions and rage of civil war have subjected our unhappy fellow-subjects in the Southern Colonies to. Whether you have had real enjoyments compared to its confessedly happy days within our remembrance, I pretend not to affirm or deny; the accounts from those who have for these two or three years since escaped from thence and took refuge here, are such as do not excite the most fervent wishes in the breasts of our countrymen here, who enjoy peace and the comforts of life, to return back again soon. One would think from the establishment of an Academy of Arts and Sciences at a time when the country is oppressed by a destructive war, yet uncertain of the event, that the rulers of your State labored under *l'étourdie des hommes du bois*, or possessed the magnanimity of the old Roman senators; be that as it may, I wish its continuance and success.

I am now going to relate a fact you would perhaps have thought incredible; the day on which I completed two hundred and ninety-six weeks' residence on this island, favored me with a sight I had never before had of that extraordinary person, Lord North; though I confess curiosity had more than a score of times led me to the lobby of the Commons House and the gallery, but accident procured me what my wishes and endeavors had failed in hitherto: for carelessly strolling without design into Westminster Hall, I obtained admission to the gallery, where I had an opportunity of seeing him with a full treasury bench and house. The great Irish born orator, Mr. Burke, spoke, and his thundering elocution fixed the attention of the House, and his wit and satire diverted them, and produced peals of laughter. More it is needless and would not be prudent to mention. There are some appearances that the Empress of Russia's mediation may be attended with salutary effects. May a stop be put

to the further effusion of English blood; too much has been spilt already in this destructive quarrel for independence.

Very truly, your friend,

S. CURWEN.

April 2. Went to Leicester-Square to pay Mr. R. Clarke a visit, but seeing a nobleman's carriage at the door, presumed he was sitting to Mr. Copley, and that therefore my company may be inconvenient.

April 3. Abel Willard and young Borland called to-day in my absence, and left their address. Called on Mr. Dalglish, and invited him to accompany me to Woolwich; he readily complying, we walked to Charing Cross and took coach to Greenwich; the stage being gone from thence, we walked to Woolwich, about three miles. Passing through the town, we went on towards Artillery-Park, wherein is an immense quantity of brass and iron ordnance, mortars, and shot of all dimensions; passing through we arrived at the place where the convicts were employed in labor, each having a chain on both legs just long enough for him to walk conveniently, with a string tied thereto reaching to the waist to keep the chain from falling down to the ankles. I am told there are about five hundred employed, bringing dirt, sand and gravel from barges on small carts, some in wheeling barrows, others in various ways, as they are qualified. The effects of their labor is visible in a sea-wall of earth, six hundred yards long, and having a broad, convenient footpath on top; they are now employed in making and sodding a new artillery parade. I could not refrain from many mortifying reflections on the sad necessity human governments are under to treat with such severity so many of our fellow-creatures, furnished with the noble powers of reason and understanding, and capable of employing them to the most useful purposes. Dined at Crown and Anchor, and returned by eight o'clock.

April 5. Mr. Arthur Savage and Mr. F. calling, we went to St. Lawrence, Jewry, to hear a sermon to the Governors of the London Hospital, from the excellent and worthy Bishop of Chester, Dr. Porteus. He possesses a good enunciation

and pleasant voice, somewhat earnest, style elegant, periods happy and finely turned, without any appearance of art or affectation. On the whole he is a delightful speaker, never failing to instruct and charm a serious and attentive hearer.

Received a letter from Rev. Thomas Barnard, inclosed in one from Benjamin Pickman, at Warwick.

April 6. Drank tea at Mr. Copley's, with whom his father-in-law, Mr. R. Clark, resides; all the family present.

April 8. Accompanied Col. Browne to hear the famed pulpit orator, Mr. Duchée, late of Philadelphia, at Tavistock Chapel, Broad-Court, Long-acre, who figures even in London. His performance, in point of language and delivery, greatly pleased us. Dined and passed the evening at Col. Browne's.

April 11. Mr. Sparhawk, Rev. Mr. Peters, and Rev. Mr. Clarke took tea with me.

April 13. Good-Friday. To Westminster Abbey; entering, I found the choir shut; no service, or over, but could not learn which; so totally ignorant or unconcerned are people here in general of everything not their immediate business or pursuit. Returning, I stepped in at Whitehall Chapel; the Dean of Rochester was preaching. Lord North and Judge Oliver attended at same place, though I knew it not till informed by the latter, at whose house I drank tea, and there met Mr. and Mrs. Elisha Hutchinson. Since my last visit to Westminster Abbey, to my surprise, I find a white marble monument erected to the honor of Dr. Isaac Watts; he is represented as clad in a loose dress, sitting in a thoughtful posture, his head covered with lank hairs resting on his left hand; his right leaning on a table, holding a pen, denoting his having just finished a sentence; his arm seized and grasped by a female figure, in loose attire, which I suppose to represent one of the virtues.

April 14. Visited Mr. Maddocks the florist's garden at Camberwell; a fine show of auriculas and hyacinths.

April 17. Accompanied Thomas Goldthwait to Wiswall's lodgings, by his desire, he having called on me for that purpose, in order to offer him the living at Dunmore, in Essex, which the Rector gave Mr. Goldthwait leave to offer to any

American clergyman out of employ. The terms offered were fifty pounds salary, and considerable emoluments, for life, or as long as Mr. Wiswall shall please; the neighborhood is represented as agreeable. Met Samuel Porter and sundry others of my countrymen in the Park.

April 18. Evening at Covent Garden, to see "*A New Way to Pay Old Debts*"; entertainment, "*Barnaby Brittle*"; this part by Quick, who also acted Justice Greedy. In the whole were some humorous strokes, — many low ones, — all applauded.

April 19. Went to Mr. Benjamin Thompson's lodgings, Pall Mall.

April 21. Went to see a model of ancient Rome; scale, one inch to ninety feet, making a square of twelve feet: but the topographical or ground scale does not hold with respect to height of buildings, pillars, etc., appearing on a larger scale. Meeting Mr. Timmins, received an invitation to dine; and at two o'clock set off for his house on foot; in the meantime, Mr. Wiswall coming to my door, instead of entering pursued his design of walking. Directed our way through the fields to Islington Spa, Saddler's Wells, Bagnigge Wells, places he had never before seen. Returned by the way of Hatton Garden or street; at Mr. Timmins's met Gilbert Harrison; returned home *modo pedestri*.

April 25. Rambled with Col. Browne round Mary-le-bone; in the neighborhood of a spot, — late gardens, — I saw for the first time an old brick building called Queen Mary's country-seat, in pretty nearly the same condition she left it more than two centuries since; being in a villa some miles from the city of London, in its then circumscribed limits, three-fourths of the way to it now built being then country. It is low studded and lofty roof, small windows, many juttings and projections; is now in private hands, the Duke of Portland's, and is used as a boarding-school. The grounds remain unaltered.

April 26. Mr. Goldthwait and Mr. Danforth dined with me; at five we departed by assignment to Mrs. Hay's; Col. Browne and lady were to have been of the party, which accident prevented. We had Mr. and Mrs. Atkinson, late

of Boston, and Mr. Greene, who in dress equalled a nobleman of the highest rank and quality, girded with a military side weapon.

April 27. Colonel Erving and Mr. Dalglish called; the latter for me to accompany him to the Commons' House. The subject of debate was the East India officers,— the motion by Lord North; his opponents were Burke, Charles J. Fox, etc.

April 28. Visited my friend Governor Browne; confined by an ill turn which seized him violently. I called to acquaint Mrs. Browne that "*Belle's Stratagem*" was to be acted to-night, having engaged to accompany her to see it.

April 29, *Sunday*. At Essex House Chapel, Dr. Priestley preached an excellent discourse; proving beyond contradiction that religion and virtue are the only just sources of true delight and joy, or, as he modified the language, of settled, calm serenity of mind. It was a discourse worthy a Christian divine, and happy would those be on whose minds those blessed truths were impressed in indelible characters. Rev. Mr. Wiswall was, by my invitation, my fellow-worshipper at Essex House. Afternoon service, Mr. Lindsay preached. My companion drank tea with me, expressing in conversation his professional dislike of Mr. Lindsay's attempt to reform the Liturgy. Religious prejudice is the unhappy leaven of a narrow education, and manifests a fettered mind. I hope I have sufficient reasons to rejoice that mine is free from those manacles. I plainly see it may be politically useful to State managers and hierarchists, whose views extend not beyond this present mortal state; but in no view is it to be supported on the grounds of advancing the cause of truth and manly sentiment, and genuine, unadulterated Christianity.

April 30. Entered Col. and Mrs. Browne's name with my own for admission some days hence at British Museum; list filled for two or three days.

May 4. Dined at Col. Browne's, there heard of Mrs. Sargent's death. Evening, waited on Mrs. Browne to Covent Garden Theatre, to see "*The Duenna*."

May 7. To Mr. Maddocks's at Walworth, with Mr. Dalglish, to see his fine show of tulips, which unfavorable weather deforms greatly, preventing the beautiful, pleasing display that might otherwise be expected.

May 8. Passed forenoon at the public exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and drawings of the Royal Academy in Somerset House, Strand. A great concourse of well-dressed, genteel people, as usual; large exhibition-room crowded, but my good fortune secured an advantageous seat, almost central, which from arrangement and construction of room and pictures, yielded a fuller view and happier light; I kept in close connection with a gentleman of taste and judgment, disposed to communicate, and seeming happy to show off and please; by him I was entertained and instructed.

May 23. This day at eleven o'clock entered British Museum. Dr. Woide, the transcriber and publisher, complacently showed me the Alexandrian Manuscript of the New Testament, favored me with many ingenious remarks, and read me several passages which I confess I should without his assistance have found it difficult to hobble through, from the peculiar manner of writing then used. It is said to be older than the Arian controversy, and is without the seventh verse of the fifth chapter 1st Epistle of St. John. It is written in Greek capitals, without distinction of points or words, letters following in equi-distant spaces. A fac-simile copy is now preparing by my informant, who appears learned, and is very obliging. After having gone through part of our course in the rooms, my companions Col. and Mrs. Browne, appeared and joined us. We were attended by Dr. Solander; some of our company were persons of distinction, — Lady Dowager Wynne and her young son, the baronet, and several others whose names I have forgotten. Among other curiosities were shown us King Edward VIth's journal, written with his own hand — volumes of royal letters, etc. It seems all letters from the princes of Europe to one another are preserved, and after death of writer sent back to their respective courts; they are of one size — seal never broken, a ribbon through the wax is cut in order to open it. Dr. So-

lander showed us an oyster-shell of a roundish form, about four inches over, which he said was valued at a hundred guineas; another larger beside it, of less brilliant water, of no more value than ten; they both had a faint mother-of-pearl cast. On returning home found a letter from Arthur Savage, informing me of Mr. Thompson's compliments and wish to see me at eleven o'clock to-morrow, at his lodgings.

May 24. Went early in order to be at Mr. Benjamin Thompson's in time, and being a little before, heard he was not returned home from Lord George Germaine's, where he always breakfasts, dines and sups, so great a favorite is he. To kill half an hour, I loitered to the Park through the Palace, and on second return found him at his lodgings; he received me in a friendly manner, taking me by the hand, talked with great freedom, and promised to remember and serve me in the way I proposed to him. Promises are easily made, and genteel delusive encouragement the staple article of trade belonging to the courtier's profession. I put no hopes on the fair appearances of outward behavior, though it is uncandid to suppose all mean to deceive. Some wish to do a service who have it not in their power; all wish to be thought of importance and significancy, and this often leads to deceit. This young man, when a shop-lad to my next neighbor, ever appeared active, good-natured and sensible; by a strange concurrence of events, he is now Under-Secretary to the American Secretary of State, Lord George Germaine, a Secretary to Georgia, inspector of all the clothing sent to America, and Lieut.-Col. Commandant of horse dragoons at New York; his income arising from these sources is, I have been told, near seven thousand a year, — a sum infinitely beyond his most sanguine expectations. He is besides a member of the Royal Society. It is said he is of an ingenious turn, an inventive imagination, and by being on one cruise in Channel service with Sir Charles Hardy, has formed a more regular and better digested system for signals than that heretofore used. He seems to be of a happy, even temper in general deportment, and reported of an excellent heart; peculiarly respectful to Americans that fall in his way.[1]

[1] Afterwards the celebrated Count Rumford.

Mem. A letter has been intercepted and published here, thought by some to be a genuine production, and unintentionally fallen into British hands, signed Geo. Washington, showing his opinion of American inability to support this burdensome and expensive war, unless France and other allies bestir themselves and lend more essential aid than hitherto; meeting Mr. Paxton and Treasurer Gray, they both agreed in sentiment that it is a genuine letter, and dictated by real judgment.

Drank tea at Mrs. Greene's by appointment; met Mr. Wiswall, who was just going to his cure in Oxford. At his request I jumped into the carriage with him, and alighted at Crosskeys, Gracechurch-street; thence to Boar's Head, Eastcheap, and in the identical spot where Nym, Pistol, Bardolph, Hal, and Sir John Falstaff were wont to assemble together to pass their jovial evenings three hundred years since; after a regale of punch to the remembrance of these jovial blades, we returned to Crosskeys.

June 5. Visited Governor Browne and Mrs. Browne, both unwell; promised to dine with them the last of the week.

June 8. Mr. Erving called.

June 11. Visited Mrs. Greene and Abel Willard; drank tea with Mrs. Councel; a Mr. Codner and Jones, both late from Boston, there; no material intelligence obtained from them. They say provisions are double in price to usual in former happy times. Never did an infatuated people wanton away their felicity more foolishly.

June 13. Dined and passed the evening at Col. Browne's.

June 19. Paid farewell compliments to Elisha Hutchinson, going soon to his summer residence at Birmingham.

June 22. Through Moorfields came across a mountebank or stage doctor, on an elevated scaffold, covered with a ragged blanket, discoursing to the more dirty-faced ragged mob; demonstrating to their satisfaction, no doubt, the superior excellence of his nostrums to those of the dispensary, and the more safe and secure state of patients under his management than hospitals and common receptacles of sick and wounded poor; whose lives, health, and ease, he said truly,

were as dear to them as those of the best gentry or highest nobility in the land; and he further added, of as much use to the public, which for aught I know is equally true.

June 23. Went to Col. Browne's to take the last farewell of him and Mrs. Browne, about to depart to his government at Bermuda; never more expecting to see them again in this world.

June 25. Young Gould, a Bostonian, bound to New York, offered to take letters.

June 26. Capt. Coombs from New England *via* New York, whither he fled to escape persecution, as he said, (a Marblehead Refugee,) called and breakfasted with me; strolled together to Tyburn, and returned by the square lying north of the city. Carried him home to dinner, thence to Chelsea; returning by Brompton, met Treasurer Gray and Mr. Paxton; the latter at first sight recollecting, accosted me, according to his usual custom, politely and with great openness. The traces of his countenance have been lost in my memory, and I should have passed him.

June 28. At New England Coffee-House; saw more Bostonians than for some years past.

June 29. Went to see the house in which the noted Jane Shore died; found that it was demolished four years since, and a new one erected on the spot, in three small tenements, which stand in a lane directly facing Watergruel-Row, so called. Was informed that an underground communication had been discovered between that house and Bishop Bonner's Palace in that neighborhood.

July 2. Wm. Cabot and Capt. Coombs drank tea with me.

July 4. Mr. A. Savage and Mr. T. Danforth called and took coffee with me.

July 9. Meeting Mr. Deputy Ellis at a bookseller's in Cornhill, who resolved my doubt about the meaning of the word *molten*, as applied in Scripture to images or figures in brass on metal; signifying melted.

July 10. Left a note for Mr. A. Savage at Knightsbridge,

to acquaint him that Mr. Erving had been to appoint to-morrow to call on him.

July 12. Visited Mrs. Hay; there met two Winthrops, one of whom, Thomas Lindall Winthrop,[1] had lately arrived from New England in Captain Timothy Folger's ship.

July 14. Accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Snelson to Windsor; passing by Hammersmith, stopped at Turnham-Green; from hence to Staines, where we dined. At seven o'clock arrived at "*Castle and Mermaid*," Windsor. Evening, walked on terrace in the Castle; a pleasing prospect, filled with promiscuous company.

Windsor, *July* 15, *Sunday*. At St. George's Chapel, prayers at eight; present, the King, Queen, Princesses Elizabeth and Sophia, — about a hundred hearers; we joined the train to Queen's house, or rather to the gates. The King was dressed in blue fly, cuffs small, open, and turned up with red velvet, cape of same, buttons white, breeches and waiscoat of white cotton, an ordinary white wig with a tail ribbon, a round black chip hat, small, as used in riding. He is tall, square over the shoulders, large ugly mouth, talks a great deal, and shows his teeth too much; his countenance heavy and lifeless, with white eyebrows. Queen of the middle size and bulk, height five feet and a-half, — though far removed from beautiful, she has an open placid aspect, mouth large, foot splay: at prayers their voices often heard, and they appeared devout. They take no state upon them, walk freely about the town with only a lord in waiting. At seven, every evening after tea, the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, Princess-Royal, Princesses Sophia and Elizabeth, walk for an hour on terrace half a mile long, amidst two or three thousand people of all ranks. The Prince of Wales appears a likely, agreeable person, far more graceful than his father, who is ungainly. The Prince affects much the "*Jemmy*" dress and air; age will doubtless soften down the juvenile taste and affectation. The Queen's dress, a riding-habit, same color and facings as the King's — a small bonnet with a blue feather. Conducted

[1] The late Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts; the other was his brother Benjamin Winthrop, who then resided in London.

to picture gallery and state-rooms; in one stands the Queen's bed, of a cream-color, worked in flowers with silk floss beautifully shaded, about seven feet long and six wide; posts fluted, and gilt tester, having in the centre an oval compartment, thought to be the richest in England except Lady Clifford's at Wybrook, which was wrought and presented to her by the late Duchess of Norfolk, — twelve chairs and a screen, wrought by her present Majesty's own diligent hand. In the evening on the terrace, the King was in full dress, — blue uniform, sword, and cockade; the Prince of Wales the same. The Queen in a faint greenish silk full dress, except her head, on which she had a bonnet with a feather of the same color as her dress.

July 16. Crossed the river to Eton College or School, passing through cloisters and quadrangles. I learnt from a lad that there were three hundred and thirty pupils belonging to the school; the higher class had on gowns and caps of University fashion. After breakfast, at Castle, to hear the roll-call of Lord Falconberg's regiment, now on duty, and hear the music; two bands of which were playing while the Royal family were walking last evening. Took our carriage and departed over Cranbrook Bridge, and at two o'clock arrived at the *Eight*, so called, being a little island of two acres in the river Thames, opposite Kew, just above the bridge. We came hither expecting to have a fine dinner, but the boat had been robbed by some Londoners; were disappointed. Arrived at lodgings at seven o'clock.

July 17. Took Captain Coombs to dine with me at the "*Thirteen Cantons;*" — called on A. Savage. Spoke to Mr. Rowe, of Treasury, about Captain Coombs; he encourages his application to Lord North.

July 23. Met Mr. R. Clarke on horseback near Charing Cross; walked in Charter-House Square and Gardens; am told the number of men supported by the founder's munificence is fourscore, besides forty boys.

July 25. Rode to Enfield, to inquire respecting board; result unsatisfactory. I rambled to the borders of the *Chase*, now laid out in corn and grass, to the great advantage of the

neighborhood. In this town is a large, and for the age it was built in, a lofty house of three floors, which had been the residence of Queen Elizabeth; having on the walls within the court, the arms of England quartered with the *fleur-de-lis* of France, and Q. E. inscribed over in plaster of Paris, almost obliterated by time and weather. Returned home on foot without much fatigue.

July 26. Called for an interview with Mr. Benjamin Thompson; he and Lord George Germaine not returned from the country.

July 27. Called again on Mr. Thompson; neither he nor Lord George returned. Passed two hours in Mr. Waller's front dining-room, to have a sight of the French spy, De la Motte, who was dragged on a hurdle to place of execution, Tyburn, to be hanged; tall and well grown, — dress black, flapped hat.

July 28. Went with Mr. Arthur Savage on a curiosity walk, to gaze at Chiswick House and Gardens; by a card (without which none are admitted) we found an entrance. It is a seat belonging to the Duke of Devonshire, but forsaken by him. It was left him by its former owner, the late Earl of Burlington. It is properly a miniature building, and in a peculiar taste; not a room I think twenty feet square, many smaller. The walls are covered with pictures, some fine originals, principally copies; grounds covered with sphinxes and urns. Walks in Chinese taste, long, straight, and gravelled; cut hedges. From a terrace is a beautiful view over a delightfully improved country, bounded by surrounding hills, interspersed with gentlemen's seats; farmhouses, live hedges, corn grounds, pastures with trees in rows, clumps, and wildernesses. In the grounds are a few temples and porticos. Having satisfied curiosity, as far as time would admit, we entered the road and began our homeward course, and arrived at three o'clock.

July 29. Dined at Capt. Hay's, by invitation card of yesterday, with Mr. Danforth, and also Mrs. Geyer, just arrived from New York.

July 30. Went to Westminster Abbey to meet Mr. Sav-

age by agreement, to explain to him the meaning of mottoes under arms of the Knights of the Bath in Henry VIIth's Chapel. Saw, for the first time, Lord Chatham's effigy in wax, having the wig, shoes, robes, etc., he had on when he expired in the House of Lords; said to be very like him, but very unlike every cut of him that had before come to my view.

July 31. Dined with Mr. Simpson and Mr. Higginson, and abode there till four o'clock; returned, and Mr. Smithson drank tea with me.

Aug. 1. Capt. Coombs breakfasted with me; accompanied him to the Treasury, in order to put his petition, with Sir William Pepperell's recommendation, into Mr. Rowe's hands; who returned it, advising to a further attestation of the alleged facts. Returning, we stepped into Lincoln's Inn Hall, where was sitting Lord Chancellor Thurlow in a case of lunacy; from whence I departed alone, and dined at home. Drank tea with Harrison Gray and wife at Brompton.

Aug. 3. Called at Mr. Thompson's lodgings, in Pall Mall Court — disappointed — went to show Mr. Savage the grave of Judge Chambers Russell, in Bunhill Fields burying-ground; which at sixty pounds' expense has but a common gravestone. Thence to the poor remains of a once royal palace, of which the outer gateway (St. John's Gate) is now standing, and only that; the site is now a cow-yard and stable; so where once royalty was lodged, beasts inhabit.

Aug. 4. Again disappointed in not finding Mr. Thompson at his house, nor at the Treasury.

Aug. 6. Took tea at Mr. Copley's, with Mr. R. Clarke and the family.

Aug. 8. In conversation with Mr. Peters, was informed that it is and has been all along the determination of the Cabinet to set up the noblemen's claim against New England charters, annihilate all of them, and reduce the surviving inhabitants to a state of villenage, or expel them. He says he has sufficient authority to assert this. Cruel, barbarous determination! May heaven disappoint their cursed device against innocence, justice, right, humanity, and every laudable principle and virtue. May America and my coun-

trymen, more dear to me than ever, be made acquainted with this more than brutal cruelty; may disappointment be the issue of their attempts, vexation and every evil the reward of such unexampled, oppressive, rapacious designs, for it is but yet in embryo, never, I hope, to see the light. I doubt not Heaven has in store ample revenge for this devoted country, whose rulers seem infatuated, and themselves on the verge of ruin thereby.

Aug. 9. Mr. Jones, a Bostonian, drank tea with me.

Aug. 11. After one hour's waiting, admitted to Mr. Thompson in the Plantation Office; he seemed inclined to shorten the interview, received me with a courtier's smile, rather uncommunicative and dry. This reception has damped my ill-grounded hopes, derived from former seeming friendly intentions to promote my views; this, my first, will be my last attempt to gain advantages from a courtier, of which I never entertained favorable impressions.

Aug. 18. Took tea and passed the evening at Mr. and Mrs. Hay's.

Aug. 21. Dined at Capt. Hay's, with four gentlemen.

Aug. 24. To the Gresham Lecture-room to see Copley's picture of Lord Chatham's Death.

Sept. 4. Took tea with Dr. Jeffries, of Boston, a son of David Jeffries.

TO MR. THOMAS WYER, NEW YORK.

LONDON, *Sept.* 12, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

Having the other day met Mr. Berry, who informed me you were settled in New York with your wife, and that he would take charge of a letter and deliver it into your hands, I am encouraged to send this scrawl that serves to acknowledge the receipt of yours of a distant date, and thank you for it. I hope your situation is comfortable, though, at best, a man in the civil or commercial line has many reasons of complaint in a garrison of disorderly, licentious soldiers. I am glad to be informed that you are employed in business, and hope it will turn out to good account.

It has been my wish, ever since I have been from my own home, that all who are in a state of exile, whether voluntary or not, except those immediately concerned in the revenue, who could not have remained in America, had been prudent enough to have kept their political opinions to themselves, especially after the frenzy had worked itself up so high in the minds of our zealous patriot neighbors, and remained at their own dwellings, and made the best shifts they could in these troubles. They might, I really think, have found themselves, for the most part, in less disagreeable circumstances than they now are; at least, I can truly say it respecting my own particular case. But the bad consequences of past errors are now only to be lessened by a prudent forbearance of harsh reproachful language against the present rulers in the American Colonies that remain in subjection to Congress authority; for whatever you warm transatlantic Loyalists may think, it is probable, however the general war may terminate, there never will be established such a degree of British governmental authority in North America as will cause much matter of triumph to American Refugees. I wish America would dissolve the execrable French alliance, that they have sufficient reasons already to detest, and which will, if continued much longer, issue in greater ruin.

We are now hemmed in by the combined fleets of France and Spain, to the number of forty-nine capital ships, and eleven frigates, which have been cruising for some time in the chops of the English Channel. Ours, under Admiral Derby, is at present in Torbay. A large East and West India fleet is hourly expected under a slender convoy; but Government has taken the precaution to send out some fast sailing cutters to apprise them of the danger.

Wishing you success and safety,

I am your friend,

S. Curwen.

Sept. 27. Accompanied Messrs. Savage and Toulmin to Drury Lane, to see "School for Scandal," which was highly entertaining. On the appearance of Mrs. Cargill, appointed

to one of the parts, a general hiss, followed by an unusual clap of approbation, for some minutes kept on to discountenance the hiss, occasioned by her whimsical caprices and rude disappointment of the public at Haymarket Theatre about two months since. She is a pleasing performer and public favorite.

Oct. 2. Took tea and passed the evening at Mr. John Savage's with Mr. A. Savage, except a walk to Chelsea Hospital.

Oct. 9. Papers say Adam Woolridge is appointed American Secretary's Deputy, in lieu of Mr. Fisher, who now holds the office. Mr. A. Savage dined and passed the evening with me.

Oct. 15. Went over to Chelsea; met Mr. Benjamin Hallowell there. Another countryman, Commodore Loring, discharged from pension list by death, and another going same way; Brigadier Royall seized with small-pox, with hazardous symptoms. Capt. Coombs dined with me.

Oct. 18. Thirteen criminals executed at Tyburn; a melancholy consideration that robberies have of late greatly increased, as indeed has thieving of all kinds, in the metropolis.

Oct. 20. Mr. Arthur Savage, and Miss S., and Mr. John Savage, lady and son, drank tea with me. By the papers, I find some Salem privateers have fallen into the hands of the British.

Oct. 30. Dined with Mr. and Mrs. Hay.

TO SAMUEL SEWALL, ESQ., SIDMOUTH.

LONDON, *Oct.* 30, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

Inclosed is a bank post-bill for £24 6*s.* 8*d.*, the balance of your quarterly pension of £25; and while I reside in London will, with great readiness, serve you or any acquaintance in this or any way in my power.

You wish me to write you favorable news from America; would to God such was to be found written in the book of fate.

Respecting the state of the war in that quarter: the French, you know, are in possession of the Chesapeake, with a much superior fleet to that of Great Britain; for they reckon thirty-six capital ships to our twenty-four, even after Digby's junction. General Cornwallis's royal master is in the utmost distress for him, whom all the world here fears to hear will have been *Burgoyned*, and therefore an end to this cursed, ill-omened quarrel, though not in a way they wish; for which the instigators and continuers deserve execration. It is, however, reported that twenty thousand men are to be shipped off to America in February, part of whom are the five thousand before destined to the East Indies.

I am yours,

S. Curwen.

Nov. 20. Letters from New York inform us that New London, in Connecticut, is burnt, with all the shipping, by six hundred American Associators, so called, leagued in a band of destruction against their native country: together with the loss of lives and properties of the inhabitants, the assailants left of their number two hundred dead on the spot; their death the just punishment due to such parricides.

By the King's speech I find he intends, if Parliament will furnish men and money, to continue his efforts to reduce his rebellious subjects in America to his royal will and pleasure, and his other enemies to his own terms, *if he can;* and no doubt they will continue to furnish both as long as they last, and until they shall fairly and completely have dried up all the sources, which, perhaps, a few more expensive, unsuccessful campaigns will effectually accomplish. Would that this nation or its rulers were wise enough to sit down by its present losses, and make the best of what remains. Commerce and conquest are two things in nature very unlike, and require very different geniuses in carrying on; and which is most congenial and natural to these islanders is obvious.

Nov. 22. The wind continues westerly, detaining Admiral Rodney's fleet of eight ships of the line in Torbay, bound for the West Indies. The Court and all apprehend some

great blow there, as they have reason from the great superiority of the French fleet gone from Charleston since Cornwallis's surrender on the 19th ult., of himself, officers, army, baggage, artillery, ammunition, *de guerre* and *de bouche*, to the American General George Washington, of whom some of the *wise men* of this country speak with undeserved contempt. This being the second instance that has happened to the *best forces* of this continent, and perhaps the first of the kind that ever befell this haughty America-despising people. And the flight of two English Admirals, with a frequently declared superior fleet, Graves and Digby, (under the auspicious eye of one of the royal offspring, Prince William Henry, who is training up, and I hope will prove an ornament and a useful naval commander,) to New York with Clinton and his garrison of cooped-up troops, who for a few weeks having breathed free air, are now chiefly returning back to their winter amusements and useful employment of dancing, card-playing, acting farces on mock stages, and decorating their pretty persons for the astonishment and delight of their female admirers.

Adieu to the character which once justly enough distinguished the Army and Navy of this little Empire!

Nov. 23. Overtaken in the Park by a former travelling companion, named Aspdin, of Philadelphia, on horseback; he recognized me after an interval of four years.

TO MR. ANDREW DALGLISH, GLASGOW.

LONDON, *Nov.* 25, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

London, as you justly observe, to a pushing man and of abilities is the place to gain great advantages, if he knows the world and how to avail himself of lucky incidents, and is attentive to them; but to one of a contrary character it is far otherwise. Your request of my service need not be twice asked, if I know how to perform anything essential for you, or any friend; but being placed by Providence out of the reach of rendering services, I am endeavoring to reason myself into the belief that I stand in need of none myself, though

possessing very little more than the necessaries of life; 't is a hard task, though, if attended with success, shall not grudge my pains. Our townsman, Mr. Fisher, holds a quartered, precarious office, at I fancy less than half its real income, under, and returnable to Mr. Thompson, when he shall come back, which I doubt not will be in the spring or summer following.

Clerkships, as all offices under Government, are at open market, and bought and sold as public stocks, the premium four, five, or six years' income. The Treasury Coffee-House, under the arches, is the place where the sellers or brokers are to be seen at business hours. If you have any connections that can recommend you to men of influence, and can really engage their interest, (for promises are the courtier's traffic, and mean nothing; people of breeding are too polite to disoblige in any other way but by neglect,) you may succeed; without, it will be vain to attempt. Merit is disregarded, implying a demand. Here it is not asked what you have done, but what you are capable of doing, is worth attending to. In whatever line you direct your views, I sincerely wish success; you might assuredly depend on my aid if it could or can be of any use to you.

With real and hearty good will,

I am your friend,

S. Curwen.

Nov. 26. Going through the Park, I found great numbers there waiting for the King's passing to the Parliament House, being first day of session, when it is opened by a speech from the throne; the King in his robes, crown on his head, which, if capable of feeling, must, I think, feel more distress than at any time since his brows bore this emblem of royalty. The total overthrow, in Lord Cornwallis's defeat, of his long projected and self-promised subjugation of North America to an uncontrolled power, must have this effect. Man's designs are often overruled by a more powerful authority. Took tea at Mr. John Savage's, according to promise, with a room full of company.

Nov. 30. Took my watch to London to be reformed, it proving a useless companion in its present state of false intelligence; borrowed one in the interim.

Dec. 5. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson and Mr. A. Savage took tea with me.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

BROMPTON, *Dec.* 15, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

I delayed answering your last favor till I could send a satisfactory one to your question about your friend, Thomas Bernard, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn; and now I have the pleasure to acquaint you that he and I were this day as usual fellow-worshippers at Essex House Chapel, which seems to be his Sunday's resort, both for worship and the communion, at which he attends with becoming devotion. Our preacher today was Mr. Estin, of Lewinsmead, Bristol, for Mr. Lindsay himself always performs the Liturgy service.

Since Lord Cornwallis's surrender, Government, I am told, has laid aside all other thoughts than to maintain, if practicable, Carolina, Nova Scotia, New York city, Charleston, and Georgia; perhaps since the majority for carrying on the war in America, when the House of Commons consisted of more than four hundred, fell to forty-one only; a proof, notwithstanding the irresistible influence of Court, of the real sentiments of the landed interest. For the aforesaid purpose immense quantities of army and navy ammunitions, *de guerre* and *de bouche*, will be sent over, and primarily furnish America, and ultimately, I fear, France, with the ability to dispossess Great Britain of every foot of ground on the continent of North America; and it will be well if not the islands too. But whoever is master of the ocean will doubtless command these; whether Great Britain is or is not at present, is a fact easily to be judged of; whether she will be in time to come, must be read in a following page in the book of fate. 'T is, I confess, foolish to anticipate evils; a wise man said,—

"If evils come not, then our fears are vain;
And if they do, fear but augments the pain."

No mind is so fortified as not to feel concern for what may happen, especially when smarting under the rod, nor insensible when oppressed.

Very truly yours,

S. Curwen.

Dec. 20. Went to London in order to pass a day at Capt. Hay's; he was departed to Portsmouth to meet his ship there.

Dec. 23. Sunday at Essex House Chapel. Mr. Lindsay preached an admirable dissuasive against placing terms of acceptance with God on narrow party principles, as if he was engaged to support Calvin, Arminius, or the Council of Nice, or any body of patriarchs, archbishops, or bishops whatever.

Dec. 31. Three days since was my birthday, when I entered my sixty-sixth year. What reason have I to lament the loss of time and waste of powers that our indulgent Creator has bestowed upon us for wise and useful purposes.

Henry Laurens, Esq., late President of Congress, was admitted to bail and discharged from the Tower.

CHAPTER XVI.

A. D. 1782. Letters. Visit to the Queen's House. Domestic Habits of the King. Letter from Judge Oliver. Secret Service List for 1781. General Burgoyne. Welsh Procession. Disgrace of Lord George Germaine. Defeat of Ministers. General Rejoicing in England. Lord Surrey and Benedict Arnold. New Ministry. Anecdote of the Prince of Wales. Lord North. Excursion to Hampton Court. Division in the Cabinet. Admiral Barrington. News of the Defeat of the French Fleet by Admiral Rodney. Maddocks the Florist. Anecdote of the Shakspeare Mug. Parson Wiswall. New Arrangement of the Ministry. Visit to House of Commons. Parson Peters. Sir William Pepperell. Lord Howe. Sterne's Private Character. Public Notice of a Provisional Treaty between England and the United States. State of Parties. Sir William Draper.

Brompton, London, Jan. 1, 1782. Dined at Mr. John Savage's, in the Grove.

Jan. 3. Called on Dr. Jeffries, a countryman of mine, at No. 28 South Moulton-street. In my absence, Mr. Timmins and James Russell called.

TO SAMUEL SEWALL, ESQ., TAUNTON.

LONDON, *Jan.* 8, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Rowe names the 21st for delivering out his orders to the bank for payment of our quarterly stipends. I shall be on the watch, and avail myself of the earliest day for myself and you.

I presume you have heard of the death of poor Abel Willard, your late friend, whose continuance on the London stage was of a few days only after his return from Oxford. He is now gone to that retreat from suffering, where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest. I am told the surviving mate is a mourner in earnest.

I wish you the compliments of the season, and am glad to

hear from you that you are enjoying the pleasures of cheerful mirth and conviviality; may they continue up to your desires, which I presume are ever confined within the bounds of temperance; and hope a full restoration of your health and spirits. Happy those who can amuse or gladden their hearts with anticipation of future good. The present prospect is too gloomy for my weak mind to discover one gleam of hope. Your faithful friend,

S. Curwen.

Jan. 10. Received a letter to convey to the widow Poynton, at Salem, from her late husband's kinsman of same name, in Orange-court, Leicester-Fields, with a complaisant invitation to dine with him next Sunday.

TO SAMUEL SEWALL, ESQ., TAUNTON.

Yeoman's-Row, *Jan.* 24, 1782.

Dear Sir:

I have the pleasure to inclose you a bank post-bill for £24 6*s.* 8*d.*, wishing it safe to your hands.

I am not happy enough to present you with any good news of our own selves or our public concerns, unless you will say none is such, at a time when bad only may reasonably be expected from almost all quarters of the globe. And though I would not raise imaginary ideal terrors in the breast of any of my acquaintance, I cannot forbear to mention a piece of intelligence received from an acquaintance here, communicated to him by a lady, who, he says, has intimate cabinet-council connections. He says, she has in times past more than once or twice informed him of secret deliberations and resolves done and acted there that at the time surprised him, and were afterwards verified by the events. She told this in confidence, with great apparent concern of mind, etc., seeming firm in belief, and fear of its being put into execution within a few months. Hear then your doom: — It has been a subject of deliberation, and is thought to be determined in the Cabinet, to withdraw from the American Refugees in

England all Government support. So shameless and unexampled an act of barbarity, you probably may think, cannot be perpetrated in a civilized State; perhaps not. Politics and morals, however, are founded on very different grounds, and conducted by principles of a quite contrary complexion from each other. What is heterodoxy, base and unjustifiable in the one system, may be in the other sound State orthodoxy, and free from reproach; viewed in the single light of supposed good of the State. One cannot, therefore, tell what the administrators of public affairs may think it politically prudent to do in the paroxysms of public distress; and their ways and means are unhappily in one at this very time. I would fain disbelieve, but confess my fears step in between apprehensions on one side, and doubt on the other, and cast up the balance on the side of the latter. This day, I questioned Mr. Rowe at the Treasury on the subject; and he, with the apathy of a stoic, and the composed countenance of a ——, coldly replied, he had not heard of it. No, answered I, and I trust you never will. The nonchalance of his behavior rather increased my alarm than silenced my doubts. If you think it worth while to make inquiries about it, perhaps some friend who has connections with the Court may convince you of its truth or falsity, — or, perhaps, you will prefer to postpone a knowledge of evils till they arrive, thinking that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

Yours, truly,

S. Curwen.

TO JUDGE SEWALL, BRISTOL.

No. 1 Yeoman's-Row, Brompton, *Feb.* 4, 1782.

Dear Sir:

After so long a silence, I fancy you will wonder at this time to hear from me, and I confess I should hardly have thought of troubling you, but for a selfish purpose. I am directed by a son of Esculapius to heighten my diet by a moderate use of the most nutritive food, best dry wines, and spirits diluted in water, etc., excluding sweets, sours, and high seasonings, — in order to animate, warm, and invigorate, as

far as possible, an old, cold and enfeebled body. Please inform me the proportions of spirits, milk, etc., of the mixture that was recommended to you by a London physician of note, to be taken by one in a decaying weak habit.

I durst not touch on the state of the nation, nor of our particular concerns as Refugees, both of which, I presume, you suspect to be in a very unpromising condition.

I believe you will wonder how I came to the place from whence I date; my situation is, luckily, for the time I proposed to abide here, happy, from a coincidence of circumstances which could not be foreseen.

Your friend,

S. Curwen.

Feb. 7. At the Queen's house with Mr. Hopkins to see the plate, etc. The first object that struck me was three large maund baskets, covered, of table plate, as dishes, tureens, butter and sauce boats, all with covers, raised, embossed and engraved. The King's service was silver-gilt; the Prince's, silver. We also were conducted to the kitchen, where were eighteen male cooks busily employed in their several various lines; the men in white jackets and caps, and the women in white aprons and caps. By a late royal order, no one is to appear in the kitchen with their natural hair. When the King arrives from court at St. James's, (where he attends five days in the week, Tuesdays and Saturdays being the only ones he has in the week for his own private amusements, concerns, etc.,) dinner is called, on which a bustle ensues; the assistants of the silver scullery take such pieces as called for out of baskets, place them on a warm stove, whence they are taken by the cook and filled and taken to dining-room door, and delivered to the person appointed to place them on the royal table. Common dinner, five dishes of meat, four of garden stuffs, and one remove daily, and no more. He is exceedingly temperate, drinks generally water, and rarely partakes of more than one or two dishes. His supper is water-gruel, taken in a vessel peculiarly appropriated to his use, called the King's cup, and is of silver-gilt, —shown me

by the yeoman. The King's company at table is the Queen, Prince of Wales, (unless on his public dinner days,) the Princess Royal, Princesses Sophia and Elizabeth: the rest of the children at another table in another apartment. The Prince's dinner served up by his proper officers in the same manner as the King's. The Queen, unless indisposed, always attends court and levee days; as soon as it is over she returns; immediately dinner is served up without waiting for her husband; a proof of good husbandship. It is said every King has a service of new table plate, the old being disposed of; the silver is kept in bags and put into presses. I took leave, and by advice returned by Buckingham Gate, Pimlico, Grosvenor-Place, in preference to Constitution Hill, which sometimes is hazardous, and at eight o'clock got safe home.

FROM CHIEF JUSTICE OLIVER.

BIRMINGHAM, *Feb.* 9, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 4th inst. informs me of two canisters of snuff which you have for me. I am much obliged to you for your care and trouble for an irritating powder for an American Refugee, and doubt not that it will be of a more agreeable nature than the so many irritables we have all turned up our noses at for five or six years past. If you will be so kind as to send it to the Birmingham coach at the *Green Man and Still*, in Oxford-street, directed to me, I shall be glad; and if you will call upon Mr. Thos. Hutchinson,[1] he will pay you for me.

I am sincerely glad of the safe arrival of our friend Governor Browne;[2] I wish him an easy cushion for his chair, but I fear a barking crew of Rebels will disrest him. Your friend Mr. Lakin inquires after you when I meet him.

Health and ease attend you; so wisheth

Your humble servant,

SAMUEL CURWEN, ESQ. PETER OLIVER.

[1] Governor Hutchinson's son.

[2] William Browne, of Salem, afterwards Governor of Bermudas.

Feb. 15. Mr. Thomas Hutchinson called and passed an hour with me.

Feb. 17. The Secret Service List for the year 1781 is positively charged with the following sums: —

American Departments, exclusive of Refugees	£83,000 sterling.
Admiralty	46,000
War-Office	10,500
Secretary of State	53,600
Treasury	72,000
	£265,100

The request long urged by General Burgoyne, of having a court-martial appointed to decide upon his conduct in the affair of Saratoga, has at last been complied with, and orders transmitted from the War-Office to the Commander-in-Chief in America for sending over such officers as mentioned by the General as necessary for his defence, by the first conveyance, to attend the trial. If no unexpected impediment takes place, it will be held in the spring. The Administration seems loth to have an inquiry made; perhaps it will produce an exposure of orders, etc., judged not prudent at present for the public eye.

Feb. 20. Bishop Lowth, of London, and Bishop Newton, of Bristol, both died on the 14th inst.

Feb. 26. Walked to Chelsea with Mr. Dalglish, who returned and dined with me. Miss Savage and father joined us at tea.

March 1. The Welsh procession from St. Andrew's Church, Holborn, to the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand to dine; the members, and all of that nation, adorned with leeks and ornaments resembling them, stuck on the button-band of their hats, as is usual on this day, called in the Roman calendar St. David's Day; still continued in his honor, who is the titular saint of the nation. This society is established for the support of the poor, for which they have a fund, schools, etc.

March 2. Wrote several letters to be sent home by a Mr. Sigourney.

TO DR. E. A. HOLYOKE.

LONDON, *March* 2, 1782.

DEAR SIR :

Since my tedious answer to your only favor, I have frequently thought of a mistaken notion asserted therein, which I naturally fell into for want of making proper inquiry and receiving information, arising from the vulgar prevailing notion in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, that our soil was peculiarly unfavorable to the raising of wheat, which made me look upon the success of the Siberian as almost miraculous. A little while after I had sent off my answer, I happened to fall into a conversation with a curious sensible gentleman, who from repeated trials had proved the falsehood of our vulgar notions, and had raised frequent large harvests of excellent wheat from his own grounds, even from soils naturally weak and indifferent. I am, therefore, convinced he justly derived our people's pertinacious adherence to their own bad and wrong tillage from a mere obstinate and lazy attachment to old customs, handed down from father to son, and preferred, in spite of yearly disappointments, from generation to generation.

* * * * * * * * * *

Your real friend and well-wisher,

S. CURWEN.

March 2. Lord George Germaine, who was admitted into the Administration on the idea of subjugating North America to the unconditional authority of Parliament, having since Lord Cornwallis's surrender of himself and the whole army to the victorious arms of France and Congress, abdicated his post of Secretary in the American Department, left the House of Commons, and gone up to the House of Lords by a patent of nobility. General Carleton, who is confessedly of superior ability in point of military knowledge and execution, is now appointed General-in-chief in America, where all manœuvres in his line are intentionally given up, and no opportunity is afforded for exertion, except in the

way the former generals, his predecessors, have figured in amassing personal wealth out of this already cruelly oppressed people. Lord George Germaine's admission to the Upper House was accompanied by many severe reflections and motions to address the King to prevent it; many Lords thinking it disgraceful to suffer tamely one to be added to their number who stood disgraced by the sentence of a court-martial, and was forbidden the society of any of the officers of the army. The Marquis of Caermarthen made the motion, and Lord Shelburne warmly seconded it. Many speeches on the occasion. Last Wednesday, General Conway concluded a long speech in the Commons with the following motion, viz.: Resolved, "That it is the opinion of this House that a further continuance of an offensive war in America, for the purpose of subduing by force the revolted Colonies, is totally impracticable, inasmuch as it weakens that force which we ought to employ against our European enemies, and is contrary to his Majesty's declaration, who, in his gracious speech from the throne, expresses a wish to restore peace and tranquillity." This motion the ministerial party endeavored to dispose of by the Attorney-General's motion for an adjournment, when, at half past one o'clock, the House divided, and to the discomfiture of his Majesty's ministers they were in a minority by nineteen. General Conway then moved that an Address be presented to his Majesty on the above resolution. This was seconded by Lord Althorpe, and carried without a division; the Minister not daring to risk a second defeat. In consequence of this important decision, the nation is at last within the prospect of enjoying the blessings of a peace with America.

Lord Stormont wrote to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to prevent, if possible, illuminations in the city; none were exhibited but in the gallery on the top of the monument, which blazed with more than sixscore lamps. As soon as the joyful tidings of the Minister's defeat and the nation's deliverance was announced in the lobby and avenues of the House to the numerous multitudes that waited in anxiety and perturbation to know the fate of their country, the most vehe-

ment and heartfelt shouts of acclamation pierced the ear, if it did not reach the heart of the Minister, now tottering on the Treasury bench. Those noble and distinguished characters, who, by their steady perseverance and zeal had overcome the ruinous system of ministers, were hailed by the grave multitude as the saviours of their country. Expresses were despatched by the ambassadors to their several courts, announcing this important decision, which naturally changes the system by which the peace of Europe is disturbed. The King's answer to the Address of the Commons, in consequence of General Conway's motion for putting an end to the present war with America, contained the following: "There are no objects more near to my heart than the ease, happiness, and welfare of my people; and you may be assured that, in pursuance of your advice, I shall take such measures as shall appear to me most conducive to the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted Colonies, so essential to the prosperity of both, and that my efforts shall be directed in the most effectual manner against our European enemies, until such peace can be obtained as shall consist with the interest and permanent welfare of my kingdom."

March 4. Advice of the surrender of Minorca to the combined armies of France and Spain, by Gen. Murray; of the capture of St. Kitt's by the French, to which fate Nevis and Montserrat will probably soon submit. Essequibo and Demarara, taken by Rodney and Vaughan, are retaken by a French squadron, and it will be great good fortune if one single West India island be left to this wretched, devoted country.

March 7. The large banking house of Brown and Collinson, Lombard-street, was declared bankrupt to-day, and carries with it a train of ruin. They were of the Society of Quakers, and therefore more unexpected, as people of that persuasion are generally prudent, and not engaged in expensive, luxurious modes of life.

March 10. A gentleman lately from Brest acquaints Lord Sandwich that a piece of bad news had arrived there from

the West Indies, which renders somewhat probable the report of a master just arrived, that St. Kitt's was retaken by Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, who, hearing of De Grasse's departure, immediately sailed and obliged the French troops, to the number of six thousand, to surrender. They had not forced the English lines at Brimstone Hill, and were left exposed without a single ship to aid them. De Grasse, thinking himself sure of the conquest, after safely landing these, had left them to their chance, and went in quest of other adventures; probably to assist in retaking St. Lucia. May it prove true.

March 12. I find myself for some time laboring under distressing symptoms, which I have reason to believe my nature too feeble to withstand, and which must soon give way to and yield in the struggle. May I retire where undue passion, ungoverned appetite, and selfish regards shall have no rule or sway, and all shall be peace, harmony, mutual regards, and no intemperate gratifications.

March 18. This day advice is come from Ireland of the most serious nature; a large quantity of artillery is arrived there from France, under the pretext of securing the island from foreign invasion; but from the known general prevailing wish among the people, there is some reason to fear a general revolt from this Government, and an independency thereon. Should it take place, wo betide this falling nation.

March 20. On the Earl of Surry's rising in the House of Commons to make his motion about removing ministers, Lord North arose, and after some altercation about the propriety of his standing up at the same time with the member, on his explaining his motives he was allowed to proceed, when he announced his (and the rest of the King's servants) quitting the Administration, and moved for an adjournment till next Monday, by which time the business now in hand would be finished, and a new arrangement of ministers settled, not one of the old ones to remain in office. A greediness to share in the public plunder is, I fear, the *primum mobile*, nor shall we, it is greatly to be apprehended, gain much advantage by a new set, unless they shall totally

change the system, form alliances, (for not one at present have we,) if that shall be practicable, put an end to the American dispute, and conciliate some of our victorious foes.

On this occasion Lord Surrey happened to espy Arnold, the American seceding General, in the House, — sent him a message to depart, threatening, in case of refusal, to move for breaking up the gallery; to which the General answered, that he was introduced there by a member; to which Lord Surrey replied, he might under that condition stay, *if he would promise never to enter it again;* with which General Arnold complied. This is the second instance of public disrespect he has met with: the King having been forced to engage his royal word not to employ or pension him; a just reward for treachery, which is ever odious.

March 26. The town full of talk about the new Ministry; I doubt their success in settling with America: that poor continent is too much in the power of France to effect a reconciliation on any terms but such as the haughty Court of Versailles shall approve of; and they, I dare say, will be humiliating enough to this infatuated country: which term, all the world will soon see, may with equal propriety be applied to English America.

March 27. Dined at Mrs. Snelson's on Ludgate-Hill; passed an hour at the Coffee-House before dinner, reading the newspapers containing the following list of the expected new Ministry, which is a total change, there being, (as expressed,) "*not a hoof left of the old.*" Lord North and his compeers are obliged, from a minority in some questions, and a slender decreasing majority in others, to surrender their posts to the opposition; who come into play on principles professedly opposite to the late schemes of the Cabinet respecting America, and the war consequent thereon: —

Marquis of Rockingham, First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Camden, President of the Council.
Duke of Grafton, Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Richmond, Master of Ordnance.

Secretary for Southern Department, Lord Shelburne.
Do. Northern do. Charles J. Fox.
Mr. Dunning, Attorney-General, with promise of being ennobled, — seals, first vacancy.
Mr. Lee, Solicitor-General.
Admiral Keppell, First Lord of the Admiralty.
General Conway, Commander-in-Chief of Forces.
Lord Howe, do. of Fleet.
Duke of Rutland, Master of the Horse.
Mr. Barré, or Mr. Thomas Townsend, Secretary at War.
Mr. Burke, Secretary to the First Lord of the Treasury, also Receiver and Paymaster-General.
Remaining Lords of the Treasury, Lord John Cavendish, Lord Althorp, John Spencer, James Greville, and Frederick Montague, Esqrs.

In order to keep in the present Administration, the Cabinet had come to a full determination to propose a dissolution of Parliament to the Council; which being proposed, was at length agreed to as the only expedient to save their honor and support the present measures; the usual ministerial majority in the House of Commons being every day visibly lessened. But the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, with a fortitude and magnanimity peculiar to himself, and worthy of the highest praise, withdrew, and refused to affix the seals, whereby this junto scheme is totally overset; nor dare the King nor his Ministers discover any resentment at their disappointment. It is thought very serious consequences would have followed, and public royal disapprobation. Thank God that there yet remain any instances of virtue and regard to public safety amidst our deplorable situation, mercenary views, incredible dissipation, (wherein all ranks are involved,) profligacy and effeminacy of manners, and the open unrestrained practices of genteel vice and disregard of religion.

March 28. Visited Mr. Timmins for two hours; he returned with me. That the Prince of Wales is not content to take all upon trust, the following story perhaps will illustrate: Returning lately from an airing on horseback, attended by a companion and one servant, on his arrival in St. James's

Park, he alighted, and giving his horse to the servant, proceeded on foot with his friend to the gallery of the House of Commons, where he abode for some hours. Whilst there, having entered with his hat on, he was ordered to take it off, with which he complied, keeping his handkerchief up to his face to prevent the discovery of his person. Having heard many things before unknown to him, he departed, surprised and informed. This excursion continued so long as to delay the royal dinner for more than an hour, and occasioned an anxiety in his royal parents' breasts; his absence at meals being unusual. On his entering, being questioned, he frankly owned where he had been, not a little to the disapprobation of his father; who has since complied with his request to allow him a summer's progress through the kingdom, which he has often solicited, in case he would promise to make no more such elopements. It is a maxim of state for the present incumbent of the throne to keep the successor ignorant as possible, and totally unconcerned and unused to court measures and all public concerns, and this King seems inclined to put the maxim in practice to its extent.

March 29. Good Friday; attended worship at Whitehall Chapel, Lord North present. Being disappointed in Westminster Abbey and St. Margaret's Church, (at the former by the lowness of the reader's voice, at the latter by the service not having begun,) proceeding cityward, just as I came to the gate leading from Parliament-street to Scotland-yard, or Whitehall, who should cross me but a large clumsy gentleman with a blue ribbon across his breast, who, on inquiry, I found was Lord North. Following him into Whitehall Chapel, I remained during the service. He is rather above the common height, and bulk greatly exceeding; large legs, walks heavily, manner clumsy; very large featured, thick lips, wide mouth, high forehead, large nose, eyes not lively; head well covered with hair, which he wears high before. The preacher was Dr. Noel, Dean of Salisbury, the only Episcopal preacher that I ever saw or heard repeat the Lord's Prayer by heart; not one of them daring to trust to their memory except this man. His manner and delivery very

agreeable, and his discourse excellent and useful. Dined at Salisbury-court; met Mr. Dalglish, who accompanied me home to tea, and passed the evening.

March 30. Mr. Dalglish called, and we went together to the Bishop of London's terrace-walk on the banks of the Thames at Fulham, and returned by Little Chelsea.

March 31. Attended public worship at St. Paul's; Mr. Hyslop preached. Drank tea with Mr. Peters. He informed me Administration would not consent to the independence of America; the ministerial plan is to govern America by a Lord-Lieutenant, and create nobility; and if she will not agree to Great Britain's proposal, to make a partition treaty of the Colonies with France, to whom the Northern Colonies and Canada would be ceded, the Southern Colonies remaining to Great Britain, — a fine bargain, truly.

April 4. Mr. Dalglish called at ten o'clock, and we departed on foot to Hampton Court, passing through Chelsea, part of Hammersmith to Fulham, crossed the river just above Putney Bridge, passed through that town, and to Bornes Mortlake to back of Kew; from thence to Richmond, crossing the river at the bridge, proceeded through Twickenham to Hampton, passing Bushy Park, a tedious level of more than a mile in length, arrived at King's Arms Inn at two o'clock, where we dined. At four o'clock proceeded to the palace; entered with a large company of females, who arrived there at the same time with us, joining a master with a number of young persons, his pupils, and a governess with a score of young misses, rendering our company through the royal apartments very numerous. The rooms almost all hung in rich tapestry of Brussels manufacture, wrought in gold and silver, which, being put up in King William's reign, time has somewhat tarnished. Pity that the room built for the reception of the Cartoons, and which they long adorned, is now by this King's whim robbed of them to cover the staircase walls of Buckingham House. Returning, we arrived at King's Arms Inn, on the borders of Kew Green, and at the foot of the bridge leading to Brentford, at eight o'clock, where we supped and lodged.

April 5. We walked on Bankside Terrace as far as Sion House, meaning opposite thereto. Returning, we passed the building, and taking the footpath by the river, kept it through Chiswick and Hammersmith as far as it was continued, affording most agreeable views; then turning, crossed the country to Fulham, and by Little Chelsea, arriving at Don Saltero's *café* on the bank of the river, where we dined, and at four o'clock departed, arriving at my lodgings at five o'clock, having in two days walked thirty-two miles, (yesterday twenty-one, and eleven to-day,) and am at this present writing no more fatigued nor less able to take another walk tomorrow of the same length.

April 6. Capt. Coombs and Mr. Dalglish drank tea with me.

April 7, *Sunday.* Attended worship and communion at Essex House Chapel; Mr. Lindsay read the service and officiated at the communion. Dr. Priestley preached an excellent discourse.

TO SAMUEL SEWALL, ESQ., SIDMOUTH.

BROMPTON, *April* 8, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

I fancy you need not give yourself any concern about future supplies, which my last letter intimated. Government, it is probable, will not be guilty of such injustice as to withhold what the public faith has engaged. Some ill-founded grants will be stopped, and here the reform in this will end.

Truly your friend,

S. CURWEN.

April 8. Removed my lodgings from Yeoman's-Row to Mrs. Smithson's, near the Chapel, Brompton.

April 15. News from East Indies that our Admira. Hughes had taken three places from the Dutch on the coast of Malabar. Further accounts of the designed reform by new Administration in national expenditures and abolition of all needless sinecure establishments — wish it may prove true and of lasting advantage.

April 18. The delegates of the associated counties held their first meeting in the new Common Council Chamber at Guildhall. During the late Administration they were refused it with some marks of contemptuous disapprobation. New men and new measures have effected a wonderful change in the Common Council of London.

April 19. This day seven years the fatal fight at Lexington, Mass., happened; productive of such baneful consequences to Great Britain and America; what will be its issue, is known only to Him who overrules the folly and wickedness of man, to serve His own wise purposes; may all of them who are so deeply interested therein be prepared for it.

April 20. It is affirmed that the Cabinet, which consists of ten members, have been thrice equally divided; the Lord President in that case makes report to the King, and he agrees with one opinion, which is then entered in the council books, with this addition, "By command of his Majesty." The King refused to give his opinion, saying, "*Let it be done as they determine among themselves.*" "But, Sire, they are divided." "*So let it remain then!*" A strong ground of suspicion that neither measures nor men are to his liking.

> "The King in a pet, his affairs all deranged,
> Has at last his unmerciful ministers changed;
> Brave news, quoth the Congress; but better would be,
> Had the King when he changed them omitted the C."

April 24. Admiral Barrington has sent into Portsmouth four French transports from Brest, and a large ship armed *en flute*, and was left chasing four men-of-war near the harbor.

April 25. Admiral Barrington arrived in harbor with ten ships of the line and nine transports — French prizes, intended for the East Indies, with another French ship of sixty-four guns armed *en flute*.

May 2. To Westminster Hall; sat an hour in Chancery Court; heard Lord Chancellor try three causes; method summary.

May 9. To Chelsea; took tea with Mrs. Timmins;

Robert Hallowell first acquainted me with Clark Pickman's death.

TO RICHARD WARD, ESQ., SALEM.

LONDON, *May* 11, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

Should your *great and good ally* obtain the two only very probable objects of her American alliance, the impoverishment of Great Britain and the consequent seizure of the late English Colonies, which she seems at present in a fair way for, no man on this side the Atlantic in his wits would, I think, whatever regard he may feel for his native country, willingly forego a bare subsistence here for French domination and wooden shoes there. I would just suggest to you, should America in this hour refuse the offers Great Britain may make of a separate peace; or France refuse to suffer her, (for we well know here the power she has acquired over her,) and no partition treaty take place, (being in the present situation the best to be expected,) depend upon it, you fathers of the present age will have it in your power ere many revolutions of the sun, to tell your children the inestimable civil, religious, and political privileges you of this generation have wantoned away, and with sad regret recount the happy condition of former days; nor will the comparison with those you will then mournfully experience between English protection and French oppression, fail to enhance your misery. You will then find the little finger of French power heavier than the loin of the English Government, with all its apprehended train of evils. As a proof of my needless fears or right judgment, convey my kind love to your wife and children.

Your friend,

S. CURWEN.

TO HON. JONATHAN SEWALL, BRISTOL.

LONDON, *May* 12, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

Confined as I have been, for near two years, to a very narrow circle without variety, like monotony in music, everything about me is become insipid. I am therefore going into

a scene of new objects, and hey for Flanders for a month. Naturalists say change of air, even from bad to worse, is good for the health of the body; that of the Netherlands must, I think, be certainly salubrious and nutritive. How happy should I be to have so agreeable a companion as Judge Sewall. Who knows what effect a month's residence may produce? For my part I fancy my thin lathy body in that air, and by the use of rich generous Burgundy, etc., procurable there at a cheap rate, may increase to a manly bulk. My heart would dilate with pride and pleasure to receive a note of compliance with my request — nor should I be displeased if your kinsman Samuel Sewall should join and make a trio. Please remember me to your family and those of our countrymen with you with whom I am acquainted.

Very truly yours,

S. Curwen.

May 12. It is suggested that the new Administration mean to increase the power of the Crown by their projected new militia. As they have, or one of them at least, deceived the people by frequently declaring he had a peace in his pocket, when the event showed the falsehood of those declarations; should their other pretensions prove as futile and groundless, they will deserve the execration of this and future generations, and will, I hope, meet a deserved fate. At best, however, I expect not much good, and think ours an ill-compacted junto of very short duration: their principles are not uniform nor concurrent.

May 17. At New England Coffee-House heard the glorious news of Admiral Rodney's defeat and capture of the French Admiral de Grasse, with five capital ships, and one sunk. With Mr. Dalglish to Chelsea College Gardens — thence to Mr. Timmins's to tea.

May 18. Trinquemale, the strongest garrison belonging to the Dutch, and called the Gibraltar of the East Indies, being the principal fortress on the island of Ceylon, has been captured by Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, who was going against another fort, which he hoped to reduce.

May 23. Dined at New England Coffee-House with New England company.

May 24. With Mr. Dalglish went to Maddocks the florist's exhibition of tulips; he pointed out the bell king and bell queen stocks, a beautiful and singular plant, which he is unable to increase, having derived but one offset in twenty-two years; had been offered twenty-two guineas for it; the tints are exquisitely fine.

This day arrived further advice of Sir Samuel Hood's capture of two more French men-of-war, viz., *L'Esprit* of eighty guns, and *Philo* of seventy-four, and two frigates, the *Amiable*, thirty-two, and *Ceres*, eighteen, in the West Indies.

May 25. Loitering through St. James's Park, and seeing many people collected around the rails of Buckingham House, stopped to see the Prince of Wales, who soon appeared in a phaeton with Col. Tarleton, who, I was told, is frequently to be seen with him.

June 3. Crossed Westminster Bridge to visit Mrs. Hay and Mr. Dalglish.

June 9. It is reported that the Russian Ambassador announced that the Czarina has declared, in case the Dutch refuse the offer Great Britain has made, which she pronounces liberal, that she will assist the English with her fleet, — eighteen for channel service and twenty against the Dutch.

June 25. To Queen Dock, Wapping, to see Capt. Coombs on board a ship he is appointed to keep guard in; stepped in at Long Room, Custom-House.

June 28. To Mark-lane corn-market, to inquire for Indian corn, and was told there had been none for two years. Afterwards met Mr. Flucker in the Park, and conversed with him half an hour. Met T. Goldthwait, and rode with him to Charing Cross; invited me to dine at his house, Walthamstow.

June 29. Took a long walk with Mr. Hutchinson. Met a man with a mug in his hand, which he said was once the famous Shakspeare's, and that he inherited it from his wife's father, who was heir to all Shakspeare's effects, being a descendant from him in the female line; and that Garrick had

offered ten guineas for it when he celebrated the Jubilee at Stratford-upon-Avon. The "Public Advertiser" to-day says, "Administration have very laudably determined on withdrawing their pensions from the American Refugees; so that next year," says the writer, "we may hope for some more haymakers than we are able to get for the present harvest." An ill-natured and I hope untrue declaration.

July 1. Visited Parson Peters; meeting there Parson Wiswall accompanied him to Battersea Bridge, having stepped into Don Saltero's *café*, Chelsea, and drank tea.

TO REV ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

NEAR BROMPTON CHAPEL, *July* 2, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

You desire me to be communicative about myself — a poor subject, truly, to write about. I am, however, to thank you for your solicitude, and at present, as you see by the date, am very near the house of God, but never enter therein, keeping steady to our conventicle in Essex-street, Strand, which is my regular and constant Sunday's resort; retaining still my old New England prejudice of observing the fourth commandment. My health is better than usual, having escaped the epidemic hitherto.

Three days since I received a letter from T. B., wherein he acquaints me that our friends are well. I presume you have heard of the death of Judge Lynde and Clark Pickman.

Your townsman Allen is dead, leaving Sir William Pepperell and George Erving his executors, directing that his remains shall be removed after the troubles to the vault under King's Chapel, Boston.

We have an American Thursday Dinner Club at the New England Coffee-House.

Very truly your friend,

S. CURWEN.

July 3. Meeting Parson Wiswall, on whose recommendation I went to Battersea to engage lodgings for a fortnight; from thence to his church and attended prayers, where were

present nine in the house, exclusive of nine parish boys. From thence we set off by agreement on a walk to Kingston on the Thames, nine miles, arriving at the "*Sun*," where took a cold repast, a pottle of strawberries; arrived at lodgings before nine o'clock. New arrangement of Ministry: Lord Shelburne, First Commissioner of the Treasury; Earl Temple, Secretary, in lieu of Chs. Jas. Fox; and Mr. Pitt, a favorite patriotic speaker, in lieu of Lord Shelburne; Burke out, and Barré also, with a pension of £3,200 per annum; Duke of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain.

July 4. Went to London to the Thursday dinner at New England Coffee-House.

July 5. Went to Westminster, and in the lobby of the House of Commons heard that Charles J. Fox, Lord John Cavendish, Edmund Burke, and General Conway, have been dismissed from the King's service; the former on account of his speech last Monday, declaring the independency of America to be agreed on, which Lord Shelburne denied, having steadily refused his consent thereto. Lord Rockingham's death, which happened last Monday, has very probably hastened the present event. Returned as far as Mr. Elisha Hutchinson's, Brompton, and drank tea with the family.

July 11. Dined as usual at New England Fish-Club Dinner. The King prorogued Parliament, and made a speech from the throne in his robes and crown.

July 16. At Parson Peters's met young Parson Clarke, and observing him speak articulately, and with some degree of clearness, expressed my surprise; and inquiring the cause, he told me his speech came to him on a sudden, and on the very day seven years that he was first seized with the incapability of uttering sounds.

July. 21. To Kensington Gardens; there met Thomas Danforth and Samuel Porter; the latter related an account of his voyage to Oporto.

July. 22. Went to Clapham Common to dine with Mr. Gilbert Harrison; Mr. Toulmin and his lady's mother there. Returned through the fields; the hedges perfumed by sweet smelling blossoms.

July 25. Had a view of the Duke of Cumberland's sailing match on the river, from Mr. Hay's summer-house on the bank. River covered with barges and boats, oars, scullers and sails; the Duke in his own barge, ensign red, having an anchor and a length of cable in gold-leaf depicted thereon. A great concourse attended; he was, in going, saluted by a discharge of small cannon; the boats departed from Blackfriars Bridge; length of course to Putney Bridge; premium a silver cup of £50 value.

July 27. Dined at New England Coffee-House on fish, in company with Mr. Flucker, Francis Waldo, Mr. Hutchinson, Thomas Goldthwait, etc.

July 29. Through Hackney to Walthamstow, where dined with Mr. Goldthwait.

August 3. In passing Bird-cage Walk had a slight glimpse of Count de Grasse at Sir Peter Parker's window; he is a stout, very tall man.

August 4. At Battersea Church; the vicar, Parson Gardner, preached.

August 21. Wrote Mr. Elisha Hutchinson at Birmingham. Afterwards went to Capt. Coombs's at a Mr. Birch's, beyond Folly Bridge, Dockhead; on the door of a meeting-house I passed observed the following words written in chalk, "*We have erred and strayed.*" Unless the supporters of the doctrine of necessity, or even expediency, of a universal conformity to a state establishment of the form of religious worship, can lay its foundation in reason or a command in holy writ, I defy the ablest disputant to prove me or any Dissenter in England or elsewhere guilty of a fault in adhering to a different mode of external worship, or schism in a bad sense. On the contrary, all political establishments being tinctured with the reigning principles of the times when they were founded, and men's notions and opinions changing with fashions, usages, customs and language, a continued sameness is utterly impossible; the endeavor therefore to compel men is offering a violence to the understanding, and denotes the character called in Scripture the *man of sin*, wherever found.

August 28. Over Westminster Bridge to Mrs. Chapman's, Kensington, to visit Mrs. Hay. Mr. Danforth called. Drank tea at Parson Peters's.

August 31. This day the papers announce Prince William Henry's death,[1] at New York, being the second breach in the royal family, Prince Alfred, the youngest, having died last week. There remain a dozen yet, a heavy burden on the national finances. Called on Mr. Danforth, and there met Mr. Brewer, late Governor of Bermuda. Mr. Danforth is assisting him in preparing his papers, in answer to sixteen allegations or acts of complaint lodged in the King's Council against him.

Sept. 1. Attended worship at St. Martin's; Mr. Harrison preached to a full assembly. After describing Christian poverty of spirit, and assigning some reasons why Christ began his first public discourse by recommending this virtue, he mentioned two sorts of men who were wholly destitute of it, viz., those Calvinistic professors who pretended to a certainty of their salvation, and those who claimed it as a merit due to their good works; both of whom he pronounced deficient in the distinguishing characteristic of Christ's religion.

Sept. 3. Capts. Peters and Walker called and took tea with me; the former a brother of Parson Samuel Peters, the latter from Worcester.

Sept. 5. In walking through Parliament-street and seeing crowds running through Scotland-yard, joined them, and on inquiry found they were accompanying Parson Lloyd, a clergyman, returned from Bow-street Justices' examination to Westminster Bridewell, from whence he was taken this morning on a complaint of highway robbery; and it is said he is identified. He seemed hardened, and of a rough, bold cast, and begged with a careless boldness money of every well-dressed person that passed as he was being conducted to prison in irons; his right hand being also chained to an officer's, or one of the justice's men.

Sept. 6. Called at Mr. Wiswall's to accompany him to

[1] Premature — he became King at the decease of his brother, George IV.

Holywell-lane, as far as the gateway of King John's Palace, which he never had seen before.

Sept. 7. Over Westminster Bridge to turnpike head of Kent-street, designing to go to Edmund's great gardens at Deptford; but the time being far spent, and they a mile and a half distant, I proceeded no further; and turning my steps homeward, passed through Kent-street, a long narrow one, of low ordinary houses, and inhabitants corresponding; scarcely one reputable person appearing in view.

Sept. 9. To Mr. Edmund's house, the great Deptford gardener, to see his asparagus lot of forty acres.

Sept. 11. Went with Mr. Peters to Mr. Hunter's seat at Hampstead, West End: arrived at one o'clock; kindly welcomed, dined, drank tea, and departed at six o'clock. Passing through the fields, arrived at the Edgeware Road, where one of the Queen's coaches returning to town received us in.

Sept. 13. Called on Parson Peters, from whom learned more of the convulsed state of Massachusetts and Connecticut than I had heard before. The people there are more impatient than elsewhere under public expenses, and retain more of the old Republican leaven; but I know not whether they have not more political discernment and attend more closely to the steps of their rulers; and in truth the *Bible*, the *law-book*, and the *gun*, are more used there than in any part of the English dominions; therefore more than anywhere else on the face of the globe, — no other country having had so great a share of political and civil liberty. By the packet from New York, Sir William Pepperell here has received a letter from the Rev. William Walter there, informing him that the counties of Worcester and Hampshire, in the Massachusetts Bay, have declined sending members to the Provincial Assembly, and also the payment of the tax of eight shillings on each head through the United States, laid by Congress, amounting to four millions of hard dollars, and that it had only raised twenty thousand. That the said counties had sent to know of Sir Guy Carleton on what terms Great Britain would receive them. Also that courts of justice and all law proceedings were stopped in Berkshire

as well as in Worcester and Hampshire, a general uneasiness having taken place by the Congress's requisition to pay the tax in hard money.

It is also reported that Dr. Saunders had received private letters, acquainting him that four of the Colonies had protested against continuing any longer their French alliance.

Sept. 14. Walk to Smithfield Bars; saw for the first time since its demolition old Hicks's Hall, a few remains and rubbish only, leaving road to St. John's-street very commodious and wide.

Lord Howe sailed with thirty-four ships to the relief of Gibraltar.

Sept. 26. It is announced that a commission was last Tuesday perfected under the great seal, empowering General Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby at New York to acknowledge American independence; and to treat with Congress, or either of the Thirteen States, or any body of men. A fine bargain, truly, has this once powerful wealthy State offered to their lately despised Colonies. But human policy sometimes overshoots its mark; human wisdom is narrow, and human designs are controlled by a wiser director than governs Court cabinet councils, and who acts on broader plans.

Sept. 30. Went to the city to deliver a letter for conveyance to Rev. Mr. Peters; from Blackfriars Bridge had a sight of city barges with flags displayed, rowing down stream; having the Sheriffs, Lord Mayor and Aldermen returning from Westminster Hall, the former being this day sworn into office by one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

Oct. 4. Advices received at Lord Shelburne's that the siege of Gibraltar is raised.

Oct. 7. It is reported to-day that the Spanish floating gun-batteries had been defeated before Gibraltar; eleven burnt, sunk, and destroyed, having one hundred and ninety-three brass cannon of twenty-four pound shot, besides one hundred and fifty iron, same calibre; between fifteen hundred and two thousand men; it having been a general assault, begun on St. Louis's day, September 9th, and completed 13th; three hundred poor souls General Elliot picked up in

the water after the batteries were sunk, and sent them in the same day to their friends and country: this by a letter from the Hague.

TO MR. ANDREW DALGLISH, GLASGOW.

LONDON, *Oct.* 7, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

In Hampshire, the opposition to Government has been so general and violent as to require a body of French soldiers to be sent against them, who, on attempting to reduce the insurgents, were attacked, and some lives on both sides lost, without accomplishing the purpose of their errand.[1] Yet for all this, there is not the least disposition in general, as a State, to accept of the terms Great Britain has offered without the concurrence of their great and good ally. On General Carleton's Proclamation, the Congress and Continental Governments declared it insidious, and despised the offer of independence, which they contemptuously said did not depend on the consent of Great Britain.

The letter you inquire about was written by Parson Walter, whom you know very well, and is of the same complexion with all advices received from that quarter, which, ever since the commencement of this quarrel, have been amusing the public with assurances of a speedy reduction of the rebellion, as they term it; florid descriptions of the desperate situation of the rebel army; the sufferings of the country, a growing dislike of Congressional authority, mutual heartburnings and quarrels amongst its members, and an increasing affection towards the mother country; all which from the first I disbelieved, and it now proves in event, after a course of six years' delusion, to have been the phantom of a heated party imagination.

I have seen at large a relation of the distresses and inability of the New York Government, under the Republican rulers, in a representation made by the House of Assembly to their Government; the picture perhaps may serve for the rest of the Colonies. It is the opinion of some Refugees

[1] Wholly incorrect.

that New York is by this time evacuated, and if one may judge from analogy, I think it is not improbable; for there never was a time when Government had so fair a prospect of overturning that mighty Colossus of independency as now: — their distresses never greater, their resources exhausted, loans not to be obtained, French troops few in number, and their own army dwindled to a pitiful size; but the die is cast, and as the same ill star which has had the ascendant ever since this baneful quarrel commenced still continues to shed its malignant influence, Government has formally offered America unconditional independency under the Royal sign manual. Gen. Carleton writes that the Colonies are so determined against all governmental connections with Great Britain, that if they cannot maintain their independency, they will declare themselves Colonies of France, and if they must be slaves, they will take a new yoke, however galling, rather than put on the old one; this, by the way, is carrying political resentment to the highest pitch of folly and frenzy.

Very truly your friend,

S. Curwen.

Oct. 9. This day, for sundry reasons, ought to be inserted in the very short list of *dies albi*, (white days,) which I note, that on inspection I may refresh my memory with a pleasing recollection amidst the gloom, that, from a constrained absence from my native country, but too generally overspreads my grief-laden mind.

Oct. 11. Attended Mayne the banker's sale of goods, and also Beranger's, late gentleman of the horse to his Majesty; bought nothing; things well sold. Mr. William Clarke drank tea with me.

Oct. 15. I am told by Mr. Rose no orders are to be delivered till the Commissioners, consisting of two members of Parliament, Mr. Coke and Mr. Wilmot, have examined the Refugee claimers and their claims; that it may require more than a month's time. Proceeded to Oxford-street to pay Mr. Danforth a visit; whilst there Mr. Hale entered. Met in

streets many returning from an execution of ten felons at Tyburn.

Oct. 16. In conversation with a gentleman at an ordinary, I observed in him the prevailing characteristic infirmity of this nation, rendering them both envied and hated by Europe, viz., an overweening conceit of English bravery, accompanied with a contempt for other nations, which in this day of their distress they now feel the sad effects of, in the cool indifference the other States view her embarrassments, though without producing a reformation as far as I can perceive. It is generally believed the French and Spaniards will retire from before Gibraltar on the approach of the fleet under Lord Howe; in case of reverse, I know not what rage, disappointment, and despair might be the natural effects; the political evils are too obvious not to be seen and dreaded.

Oct. 17. It is reported the Bavarian Resident Minister has received the following important advices, viz.: that Lord Howe has had an engagement with the combined fleets; taken twelve and destroyed seven, with the loss of four or five of his own ships; all taken are Spanish, not a French one among them; they retreated into Cadiz harbor, and he pursued his course to Gibraltar, which is thereby relieved, being the great object of his voyage.

A few hours after, the above was followed by another, viz., that Lord Howe, in defence of Gibraltar, had surrendered to the successful arms of the combined fleet.

By Captain Afflick, from New York, is arrived a confirmation of the loss of the French seventy-four, the *Magnifique*, with the *Triumphante* of eighty guns from the West Indies, under Vaudreuil, bound to Boston; the one foundered, the other ran ashore at Point Alderton; also the loss of the British ship *Lion* of sixty-four guns, on her passage to New York. 'T is said also transports are gone from New York to take off the troops, etc., from Charleston, and that they are also abandoning New York; Government being in that case determined to take away every difficulty respecting American independence, to bring on a treaty for a general peace.

Oct. 18. Passing through Tooley-street in the Borough,

observed the name of Southernwood on a door; having knowledge of one of that name in my first voyage to London in 1738, I am determined to call and make inquiry about the family of Cottenbilt, with whom I then lived.

Oct. 19. Went on a visit to Mr. Danforth; acquainted him with Mr. and Mrs. Hay's compliments and invitation to dine to-morrow with me at their house, No. 4, Golden-Square; staid till eight.

Oct. 23. To Treasury; gave a card with my name and address to a Mr. Allen, Clerk to Mr. Townshend, one of the Secretaries of State, agreeably to an order, to be questioned as to my claims as a Refugee for support; the value of my estate and effects left behind, losses sustained, etc., etc.

Oct. 25. Went at eleven o'clock, in compliance with a summons from Messrs. Wilmot and Cooke, (members of Parliament, chosen by the Lords of the Treasury to examine the claims of the American sufferers, state their claims, and produce vouchers,) to attend them at the American Secretary's office, Treasury-house, Whitehall. Was examined and dismissed, after being directed to bring a certificate of my being a person of property, and of steady uniform attachment to principles of Loyalty, which I propose to bring from the late Provincial Secretary, Mr. Flucker.

Oct. 26. Drank tea at Samuel H. Sparhawk's, Bedford-Court, Red-Lion Square, and remained till nine o'clock.

Oct. 28. Passed afternoon and evening at Mr. Danforth's, who assisted me in drawing up my certificate to present to the Commissioners. In the evening, Dr. Jeffries, a brother exile, called in and announced the arrival of an express with advice that Lord Howe is relieving Gibraltar; the French and Spanish looking on him from Algeziras Bay without even attempting to lose ground and meet him; an apparent proof that with fifty-one capital ships they thought themselves unequal to his fleet of thirty-four. It is likewise added that the Spaniards, by the late high wind, have lost three ships.

Oct. 29. Went to Mr. Flucker's with the following certificate for his signature, viz.: "General Gage and Governor

Oliver being absent from London, we, the subscribers, do certify that Samuel Curwen, Esq., late of Salem, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, is descended from an ancient and respectable family in said Province. That he has been a Deputy Judge of Admiralty and Provincial Impost Officer, and for near thirty years in the Commission of the Peace for the County of Essex; had always maintained a most respectable character, and was early distinguished for his attachment to the established Constitution of the Province, and its dependence on and subordination to the authority of the King of Great Britain, and was esteemed a gentleman of considerable property and fortune."

Called in the afternoon and received my certificate, signed, "Thomas Flucker, Secretary of the Province of Massachusetts Bay." While there, joined by Col. Morrow, just arrived from Cowbridge, in Wales, on a like errand.

Oct. 31. Called at Mr. Timmins's; he was engaged in packing up his goods in order to remove to Wolverhampton, where he is about commencing business.

Nov. 1. To Pimlico, where took tea with Parson Peters.

Nov. 2. Reported that Lord Howe has had an engagement with the combined fleet, and has defeated and dispersed it.

Nov. 8. Saw in my landlord's parlor the poorest nobleman I believe in the three kingdoms, a *Lord Kirkcudbright*, brought up a glover, and who for years worked at this trade in Glasgow; he is now a Captain in the King's Guards. Passing a coach, I observed its number 1000, the highest number licensed.

Nov. 11. Received my order for quarter's pension of £25; the first given to any Refugee on the new establishment of no deduction to the officer of commissions.

Nov. 25. Cold air; St. James's Canal frozen hard enough to bear skating on.

Nov. 26. The meeting of Parliament summoned for today is postponed to Thursday, 5th proximo, in expectation that the Commissioners at Paris may by that time come to their ultimate determination about peace or war; or on the

preliminaries whereon a peace is to be founded. France and Holland fancy they see too well the probable consequences of prolonging the war, to accept the terms proposed; presuming in the issue Great Britain must accede to what they shall demand, and who does not? None, I dare say, but those who will not, and only such are blind.

Nov. 27. Newspapers filled with contradictory reports about peace; all dread a continuance of this nefarious, ill-omened, ill-judged, distracted quarrel.

Nov. 30. Dined and passed the day at Capt. Hay's. Mrs. Chapman, with whom these my friends board at Kensington Common, near Vauxhall Gardens, says that the famous Sterne, author of "*Tristram Shandy*," "*Sentimental Journey*," etc., was totally void of the fine feelings of humanity which he so beautifully paints, and are characteristic of his writings, which in respect thereto show him to be an original genius; and but ill discharged the various relative duties of life, one instance only excepted, which was an immoderate fondness of an only daughter. As a proof among others, he suffered an aged mother, which but for the proof of it is hardly to be credited, to die in a jail for want of money to discharge a debt of twenty pounds. The public ought to know the character of a writer who so ill in practice exemplified what his pen so justly and beautifully describes. This was told her by a very intimate acquaintance of Sterne, who was personally informed of his whole history.

Dec. 3. Yesterday Vergennes's secretary brought notice that the Commissioners appointed by Great Britain and the Thirteen United States had signed a provisional treaty, whereupon stocks rose five per cent. The following letter was published: —

WHITEHALL, *Dec.* 3, 1782.

THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORD MAYOR:

In consequence of my letter to your lordship of the 22d ult., I take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you that a messenger is this moment arrived from Paris with an account of provisional articles having been signed on the 30th ult., by

his Majesty's Commissioners and the Commissioners of the United States of America, to be inserted in and constitute a treaty of peace, which is to be concluded when terms of a peace shall be agreed upon between Great Britain and France. I am, etc.,

I. Townshend.

Dec. 4. Called on Mr. Heard at Herald's office; there learned, in a conversation with a Mr. Webb, of seeming great political knowledge, that at the time the House of Commons left the late Administration in a minority, or, in other words, refused to support Lord North's measures, the King took it to heart, and resented it so far as to declare he would leave them (as he expressed it) to themselves, and go over to Hanover, from whence his family came, and proceeded so far as to order the Administration to provide two yachts to transport himself there; whereupon the Queen interfered, and remonstrated against such a desperate measure, so fatal to her and his family, as well as his own personal interest. Others, too, represented the distressful condition to which the nation would be reduced by the absence and want of royal authority, though it seemed to little effect, so sadly chagrined and provoked was he.

Lord Rockingham also joined the remonstrants, and showed the necessity of a change of men and measures, with no better success; — so naturally obstinate and pertinaciously bent was he on his favorite plan of subjugating his (here called) rebellious subjects in America, and bringing them to his feet, till he was told that as sure as he set his foot out of the Kingdom, the Parliament would declare the crown abdicated and the throne vacant, nor would he ever be permitted to reënter the Kingdom again, — which argument, it seems, brought him to a more cool and juster sight of the folly of such a step, and the absolute necessity of stooping to a compliance with the requisitions of the public. I do not pretend to indicate the measures of opposition, but a more unsuccessful Administration, from whatever cause it proceeded, which time will satisfactorily perhaps explain, was never

before engaged to promote royal designs. What may be the condition of Great Britain and America at the period of the present distressful war, God knows; for my own part, I tremble at the event, as desirable as it may be, for I can view neither country without the most fearful apprehensions of dreadful distresses; whoever began and voluntarily continued this unreasonable, pernicious dispute, does and will deserve the execration of this and future ages, and in the language of * * * *, "The child will rue, that is yet unborn, the fatal measures of Lord North's Administration."

Dec. 5. The King delivered his speech from the throne. I went to see him robe and sit on the throne at the House of Lords; he was clothed in green laced with gold when he came, and when he went, in red laced; it being the custom to change his garments. The tail of his wig was in a broad, flowing, loose manner, called the coronation-tail. His abode in the Lords' chamber scarce exceeded half-an-hour, in which he read his speech of eleven pages.

As one proof among many that might be given of the restraint and disguise of real sentiments on the part of courtiers, from the highest character in the presence chamber to the lowest lounger and attendant at ministerial levees, take the following: — When the King found himself obliged to take new ministers, and give up Lord North and his associates, it is notorious that it was abhorrent to the royal mind, and being naturally of a pertinacious, obstinate temper, he was with the utmost difficulty brought to yield a reluctant consent. On the first court day after the appointment, when he was in a manner forced out of his closet into the room of audience, he received his new servants with a smile, and transacted business with them afterwards with as much seeming cordiality and openness, as if they had been in his favor, and in his most intimate conceits; so seemingly satisfied and so serene was the royal countenance, that all the newspapers sounded forth the gracious monarch's obliging, condescending goodness to the public wishes, though nothing was farther from his heart, had not the necessity of his affairs impelled him thereto. At the same time coming up to Mr. Wilkes, he

said he was glad of the opportunity to thank him for his very proper and laudable behavior in the late riot; took notice of his looks, which indicated a want of health; advised him to a country air and exercise, which, said his Majesty, I find by experience an excellent expedient to procure and preserve health; all this with the same apparent sincerity, as if they had been in a continued course of paying and receiving compliments, congratulations, and acknowledgments for mutual kindnesses and good offices, though all the world knows there was not a man in the three kingdoms more thoroughly hated, nor whom he had taken a more foolish and unnecessary pains to ruin. The above-mentioned interview being told of in company, Mr. Wilkes took occasion to remark in the following words: — "To have heard the King, one would have thought I was consulting a quack on the score of my health."

Dec. 6. Read the King's Speech, declaring his offer of independency to America, and his hopes soon of a general peace.

Dec. 16. Received from a Cumberlander a note informing me of Miss Curwen, an heiress of said county, having married with a Mr. Christian, possessing a small estate adjoining her large one.

Dec. 17. Dined at Capt. Hay's, with Mr. Danforth and a Mr. Burges, a warm opposer of American independence, who asserted that a great majority of his countrymen (English) abhor the idea, (which Mr. Danforth silently controverts,) declaring they will forcibly oppose the plan; thinks the minister who attempts it deserves the gallows, and will join in bringing him to it; with this reserve only, should Lord North and a great majority of the Parliament coincide, then it would be proper for the nation to acquiesce; he also declared his abhorrence of the successors of Lord North and his associates.

Dec. 20. Went to general court-martial at the Horse Guards, on General Murray, and abode in the crowd two hours, till adjournment at three o'clock; in the course of the trial, a witness in favor of the impeached had been several

times called for on account of some privateers he was accused of being concerned in, particularly the *Hannah*, afterwards bought for Government service. Sir William Draper proposed that the witness should be asked whether Gen. Murray had received any profits on the sale of prize goods; the demand threw Gen. Murray into an apparent embarrassment, and cast a concern on his face, to me very plainly to be seen; but his witness, Neal, with an unblushing, unembarrassed, brazen countenance, relieved his friend by giving a direct negative. Sir William, expressing great astonishment, turning to him asked, "Do you, upon your oath, say that you do not know that General Murray had any profits arising from the sale of prize goods?" The witness repeatedly said he did not know he had, which seemed to put Sir William into an agitation. This thorough-paced witness appeared determined not to do his work by halves. I know not what effect a true answer to the question would have had, but it seems it might have led to an inquiry which the General would, perhaps, be glad to prevent.

Dec. 21. At court-martial, and in the course of this day's evidence, it appears that Sir Wm. Draper catches hold of every circumstance that can possibly admit of the least complaints; and what man's conduct, who is possessed of discretionary powers, does not; at least, it appears General Murray has not acted a base, rapacious part, nor tyrannical; at least, not seemingly beyond the limits of his written commissions as Governor and Vice-Admiral of the island and its dependencies — prudently saving appearances. In the issue, by the complexion of facts at this stage, not to anticipate, I fancy he may acquit himself, if not with great honor, at least without blame: nor perhaps may Sir William incur the disgraceful blame of Admiral Keppel's accuser, Sir Hugh Palliser. Though the prosecution of both really proceeded from the same cause, a real dislike; the accusers of each, in other respects, stand under very different predicaments.

Dec. 23. Two hours at the Horse Guards at General Murray's trial; letters between the parties were read that

manifested sufficiently mutual heart-burnings and antipathies.

Dec. 28. The papers announce the Refugees forsaken or neglected by Lord Shelburne and his compeers; the gratitude of courts ought to be reckoned among the nonentities of Lord Rochester's list. For my own part, I am too far down the hill of life to be much distressed at the events of a peace with America on any terms, or continued war, — let the younger look to it. This day completes my sixty-seventh year; with more propriety than Jacob, I may truly say, "*Few and evil have been the days of the years of my life.*" God best knows when a period will be put to them; its suddenness I deprecate not: may I not be unprepared for the event.

Dec. 31. Walked in the Park with Robert Lechmere. Capt. Coombs took tea with me, and Mr. Wiswall called.

CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1783. Meeting of Refugees at Sir Wm. Pepperell's. Death of Mr. Flucker. Uncertain Prospects of the Loyalists. Dr. Graham's Lecture on Health. Meeting of the Royal Society described. Public Affairs. Procession in honor of Fox. Mrs. Siddons at Drury Lane. Visit to the House of Lords. Mr. De Berdt. Excursion to Herts. Hoddesdon. Letters. St. Giles's. Peace Proclaimed with France, Spain, and Holland. Nathaniel Gorham. Macklin at Covent Garden.

London, Jan. 6, 1783. Walked for two hours in the Park; saw Lord Shelburne for the first time to my knowledge. He is of a middling size and well set; walks strong and springy; his dress a brown frock and boots, with a whip in his hand.

Jan. 7. On an inquiry concerning Mr. Cottenbilt, I find he died about six years since, and his wife about twenty: two daughters, six and seven years old when I lodged with them in Whalebone-court, in 1738, are now living and widows, one at Enfield, and the other in Holland.

Jan. 9. Walked to Brompton; visited Mr. Hutchinson; drank tea and passed the evening with Mr. Danforth in philosophical conversation.

Jan. 17. Met my former townsman and neighbor, George Deblois, in Cheapside, whom I have not seen for more than seven years; gave him my address.

Jan. 21. In passing along Parliament-street, saw a long funeral procession, say fifty carriages; on inquiry, found it was an officer named Townshend, who had served in America.

Jan. 23. Advices have arrived that the British troops have left Charleston and arrived at New York; and yesterday the Commons completely liberated Ireland from its oppressive

thraldom, to which it has been subject to the King and his ministers for many years.

Jan. 24. This day strong reports that preliminaries of peace are signed. It is said great sacrifices are to be made by the British in the East; if that be all, it will be well. Lord Grantham, one of the Secretaries of State, acquainted the Lord Mayor that the preliminaries were signed; this is a matter of joy to all well disposed to the true interest of their country. It is said to be a much more favorable peace than, all things considered, could be expected.

Jan. 25. George Deblois and Capt. Coombs took tea with me and passed the evening.

Jan. 28. Mr. Danforth told me of a meeting of Massachusetts Refugees at Sir William Pepperell's, to deliberate on what may be proper to be done respecting an application. Meeting adjourned till Saturday next at same place.

Jan. 29. At King's Bench, Westminster Hall; heard a judgment on a point of law respecting the license of a Dissenting meeting-house, given against the justices, who endeavored to avail themselves of a subterfuge to avoid granting it; wherein Lord Mansfield spoke sharply to the counsel for the justices. Afternoon at New England Coffee-House, reading the preliminaries of peace, which I confess astonish me: a tract equal to half of Europe is surrendered.

Jan. 30. *King Charles's Day.* Attended service at Westminster Abbey; a considerable throng of fellow-worshippers in the great aisle of the choir; my station or seat was in the prebend's stall. Dr. Bagot, the lately elected Bishop of Bristol, of a most diminutive size, preached a loyal Court sermon, giving the Church of England's styled loyal martyr a most exalted character; which, if just, that unhappy prince has been sadly misrepresented. He did not, however, descend to scurrilities or abuse; thorough-paced in hierarchical principles, but not intolerant.

Feb. 1. Attended a meeting of Refugees at Sir William Pepperell's house, Wimpole-street, to consider of somewhat to be done respecting an application to Parliament, if agreeable to Administration. Chose Sir William Pepperell agent

to inquire of Mr. Secretary Townshend, and Lord Shelburne, first Lord of the Treasury, if this course is acceptable to them.

Lord North approves of it, and advises all the Colonies to unite together. Broke up at three o'clock; number present thirty-three,— being all or nearly all in town that had received Treasury allowances.

Feb. 3. Met my countryman, Mr. John Powell, from Ludlow; also met Mr. De Berdt, whom I had not seen for seven years; he having resided in the country since his marriage, six years ago. Agreed to dine with him to-morrow. My townsman, Samuel Porter, also came to see me; neither time, climate, change of place or circumstances will ever alter this man's character; I never knew one whose characteristic qualities are so deeply impressed as his.

Feb. 5. Attended the adjournment of the Massachusetts Refugees at Turk's-Head, Gerard-street, Soho; when Sir William Pepperell reported that Lord Shelburne, by Mr. Secretary Townshend, thought the present an improper time to present a petition to Parliament. We enlarged his powers, etc., and after much conversation on sundry particulars adjourned to next Saturday week at same place. Thirty present.

Feb. 7. By the papers of this day it appears that the ratification of the preliminaries was signed by the French King on the third instant, and are arrived here as soon as completed. The part of France received by Mr. Fitzherbert and forwarded. The Dutch have not yet acceded. An armistice or cessation of hostility by sea agreed on between us.

Feb. 11. Informed that Sir William Pepperell has summoned a part of the Massachusetts Refugees to meet at "Turk's-Head" for a special occasion: called at the Treasury, was informed that a board would be held this week, and the Commissioners' Report acted on, and orders respecting the Americans given out.

Feb. 13. Notified to attend a meeting of Refugees: voted to empower Sir Wm. Pepperell to join in a petition to

Parliament *malgré le ministre d'état*, (in spite of the Minister of State.)

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

LONDON, *Feb.* 11, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

Perhaps it may not be unpleasing to you to be made acquainted that the Refugees from the Province of Massachusetts Bay, under the denomination of Loyalists, to the number of thirty-three, met at Sir William Pepperell's to consult about the choice of an agent to confer with the agents of the other Provinces, in order to form a plan for addressing, remonstrating, or petitioning Parliament; but whether of the three I am ignorant, though present at the choice, which by an unanimous vote fell on Sir William; and also to receive a report from him of Mr. Secretary Townshend's answer respecting Lord Shelburne's approbation or disapprobation; without the former it being judged improper to proceed. Mr. Townshend excused himself to Sir William for not having applied to Lord Shelburne, by pleading business, but promised to call on him the next day, etc., if practicable, and thus the affair stood till the 5th inst., to which time the meeting was adjourned, when Sir William reported that Lord Shelburne thought the present an improper time to present a petition to Parliament. Since the meeting, I find there are those averse to all measures at present, and amongst others I confess myself a dissentient, for the following reason, — the King having taken the Refugees under his care, by recommending their case to the consideration of Parliament.

Expectation is on tiptoe respecting the result of the Commissioners, Wilmot and Coke, chosen by the Lords of the Treasury to examine, settle, adjust, and proportion the claims and allowances of the Refugees, who have been and are on the list of grantees, — before whom we in that class have been. Some are apprehensive of a retrenchment; some have too much reason to fear a total excision; very few, indeed, have hopes of an addition. It is reported and expected that the petitioners who hitherto have had no allowances,

will be soon called before them to show the grounds of their pretences to Governmental charity, when probably some pittance will be granted. The salaries of all the officers under the Crown in the Thirteen United States have been for some time past struck off; and part to some will be given under the same denomination with us who have held none before. Judge Auchmuty, of Boston, has for these several months been annihilated, and reduced to the condition of a humble petitioner for a hundred pounds.

Sir William finding his powers too limited, they were enlarged, and he is now empowered to consult and act in all cases in conjunction with the agents from the other Provinces, giving his private word not to take any important step without consulting his constituents; which precaution was universally thought necessary, as Joseph Galloway is suspected of sinister designs.

It is said that they are making great retrenchments in offices and officers' salaries and fees. Think you while this spirit lasts, we, useless, burdensome aliens shall escape untouched? that we, dogs, shall be longer suffered to take the bread out of their own children's mouths? I trow not.

I fancy you wonder at the terms granted America, as all the world does; but perhaps it may abate when you shall be told the Agent, Mr. Oswald, is eighty-two years old, has been a correspondent of Congress, and is a very particular friend of Mr. Laurens.

As Americans will have a right by treaty to navigate the lakes to and from the ocean, and almost the whole of the country where furs are taken lies within the territories, it will be well if Great Britain gets any supply of that commodity but from the high mightinesses of America. Whether our rulers had any, and what concealed purpose in this American treaty, I have not penetration enough to discover; that it proceeded from ignorance is hardly supposable, if from inattention, unpardonable; and I confess the last most likely; for had the wish of Administration been ever so violent to compromise at all events matters with America, it is not supposable she would ultimately have insisted on such immeas-

urable tracts, which far exceed all Europe in extent. But it is now irrecoverable; the die is cast, — the ratification completed here and sent to France, and on the 3d was ratified there and exchanged. That a peace was necessary, all moderate men allow, and most, that in all other respects saving America it is as favorable as could have been expected; in my mind better. I think our enemies have shown laudable moderation. With great regard,

S. Curwen.

TO REV. ISAAC SMITH, SIDMOUTH.

London, *Feb.* 14, 1783.

Dear Sir:

In a letter I received yesterday from my friend William Pynchon, Esq., of Salem, is the following: — "Capt. John Derby will most willingly accommodate any of his countrymen who may wish to return with him." Capt. Derby, in a large ship of his brother's, is now at Nantz, to return in a month; which is encouraging to all not under the ban of the States, and I am told their prejudices are surprisingly abated, and there seems a disposition to forget past animosities and kindly receive all the fugitives.

* * * * * * *

This day I went to the Treasury to inquire about my allowance, and to my comfort found it stood as at first. A few are raised, some struck off, more lessened. Of those that have come to my knowledge, Gov. Oliver's is lessened £100, out of £300; Mr. Williams, who has married a fortune here, is struck off; Harrison Gray, with a wife and two children, struck off; his brother Lewis lessened to £50; D. Ingersoll reduced from £200 to £100; Samuel H. Sparhawk, from £150 to £80; Benjamin Gridley, from £150 to £100; Thomas Danforth's, Samuel Sewall's, Samuel Porter's, Peter Johonnot's, G. Brinley's, Edward Oxnard's, and mine, continue as at first; Chandler's raised £50; Samuel Fitch's £20; Col. Morrow's £50; one whose name I forget is sunk from £100 to £30; and many names and sums totally forgotten. On the whole, it is said the sum paid last year to

Refugees, amounting to near £80,000, is now shrunk by the late reform to £38,000; and if the Commissioners act on the same frugal plan respecting the petitioners whose cases will probably soon be considered, I very much doubt whether the sum of last year's expenditure under this head, including all their additional allowances, will not exceed this year's.

This is the great, the important day on which the preliminaries are to undergo a most critical and severe discussion, and will determine the fate of Lord Shelburne's Administration; news unluckily for it has arrived, that the Government of Virginia has declared they will pay no regard to any remonstrance, or request, or requisition respecting Refugees, which manifests the fatality of the preliminary article recommending the same. Your faithful friend,

S. Curwen.

Feb. 17. Mr. Flucker died suddenly in his bed yesterday morning, and is the forty-fifth of the Refugees from Massachusetts, within my knowledge, that have died in England. He was Secretary of State for Massachusetts.

Feb. 18. Mr. Deblois told me that Virginia had expressly declared they would not regard any remonstrance, requisition, or request of Congress respecting the Loyalists of their Province, as the fifth Preliminary Article between Great Britain and America stipulates: the fatality of which was visible enough before this proof. It is likely the rest of the States will copy so laudable an example, and exhibit thereby to the world a specimen of their power, want of virtue, moderation, and disregard to the principles of humanity. Shame to Great Britain that these unhappy persons stand in need of a recommendation promising such small efficacy — a striking lesson to future generations never to support the reins of Government against the determined resolution of a very numerous people. The House of Commons did not rise till seven o'clock this morning; being engaged in debate on Preliminary Articles of Peace, and Provisional Articles between Great Britain and America. The magnitude and importance of the subject deeply employs the attention not

only of the managers, but the public universally, who are all ears for the result. Lord Shelburne and Administration are left in a minority by sixteen in the Commons. In the House of Lords, strong opposition to the terms of peace. English pride cannot brook to receive the dictates of a conquerer.

Feb. 19. Evening at Dr. Graham's lecture on health, in his "*Temple of Health*," in Pall Mall, near St. James's. The first room entered was properly a vestibule, from whence through folding-doors one passes into the apartment holding the electric bed, about seven feet square, raised three feet from the floor; over the frame at the head are fixed two balls gilded, of four inches diameter and one inch apart, to receive the electric spark from the machine above, continued down in a glass tube through the floor. Passing this, you enter the Room of Apollo, through a narrow entry, having on each hand two or three niches containing statues gilded, about half the natural size. The first object that meets the eye is the Temple of Apollo, being a round cupola five feet in diameter, supported by six fluted pillars of the Corinthian order and eight feet high, in imitation of scagliola; in the centre stands a tripodal frame with concave sides, on which rests in each angle a lion *couchant*, supporting a long frame for the branch of six or eight lamps, adorned (or rather overcharged) with crystals, whose tremulous motion by the company's walking adds great brilliancy to the appearance, the walls all around having many branches with three candles each, besides two more large central branches, suspended by gilt chains from the ceiling. The decorations in the frippery kind are in great profusion in this as well as in the other room, consisting of glass in various forms and sizes, inlaid and hanging; many gilt statues of Apollo, Venus, Hercules, Esculapius, etc., besides a few pictures. The master discovered a ready elocution, great medical knowledge, and appeared well qualified to support the character he assumes.

March 4. Called at G. Deblois's lodgings, and found that he sailed for Halifax on the 1st. Met Capt. Coombs, who

informed me that Mr. Rowe, at Treasury, was drawing our pensions; hastened and received my order.

March 7. Government unsettled. Old Administration out, no successors agreed on. Lord Gower has been solicited by the King to accept the Premiership, or to be First Lord of the Treasury; the Lord Chancellor and Charles Jenkinson are of the Interior Cabinet. It is said the King has scarce eaten these two days, and is violently reluctant to take Charles J. Fox into his counsels; and the party wherein he is engaged is by far the most powerful, to which Lord North has lately allied himself; to separate which has been the King's endeavor, but it seems without success. It is generally thought the King must at length yield. He will have to adopt the whole Rockingham party, or suffer the wheels of Government to stop till Parliament remonstrate, which it soon must if the arrangement is not immediately made, all national business being at a stand.

March 15. Administration not fully settled; the King claiming the right of filling up vacancies in the Cabinet in case of death or removal, and the new Administration demanding to have none added but by their consent, that there may be no jarring among themselves; and they will not act till this be settled.

March 17. Visited Mr. Richard Clarke; thence to the Treasury, to inquire when the Commissioners were to meet again, and meeting Mr. Alleyn, a clerk, was informed about Mrs. Gen. Winslow's[1] allowance; finding a mistake had been made by Mr. Rowe to her prejudice, I proceeded to inform her brother Clark of it, and from thence to her own lodgings; she being absent I returned, and stopping at her sister Deblois's, found her there, and rejoiced her heart by acquainting her that her allowance stood as at first granted, and received her thanks.

March 19. Walked to Park. Meeting Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, joined and accompanied him to Hyde Park Corner; he acquainted me that Col. Phips, who is just arrived, relates

[1] Lady of Gen. John Winslow, of Marshfield, a Refugee.

that, during his captivity at Boston, he was civilly treated by all ranks, and although obliged to reside at Cambridge, the State forbidding strangers a residence at Boston, he could easily obtain leave to visit there in the daytime.

TO ANDREW DALGLISH, ESQ., GLASGOW.

LONDON, *March* 17, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

My design herein is to give you my crude, and ask in return your better digested thoughts, on the present critical situation of Great Britain and the States of North America. However exulting they may feel in this first hour of their deliverance from British governmental authority, they have in my poor opinion an immeasurable distance of road to travel over, intercepted with bogs, precipices, cloud-topped, scraggy mountains and deep valleys, before they will be able to arrive at an improvable champaign country, where ease, plenty and content are to be found: in other words, that country abounds in lawless, ungovernable subjects, disposed, however, to imitate the vices, follies and luxurious fashions of wealthy States, with comparatively little running cash, immense debts, no funds established, and permanent and powerful creditors to account with. I was yesterday told by Mr. R. Clarke that Massachusetts was answerable for a yearly interest of twenty thousand sterling due for a loan. We are at this period in this country in a kind of anarchy; no settled Administration, the most important national concerns neglected or delayed.

The Rockingham party is, evidently, the most numerous, and therefore most powerful, and, since the coalition between the man of prerogative and the man of the people, the latter, very justly so styled, can carry all before him. The great obstacle, however, to a full establishment of the Cabinet is, it seems, whether the present Lord Chancellor and Lord Stormont shall be of it; which the King insists upon, designing them, if he can prevail to bring them in, as checks on the rest, — these two being professed abhorrers of the present designs of the embryo Administration. The other point is

the King's right to fill up vacancies that may happen by death or removal, which is refused him, saying they will have none but those in whom they can confide. If the King gains his point, affairs will go on in the old channel, and there will be no reform; if he yields, he will scarcely be more than a Doge of Venice, and the Cabinet will rule and possess the whole power of the State.

Respecting the public, it seems to be of no importance who is in or who is out; all are in pursuit of one plan invariably to the neglect of the general welfare, or more properly at the expense of it. In this inter-reign Lord Shelburne sits and acts in the Treasury, and Mr. Pitt as Chancellor of the Exchequer. As to the character of the former, though I profess no veneration for him, yet, as an active Minister at the head of affairs, whether the public could, in this crisis, have been better served, is a doubt in my mind, notwithstanding the clamor raised by the newspaper writers. I fancy if you will read his speech of the 14th February, and that published in the "Advertiser" of this day, you will see more reasons for the Minister's justification than disappointed pride, private interest, personal dislike and party rage will allow; but when one reflects on the almost universal cry of the nation for peace; the act of the legislature last session, wherein the independence, the only bone of contention, was as good as given up, and the King almost commanded to put an end to the war in America; the insupportable load of the national debt, and without some capital reform, which in a time of war is utterly impracticable, will in the event prove so; the ruinous prospects from a decided superiority in the East and West Indies, which would have enabled our proud, revengeful enemies to require much more humiliating demands than the present terms; one would think the nation should rather rejoice to have escaped so dreadful a catastrophe as a continuance most probably might have brought on, and be thankful our enemies were inspired with such a moderate spirit. It is not to be conceived that proud, stubborn, successful enemies, just on the eve of obtaining the long wished object of their ambition, would be persuaded to relinquish

all the advantages gained in war without any compensation. The great moderation of the French Court under such advantageous circumstances as they now confessedly are, was shown before parties appeared so prominent; but Britons, unused to receive the law, cannot without hard struggles submit; time and cool reflection will clearly manifest the wisdom of the act of last session, and if that be acknowledged, the conduct of the late Administration, meaning Lord Shelburne and his associates, must of consequence be approved.

Before the preliminaries are ratified or hostilities ceased in the Channel, an American ship laden with oil, with her thirteen stripes flying, came into the river from Nantucket, by way of Ostend, and our London traders were but little less in a hurry; for within a few days after the preliminaries were published, ten or twelve vessels were posted up in the coffee-houses, advertising for freights to New York and Boston. Nor, indeed, does Government seem much less precipitate, for a commercial treaty act is now under consideration of a committee of the whole House, and will probably in a few days be ready for the royal signature. The Loyalists have been for these two months very deeply engaged in forming plans to counterbalance the dreadful evils consequent on ministerial neglect in the late treaty. I can foresee no good to arise from their industry; on the contrary, apprehend mischief, and therefore decline attending.

What think you of returning to your late abode, Salem? Should it be my lot, I shall wish for a few old acquaintances, without which the great revolutions in public and private, will, I apprehend, render my return not desirable. Please favor me with your undisguised sentiments freely on the foregoing, and whatever intelligence you may think proper.

Very truly your friend,

S. Curwen.

March 20. Attended the Royal Society's weekly meeting at Somerset House; going into the antechamber common to the Antiquarian Society and Royal Society, one waits until

an acquaintance or friend appears to procure your name to be set down in the list, which is read aloud by an attendant at the President's order; when the Society, who are already met, are about to begin, each person regularly enters and takes his seat, (long slips being placed on either side a middle aisle.) At the head of the room sits the President, now Sir Joseph Banks, with his hat on his head, all others uncovered; he in a chair of state elevated three or four steps; just below it, and on the same level with the floor, is a half round mahogany table, having only two assessors, viz., the two secretaries: Dr. Matty, a person of profound knowledge and learning, but of a most diminutive, unpromising person; and a Mr. Grey, who read the communications to the Society respecting experiments and any acquisitions of knowledge in astronomy, etc. Among others on this occasion was read a letter from the famous Herschel, lately invited from Bath to Windsor by the King, and for his use the round tower there is assigned: by his discoveries in astronomy it seems our solar system is travelling through the immensity of space in a progressive motion, which he deduces from an apparent change of relative situation of some fixed stars most visible or of largest diameter, and therefore nearest to us. The election of members is by ballot, each member putting in his vote into the box, presented to each separately, which being delivered into the President's hands, he empties out on the desk before him, and after counting, declares the candidate elected (or otherwise) a fellow of this Society; an instance I saw this night, and it is not a common sight. A candidate stands four months after proposed before balloted for. Dr. Cope, Bishop of Clonfert, being this night proposed, the President, out of regard to his dignity as a peer of Ireland, dispensed with the usual forms and proceeded to a ballot, which was not objected to. The assembly was in number, to appearance, scarce short of two hundred: the room a noble one, eighty feet by thirty, and twenty high; the walls covered on all sides with half length and quarter portraits, arranged one above the other, — Sir Isaac Newton's being at the head of the room in the centre of the middle space, and opposite the door. A

person of modest assurance may push himself in amongst the company, few of the visitors being known, and no inquiry made on whose account one appears there. A friend engaged Dr. Fothergill to insert my name, which he entered by speaking to Dr. Matty, without entering his name. Every one who appears is presumed to have some relish for and acquaintance with some one or more of the branches of literature, etc.; for that reason the Society is not strict in examining their pretences to attend. The meeting begins at eight, and commonly ends at ten; none spoke but the President, nor read but the Secretaries.

March 21. Met the King in a sedan chair, accompanied by ten or twelve yeomen and footmen, going to St. James's. New Ministry is said to have been settled; Lord North, 't is said, to return to public life as a Secretary of State. If so, probably at the King's earnest entreaty; otherwise it is hard to account for.

March 24. To the reproach of the King and the nation, Government is without a Ministry, notwithstanding the daily reports of an arrangement; selfishness, venality, rapacity and dissipation are the characteristics of this age and nation; to which must be added, in order to finish the picture, a total disregard of the idea of public welfare, which all men speculatively consider as a necessary, but as a crazy phantom, aud therefore practically neglected.

March 28. At the lobby of the House of Commons, which soon after meeting adjourned to Monday. Favored for the first time with a sight of young *Pitt*, that forward political plant; may he imitate his father as well in integrity and *amor patriæ*, as in oratorical ability and natural powers. Some think appearances promise a more abundant harvest; should he continue in the national councils the public will be highly favored of Heaven.

March 29. At Treasury, informed by Mr. Rowe that Lord Shelburne had surrendered his seat as First Lord. No Ministry settled, nor to appearance is like to be soon; the King unyielding, and the candidates as stiff and uncomplying. The old story of Lord Bute's pernicious influence prevails

again; there is some advice unseen that supports the King's obstinacy, for I know not what else to call his non-compliance.

March 30. At. St. James's, in the gallery; the King and Queen passed through from the chapel to the green-room; on leaving the antechamber I luckily, being small, crowded myself under the elbow of a good-natured yeoman, and in the front rank had a full view of the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, and the court train. On the other side of the yeoman stood a boy, who on the King's approach, bending one knee, presented a petition; the King took it without any further notice, and after walking a few steps, put it into the hand of the lord in waiting. Soon after I departed, leaving the gallery filling, and the passage under the piazzas in the court middle lined double on both sides, to have a sight of the company going up.

March 31. Samuel Porter, Peter Frye, and myself, visited Mr. Hughes at dinner and tea.

April 2. Read a Boston newspaper, where I saw poor Coombs's estate in Marblehead advertised for sale. I really pity my poor fellow refugee, and think him cruelly treated by his savage townsmen. This day's paper announces Administration settled: —

Duke of Portland, First Lord of the Treasury.
Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord North and Charles J. Fox, Secretaries of State.
Lord Stormont, President of the Council.
Earl of Carlisle, Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Keppel, First Lord of the Admiralty.
Mr. Burke, Paymaster of the Forces.
Colonel North, Treasurer of the Navy.

April. 5. Called at Mr. Tassey's to have a sight of the curious cabinet of satin wood, inlaid and decorated with many devices, figurative, etc., on front and sides: its contents, rows of drawers containing impressions of intaglios, cameos, seals, etc., to the number of more than six thousand, duplicated, to be sent to the Empress of Russia by her express

order, — value, several thousands; she is a great encourager of ingenious artists, particularly English ones.

April 7. Passed a crowd attending procession in Parliament-street, going to take the Westminster candidate, Charles J. Fox, from his lodgings to the hustings under St. Paul's, Covent Garden portico. First marched musicians two and two, then four men supporting two red painted poles having on top the cap of liberty of a dark blue color; to each was fastened a light blue silk standard about nine feet long and five wide, having inscribed thereon in golden letters these words, "The Man of the People;" followed by the butchers with marrow-bones and cleavers; then the committee two and two, holding in their hands white wands; in the rear the carriages. They stopped at his house in St. James's-street, where taking him up, he accompanied them in Mr. Byng's carriage through Pall Mall and the Strand to the hustings, when the election proceeded; made without opposition, no competitor appearing against him.

April 13. Called on Mr. Jonathan Williams and Captain Johnson, and conducted them to Essex House Chapel; Mr. Lindsay preached; — subject, the address of the Gospel to the poorer and middling ranks, which shows both the wisdom and goodness of God.

April 19. Met two numerous companies of sailors parading through the streets with an ancient; told they were going to demand of the King their wages, having been discharged without payment; but in returning through the Park could get no intelligence of their having made any demand at the Palace or Admiralty, and conclude they had been persuaded to separate on a promise of speedy payment; a number yesterday having obtained the King's promise that the sailors should be relieved by the first instalment of the present loan to be made in a few days.

May 13. Captain Coombs called early by agreement with me, and then departed to take coach for Kew Bridge at nine o'clock; arrived at eleven; from thence on foot through Kew and the terrace to Richmond, and through Twickenham to Hampton Court; dined at King's Arms; proceeded

through the gardens to the palace, and passing through observed the paintings in better order than before; was informed they were lately cleaned by the King's order, and some new ones brought from the Queen's house and Kensington; returned back through Bushy Park by a returned chaise. Was told that Kensington Palace may be seen as well as the others; and also, that Hyde Park came to the Crown by the Duchess of York, Lord Clarendon's daughter, the mother of Queens Mary and Anne, and would in eight years revert back, unless the King should obtain a new lease thereof.

May 14. Went to Shoreditch workhouse to see a Mr. Best, who is remarkable as a most perfect textuarian, and without looking in the Bible refers to particular texts, repeating the very words and all of them, to the number of many verses, often sometimes apposite to the circumstances of the applier; — seems not at a loss for any word or order in the text, and repeats slowly. He first looks into the right hand, pretending to a great knowledge of palmistry; among other parts, he applied the 3d, 4th, and 5th verses of 30th Deuteronomy to me, being then a Refugee from America in London. His language is only in Scripture phrases; his room, large in extent, is filled almost with work of his own, in straw, of Scripture stories; as the creation, flood, passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, etc.; — New Testament — the nativity, baptism in Jordan, miracle of loaves and fishes, broad and narrow way, crucifixion, lying in the tomb, rising from the dead, — called ascension, — day of judgment, last trumpet sounding, etc. These are separate compartments made of straw, with divisions in the same style and materials; he is continually, when not interrupted by company, at work in making small works of flowers, rings in imitation of large seal rings, one of which he put on my finger. By his ready application and repeating the very words of Scripture, and the places where they are to be found, he seems to have got the whole Bible by heart; after looking into my hand, he referred me to sundry texts, some of which, I confess, struck me with astonishment and confusion. Though not more than fifty-five years of age, he is so totally void of care

respecting himself, that he must be put to bed and taken out, fed with meat and drink like an infant; he will not bear to be called Mr. nor thanked for his presents; loves fruit, and will accept of it, but not money. The posture he receives his visitors in is sitting within his little straw cell; looks on one only when he takes a hand to examine, and if he likes his visitor, on his departure seizes the hand in both his and kisses it warmly, bidding God-speed in Scripture phrase.

May 19. Went out accompanied by Mr. Pickman to Drury Lane play-house to see Mrs. Siddons, the favorite tragic actress of the public, in the character of Jane Shore, which she well supported.

May 22. Informed that the Refugees', or, as they affect to denominate themselves, Loyalists', petition to Parliament is presented, and supported by Lord North and all in Administration, that all who have pensions may receive them by their agents, go where they will, even if they shall return to either of the United States.

June 15. Joseph Hooper called and drank tea; gave him a certificate as he desired, though I fancy it will be of no effect, respecting his property, business, and manner of living; of which, as I know, I can say but little.

June 19. Walked to White Conduit House, to see a great cricket match played; Lords Winchelsea, Easton, and Strathaven, and Sir Peter Burrill, etc.; a very severe headache drove me off the field.

June 30. Visited the artificial flower-garden at Spring Gardens; a beautiful imitation, laid out in walks, containing in its borders a great variety of the most curious flowers and many species of wall-fruit, with birds of the season and climate placed in natural attitudes on the boughs in good preservation; having also a small piece of water, with a *jet d'eau* in the centre, and a swan floating on its surface, besides a stream of water falling down a rugged precipice into a basin; the upper part of the sides covered with perspective views, which enliven the room, being of faint green ground, and eighty feet by fifty and twenty-five high, the top almost an entire skylight.

July 9. At the gallery of the House of Lords; Mr. Cooper, a counsellor at law, pleading at the bar in a case wherein the distillers were concerned; on the third reading of bill, Lord Effingham rose and objected to various clauses, all of which were overruled, and the bill passed. A message from the Commons was received and read. In the former case, Lord Effingham called the First Lord of the Treasury, the Duke of Portland, who rose, and to my seeming, acquitted himself very indifferently; in his person he is unpleasing in figure and countenance. Lord Effingham had the appearance both in person and dress of a common country farmer; a green frock coat, with brass buttons, his hair short, straight, and to appearance uncombed; his face rough, vulgar and brown, as also his hand; in short he had the look of a laboring farmer or grazier. There were three bishops and twenty-three lay lords present: remained there two hours.

July 11. At the bottom of Buckingham-street, on the bank of the river, is a very convenient stone alcove, where I met a foreigner, who proving communicatively inclined, I attended for near an hour to his relations; the subject being the small degree of liberty this country enjoys compared with the States of Germany, particularly the King of Prussia's dominions, which he endeavored to exemplify from that monarch's readily redressing all acts of injustice from his courts, or from the oppressions of one subject to another. Another proof was the burdensome taxes of this country, to which the German States are not liable; the demesnes of the princes, and other sources, furnishing them with an income independent of taxes. A third was the exorbitant fees and delays of justice in our courts, which are just causes enough for complaint, crying aloud for redress; which, alas! there is but little reason to hope for.

July 12. By appointment, dined at Mr. De Berdt's, a brother of the late Mrs. Joseph Reed of Philadelphia; about six o'clock, departed with Mrs. De Berdt in her chaise for their country house, in Wormly parish, on Sir Abraham Hume's land and manor, Herts; passing through Shoreditch parish, Kingsland, Stoke Newington, Tottenham, High

Cross, Edmonton, Pender's End, Enfield, Waltham Cross, Theobalds, and Cheshunt. Mr. De Berdt arrived soon after on horseback.

July 13, *Sunday.* Attended worship at a meeting-house in Turnford in the morning; in the afternoon at the parish church, standing on Sir Abraham's ground, who is the presentee thereof; a miserable, dark, old, forsaken temple, seemingly in a state of dereliction, though its revenues are far from contemptible, amounting to £200 and more; its present incumbent is a D. D. Accompanied my friends to the christening of a daughter and churching of the mother; after service partook of tea and christening cake.

July 14. Set off through Lord Monson's grounds for Mr. Hughes's at Hoddesdon; arrived in an hour, and passed another hour with him; then returned and rode with Mr. and Mrs. De Berdt over the Lea and New rivers into Essex, along the meadows; leaving there, we entered a rough, lonesome road that continued to the top of a very long hill of quick ascent. On the summit stands Roydon, from whence forward both lands and road had a very different appearance; passed Stansteadbury Church, standing on the edge of the eminence, and half a mile distant from the town or any house, except one gentleman's seat in its neighborhood, overlooking the extensive field called the Rye House Field, perhaps from the grain of that kind for which it is noted. Descending into the plain, stretching for a mile or two on either hand, we passed the house well known in the history of Charles II., for the real or imaginary plot against Government laid there; and also the two rivers, New and Lea, running scarce more than ten rods asunder, through the whole length of the plain, and parallel to each other; at ten o'clock arrived home.

July 21. Wrote to Thomas Russell, Esq., Boston, and introduced Mr. Coap.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ., SALEM, N. E.

LONDON, *July* 26, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

The raging fever of the times will doubtless abate, for no violent fermentations are lasting, but not perhaps till the purposes of raising it are answered. The political frenzy of your country, and the peculiarly critical situation of American Refugees here, put it out of my power to be decided respecting my future destination. However, as I wrote Mr. Ward, age and infirmities have made such inroads on me, as render of little importance the public decisions here or there. I ardently wish and pray for the welfare of both countries; but to whisper a truth in your ear, I should not entertain a single thought of crossing the Atlantic at my advanced time of life, even under the pleasing prospect of a friendly and kind reception, was it not for the short enjoyment of my friends and acquaintance; much less is the thought pleasing with such prospects as must present themselves to those misguided, unfortunate persons, who retired from America to Europe and elsewhere in the beginning and during the late troubles. I strongly suspect America will not find such a cordial and unrestricted liberty from the European powers respecting commerce and the creation of a powerful navy as she fondly and delusively imagined. Now the hurry of war is over, men's minds are more at leisure to view the importance of keeping within proper bounds the new rising States, of such vast extent of sea-coast, such variety of soils, such capability of improving its native materials, and which, if suffered, will grow to a dangerous height.

Please present my kind respects to friends and acquaintance, and believe me Your friend,

S. CURWEN.

July 27. To the Tower, and encompassing it once round on the ramparts, left it, and passing over Little Tower-hill, joined a company attending a field speaker; one in the outer ring proved boisterous and severe, but the preacher was too

much engaged to attend to the noise that disturbed most in that quarter.

July 29. Called on Mr. and Mrs. Mather; afterwards William Vans called; I took a stroll with him, and tea at Bagnigge Wells; thence home by way of Peerless-pool and Moorfields.

TO GEORGE RUSSELL, ESQ., BIRMINGHAM.

LONDON, *July* 20, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

Your kind wishes I read with heartfelt satisfaction, for I meet with very few who profess the slightest regard; on this subject I could enlarge, but my feelings would urge to a style prudence forbids me to use. You express yourself as one not callous to impressions of humanity, as interest and passion render too many; "that when the horrors of war cease, there should end all animosities." I wished and hoped it too, but with what success the world too evidently sees; not a single expectation of mine through the progress of this baneful war but has ended in disappointment. To keep myself from all future mortifications, I am determined to take no further part or concern in public measures than what arises from unavoidable constraint by personal interest; and, considering the sour aspect of American politics respecting Absentees, I cannot but think my plan an obvious dictate of wisdom. Local attachment having lost its force in me, and so averse as I am to a tedious voyage, that, could I persuade a few friends that it was not for want of a due regard, I know not whether, at this advanced time of life, I should not retire to some quiet village, and there pass in undisturbed ease, unknowing and unknown, the short portion of my remaining days. Perhaps, at your time of life, it is hard to conceive the propriety of the foregoing intimation; but you will remember old age blunts the passions as well as the reason, and renders rigid and stiff the finer fibres of the brain, those vehicles of animal spirit, by means of which impressions of all kinds are less frequent and strong.

You very justly observe that the true state of the case is

not always to be known from newspaper representation, and I can add, scarce ever even when public instruments are pretendedly copied. However, in the present case, I fancy you may, without injury to truth, believe the Resolves from the town of Worcester to be genuine; nor less those very curious ones from the New Jerseys, in the "Morning Chronicle" of the 26th inst., (if I have not mistaken a day or two,) wherein you will see the predicament of us poor Refugees in the opinion of our late fellow-subjects; but party zeal is blindness as well as madness. Both the foregoing, as well as others of like import, I have seen in my own town newspaper, called the "Salem Gazette," nor does it want confirmation from verbal testimony, and a multitude of letters from friends and foes corroborate the same. Your wish and expectation that the present delirium, as I call it, will not be lasting, is common; it is in all men's mouths; its continuance will, I dare say, be of fatal length to me, as well as in its operation.

To show on what footing I stood before the news of peace had intoxicated them, take the following extracts. In one letter, dated 2d January last, from a worthy friend and correspondent, he says: "It is the general desire that you be urged to return, with assurances that you will be joyfully and respectfully received, and may reside here in peace and safety." Another writes: "Your friends and acquaintance ardently wish for your return, and continuance among us in peace and security all your days."

The ship captain, (Holton Johnson, of Lynn,) with whom I came from America, was, by a revolution common at such periods, translated into a legislator in our Massachusetts Assembly. Being about two months since in London, he told me that had not his interest and efforts prevailed, my name would have been inserted in the banishment list, and my estate confiscated. The reality of this fact depends on the relator's veracity; the reasons, if any, must be private pique and malice; no public crime was ever alleged, but merely leaving the country in her distress. If success is justification, I confess guilt.

A subsequent letter of 12th May, says: "It seems clear to

your best friends that your caution was not groundless." In one of June 5th: "Since plundering and privateering have declined, the *reverend* Dr. Whitaker exerts himself on the wharves as well as in the desk against the return of Americans; let your patience and fortitude continue a month or two longer, and I believe that you may safely leave faction and party rage to spend their utmost spite without harm." In one of 14th June, from the same: "Mrs. P. hath been at Providence, etc., and finds that Rhode Island and Connecticut are surprised at the conduct of Massachusetts, as to the return of absentees who have not been inimical to America. That Mr. Sparhawk and others, who went thither from New York and other places, were treated with great humanity and respect; that they encourage the return of Americans. These and other occurrences considered, I doubt not of seeing an alteration of measures before the end of the present session of the Assembly; I trust we shall not long continue to drive our own people into other States."

The Dr. Whitaker before mentioned, of Salem, is a notorious character in America, and not unknown here, whose employment some years ago was that of an itinerant preacher, leading about a tawny native of America for people to look at, and hear his preachment; he was also at the same time engaged in the more profitable pursuit of soliciting charity for the establishment of an Indian College in the frontier wilderness of my country. He is usually called Dr. Meroz in America, from his constantly applying the 23d verse of the 5th chapter of Judges to the poor Refugees.

I am far from wishing ill to the cause of liberty, much less to that of my native country, to which, on the contrary, as a citizen of the world and a friend to the inalienable rights of mankind, I wish every kind of good, but am equally far from thinking America has gained its delusively fancied prize by independence. By some Congressional manœuvres of late, a train I fear is laid for the establishment of a power much more fatal to liberty than Great Britain durst have aimed at, whilst she could have retained any governmental authority there. Their liberation is a doubtful proof of the Divine

approbation of their cause. Many there thirsted after it, and so did the Israelites for a king, which God at length gave them, in his anger: and he has, I fear, given them their heart's desire by way of punishment for wantoning away those singularly great advantages of a civil, religious and political nature, with which he had favored them above all people upon the face of the whole earth. They often were used to compare themselves to God's highly favored people, and I truly think their case is not unlike; mercies and preservations as numerous, nor does their folly and ingratitude fail to finish the comparison. If any expressions here are not altogether of the complexion of your own notions, I know your candor will make allowances for the difference of our situation, though I am not aware of an unfriendly bias in my mind. Your faithful friend,

S. Curwen.

Aug. 6. At New England Coffee-House to read the papers, filled with relations of the rising spirit of Americans against the Refugees, in their towns and assemblies. Intoxicated by success, under no fear of punishment, they give an unrestrained loose to their angry, malevolent passions; attribute to the worst of causes the opposition to their licentious, mobbish violation of all laws, human and divine; and even some of the best of the Republican party seem to think, at least their practice squints that way, that the supposed goodness of their cause will justify murder, rapine, and the worst of crimes. But cool impartial posterity will pass a better judgment, and account for the violences of the times from party rage, which knows no bounds.

TO MR. JOHN TIMMINS, WOLVERHAMPTON.

London, *Aug.* 9, 1783.

Dear Sir:

By the newspapers from America, particularly our quarter, I find there remain but slender grounds of hope for success in attempting the recovery of debts or estates; a general shipwreck is seemingly intended of all Absentees' property —

the towns in their instructions to the Representatives making it a point to prevent the return of them, and consequent confiscation of all their property, notwithstanding the provision in the fifth preliminary article. These lawless people regard not any obstacle when the gratification of their angry passions or the object of gain is in view; some of their resolves perhaps you may have seen. I yesterday read in a "Boston Gazette," published (in June) by Edes, the well-known sedition-trumpeter, the following, copied out for your view from the Resolves of the town of Lexington, of the same complexion with the rest of their town-meeting measures: "Common sense and the laws of nature and nations concur to pronounce them one and all aliens from the Commonwealth. As to the idea of admitting some and rejecting others, it is easy to see that the wisdom of angels would be puzzled to draw a line,— to determine when or where to stop. Upon the whole, we cannot but think it indispensably necessary for the peace and welfare of this State, and the freedom and happiness of the United States, that a decided part be taken to prevent the return and the recovery of their estates, and property that was formerly theirs." Though in this you see the temper is unfriendly and adverse, the language is decent. From a paragraph of to-day's paper is the following: "Letters by an American vessel yesterday from Boston brought certain information of a very unfavorable nature to the Loyalists, whose situation is extremely precarious, and no step is likely to be taken for their relief." The same letters add that "several parts of the country are in a state of convulsion, in a struggle to get repossessed of estates seized by individuals during the troubles." Sitting by Frederick Geyer in the N. E. Coffee-House, he said that John Amory had written him that he was made to hope by his friends for a readmission into Boston, having already been permitted to have a sight of his children, &c. He had received letters by the *Callahan* from Boston, by whom thirteen passengers have just arrived; among them are Leonard Jarvis, Samuel Eliot, and a Mr. Seaver.

I suppose you have heard of Capt. Smith's treatment at

Philadelphia. Such, however, is the course of human affairs, and it may be, for aught I know of, consummate wisdom and a just retribution of rewards and punishments; for I am far from thinking there is such a very great disproportion of happiness here below among individuals as is the common opinion, or that external circumstances are of any weight in the question of the quantity of human happiness of each one individual compared to another. In a little space of time I shall be dead to a sense of all these puzzling events; it may be I shall see the reasonableness and equity of the providential government in a clear and satisfactory light.

Heartily wishing you health, success, competency and contentment, I am, with cordial esteem,

Your friend,

S. Curwen.

Aug. 12. *P. S.*—The "London Evening Chronicle" of this day contains a sensible and excellent circular letter from General Washington to the several State Governors, — the forementioned directed to Governor Greene, of Rhode Island. If you have not seen it, the liberality of that Government absolves this from all imputations on the score of tolerating the Roman Catholics in Canada, — they having far outgone these by admitting persons of all faiths as well as none to a full participation, not only of the liberty of living and exercising their religion among them, but to all the immunities, rights, privileges, emoluments, and honors of the State. This is, I confess, carrying toleration to the very largest extent.

S. C.

TO RICHARD WARD, ESQ., SALEM.

London, *Aug.* 11, 1783.

Dear Sir:

I refer you to my letter by Mr. Conant for an explicit answer to your question, "Do you propose to spend the remainder of your days abroad?" though I do not think my expression, "The wished for period of my return is not arrived," carried any doubts of what were my intentions.

With regard to that event, you best can tell whether I or any exile from America, whatever our wishes may be, shall ever be suffered to make an attempt; a subject I consider with some indifference, age and infirmities having made such inroads on my constitution as leave me but little to hope or fear from the result of public councils or the imprudence of private conduct. So far, however, am I from indifference to the real welfare of America, that I ardently wish moderate counsels may prevail, for it is the universal opinion that her credit and interest will be essentially hurt, should an illiberal, impolitic exclusion of all absentees take place. I am free to declare my apprehension that the lower, illiterate classes, narrow-minded and illiberal all over the world, have too much influence, and that political and civil events bear some proportion to the wisdom of public councils; not always, as instances of a contrary kind may be adduced through a succession of many ages in the history of mankind.

Please to acquaint the "*Social Library*" company, whatever occasions they may have for a supply from hence, they shall be freely welcome to my services. With best love to my niece and your children,

I am your friend,

S. Curwen.

Aug. 17. Attended public worship at St. Giles's, Cripplegate. The number of youthful voices accompanying the organ rendered that part of the service pleasing and devout. After service walked to the altar to see the funeral monument of a woman rising out of a coffin; the inscription too high for me to read, but said to perpetuate the extraordinary event of a woman of this parish being brought to life after interment, by the sexton's descending into the vault to cut off from her fingers some rings, which by swelling could not otherwise be recovered. Report adds, that, raising herself in the coffin, she quitted it and followed the sexton out of the church, and proceeded homewards, and arriving there at midnight and knocking hard at the door, awakened the maid, who went trembling to her master, saying she was sure the

knock was that of her mistress; on going down and opening the door, to their astonishment found it to be her mistress indeed. Report further adds that this same woman lived to have seven or eight children. On asking the female pew-opener, she replied: "That is the report, but having been but a late parishioner, she could not say, but some thought it meant to denote the resurrection of the body." Below is the bust of the famous martyrologist, "*Johannes Foxus*," put up by his son Samuel about 1590.

Aug. 31. Attended worship at the Church of St. Austin and St. Faith the Virgin, — united parishes, close under St. Paul's, and the latter so called, as I was informed on inquiry at St. Paul's of the verger; he further said that it was in the gift of the Dean and Chapter. A Mr. Ryder, author of a history of England, preached an ingenious and entertaining discourse. Afternoon at the Magdalen, where heard an excellent, pathetic, and finely adapted address to the tenants by Mr. Sellon, minister of Clerkenwell, one of the justly celebrated preachers of the day.

Sept. 3. Mr. Foster, the late appointed Clerk to Commissioners for examining Loyalists, advertises to-day for them to bring in an estimate of their estates, effects, losses, etc., to him at his chambers, Middle Temple, before the 29th inst.

Sep. 19. Yesterday evening received a note from Mr. De Berdt, inviting me to accompany Mrs. D. to his country-house at Broxburn Herts, to pass a few days during his absence in Wiltshire, where, after three hours, we arrived in Mrs. D.'s chaise before tea.

Sept. 23. At twelve o'clock set off with Mrs. D. for Ware, through Hoddesdon, Ryefields, Stansfield, Mardock Mill, the late residence of Mr. De Berdt.

Sept. 25. To Hoddesdon; meeting Mr. James Inman and another gentleman, accompanied the former home.

Sept. 26. Proceeded with Mrs. De Berdt Londonwards, meeting and overtaking multitudes in carriages and on foot, bound to the Waltham Abbey-statute for servants, — a day established by act of Parliament, following the last day of Fairs, for hiring servants. The males appear with the tools

or insignia of their respective employments; the females of the domestic kind are distinguished by their aprons, viz., cooks in colored, nursery-maids in white linen, and the chamber and waiting-maids in lawn or cambric. Here resort all who want to go into, or are out of service, as well as those families who stand in need of servants. After a few delays, and the interval of three hours, arrived in London, passing through Clapton and Hackney, deviating from the usual road for variety's sake.

Sept. 29. Visited Mrs. Hay; first time since her return from Scotland. At New England Coffee-House, saw a number of young Massachusetts men bound home in the *Callahan*, gone down the river. In Oxford-street, called at Mr. Danforth's and S. Porter's; both absent.

Oct. 4. At ten o'clock, set off with Mr. D. in a post-chaise for Lord Tylney's seat, Epping Forest; conducted through the rooms and from them to the grotto, which, in my opinion, is the most pleasing and elegant I ever saw; though Goldney's, at Clevedon, is by some esteemed before this; and which, perhaps, in the richness of some of its spars may exceed.

Oct. 6. This day was proclaimed peace with France, Spain, and Holland, with the usual formalities, at Palace, Charing Cross, Cheapside Conduit, and the Royal Exchange; had a sight of the procession in Pall Mall, but the crowds disappointed me from hearing the proclamation, or seeing the ceremony of admission through Temple-bar into the city.

Oct. 8. At New England Coffee-House in company with Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, lately arrived from Boston, whom I had well known. He is a native of Charlestown, late a member of Congress, and of the Massachusetts Assembly, and who is now here on the score of obtaining a benevolence for the sufferers at the destruction of that town, June 17, 1775, by the King's troops; which, all things considered, carries with it such a face of effrontery as is not to be matched. Invited him to tea; received a letter from my wife's brother, James Russell.

TO HON. JAMES RUSSELL, LINCOLN, MASS.

LONDON, *Oct.* 8, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR:

I thank you for your favor of the 21st August, the first from you since my unhappy abandoning my former home in April, '75. You write, "I give you joy on the return of peace;" as far as it shall be productive of real good to the parties concerned, it has my approbation; respecting myself, it is an event of the smallest moment, were the appearances in your quarter ever so bright and pleasing; how much less when the thirteen late peaceable, happy Colonies are reduced to the licentious and gloomy condition wherein they now are, if general report may be depended on. In truth, were your sister[1] no more, there would need no Act of Massachusetts or any other Assembly, or Senate, to prohibit my return. So far as to America and myself; now to another point, that is of interest. After I had written to your son Thomas, of Boston, on the subject, I had heard of the sale of your late son Charles's estate at Lincoln to your son Chambers; I will presume you did not forget my demand of £300 sterling, and somewhat more for his bond to me, though your silence respecting it has since raised my apprehension. Mr. Thomas Russell will address you on this subject, and I trust sufficient will be received to remunerate him for moneys obtained on his credit by me for my support soon after my arrival here. Wishing you and your family every good,

I remain, my dear sir,

Your affectionate brother,

S. CURWEN.

Oct. 9. Received a note from Mr. De Berdt, inviting me to dinner on Friday with Mr. Gorham and Mr. Barrett of Boston.

Oct. 25. Accompanied Mr. Gorham to House of Commons and Westminster Abbey.

Oct. 28. Saw Captain Nathaniel West and Captain

[1] Mrs. Curwen.

Smith for the first time; received information from the former that his brother Eben was living, (whom I feared was dead,) and about to return to Salem.

Oct. 29. Mr. J. Fletcher drank tea with me, and related in detail his misfortunes, present condition, and views.

TO MRS. ABIGAIL CURWEN, SALEM.

LONDON, *Oct.* 30, 1783.

MY DEAR WIFE:

The peace, or rather acknowledged dismemberment of the late English Colonies from their mother country, has, it seems, been so far from affording a prospect to such of the American absentees who might be willing to return back, that, on the contrary, from what appears, the present governing party are determined to pass bills of final exclusion of all such as left their country after the troubles commenced. If their Government is in the hands of what their *great and good allies* call the "*mesne peuple*," which two short words you have Anglo-Gallic friends enough among you to translate, no liberal public measures are to be expected. If it was not for your sake, or that you would follow my fortune or accompany my fate, I should not hesitate for a moment taking up my future abode, which cannot possibly be but of short continuance, somewhere out of the limits of the Republican Government. "The world," as Adam said on his expulsion from Paradise, "is all before me, where to choose my place of rest, and Providence my guide." By this you see I have not fixed my views; nor can I, prudently, till your Government shall have come to a final determination respecting your *runaways*, or — as they affect to call themselves by the pompous character of — *Loyalists;* which, however, does them no more credit here than with you. Wishes for the welfare of my friends still warm my heart; as to the rest, I read with cold indifference the insurrections in Pennsylvania, and the carryings-on in the late English Colonies, having lost local attachment.

If your fortitude has increased in the proportion that your health and spirits have improved, perhaps you will not find it

an insurmountable difficulty to resolve on a land tour to Canada, or a voyage to some other English settlement. Whatever shall be the result of your thoughts, let me be made acquainted therewith as soon as convenient. Should a final expulsion be concluded on, you will no longer hesitate.

Mr. Jay and John Adams are here, and if Administration was kindly affected towards American sufferers, perhaps some good might arise; though for my own particular case, I have no favorable opinion of the gratitude, or even justice, of kings or courts; nor of the friendly regards of the two forementioned Americans towards us in the unhappy predicament of petitioners for the bounty, not to say justice, of the Court; from the latter, (Adams,) it is currently said and believed, harsh declarations have fallen here as well as in Holland and France respecting us, nor has he probably changed his mind. The ancients say, "*Qui trans mare currunt, cœlum non animum mutant.*"[1]

Of a different complexion and temper is Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, with whom I have had several interviews; he is moderate, reasonable, and conciliatory; would that his views prevailed among his countrymen. He has just informed me that on the 4th proximo, agreeably to Charles J. Fox's appointment, he was going to wait upon Lord Keppel; if a member of the American Continental Congress can lower himself to use the derogatory term of *waiting* on the First Lord of the English Admiralty.

Yours, in all affection,

S. Curwen.

Nov. 5. Last night a very destructive fire consumed many houses, upwards of forty, between Aldersgate, Bartholomew Close, and Cloth Fair, supposed the most extensive in London for many years; the fire yet unextinguished; no account yet given of the damage, loss, etc.

Nov. 24. At the American Commissioner's office, late Duke of Newcastle's house, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, for directions respecting a Memorial.

[1] "Those who cross the seas, change their abode but not their minds."

Nov. 25. Attended among the rest of expectants to have a sight of the air-balloon discharged from the Artillery-ground, at one o'clock; it rose moderately, and in a southerly direction; was in sight ten or twelve minutes; its appearance to my eye, after it diminished to four or five inches in diameter, was like three round balls in contact, in shape of a triangular body with obtuse angles. I should think the numbers in Moorfields exceeded fourscore thousand. The sight was amusing; perhaps posterity may improve on this newly investigated subject, and make what is now only a pleasing show, a commodious, perhaps pernicious, aerial conveyance.

Nov. 28. Capt. Carpenter, of Salem, called; he is just from Lisbon.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ.

LONDON, *Nov.* 28, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

However unfavorable to my wishes the result of the American Assemblies may be, I shall be gratified by receiving the earliest advices. Capt. Nathaniel West brings me a message from the principal merchants and citizens of Salem, proposing and encouraging my return; which instance of moderation I view as an honor to the town and respectful to myself, and I wish to return my thanks through you. It affords me pleasure, and I would cheerfully accept the offer; but should the popular dislike rise against me, especially if co-operating with governmental resolves, to what a plight should I be reduced, being at present (but for how long is a painful uncertainty) on the British Government list for £100 a year, (a competency for a single person exercising strict economy,) to surrender this precarious allowance without public assurances of personal security.

It would be little short of madness, should the popular rage combine with the public decisions to prevent our future residence; deprived of all assistance, and even the last refuge of the wretched, hope here, expelled there. Imagine to yourself the distress of an old man, without health, under such adverse circumstances, and you will advise me to wait with

resignation till the several Assemblies shall have taken decisive measures on congressional recommendation, agreeably to the Provisional Treaty, if that body shall deem it prudent to conform to what their Commissioners have agreed to. But enough of this. One of your Massachusetts public Ministers, Mr. John Adams, is here in all the pride of American independence; by Mr. Gorham I am told he uttered to him the following speech, that, "*together with the war he had buried all animosity against the absentees.*" Though he is of a rigid temper and a thorough-paced Republican, candor obliges me to give him credit for the humanity of the sentiment, being spoken in private, and to one of his own party, and probably without an intention to be published abroad. In a conversation with my informant, he further replied that he chose to consider himself as a plain American Republican; his garb plain, without a sword, which is carrying his transatlantic ideas, I fear, a little too far. Should he have the curiosity, or his public character render it expedient, to attend at a royal levee, or at a drawing-room at St. James's on a Court day, I hope he will not deserve and meet with as mortifying a repulse as our late Chancellor, Lord Thurlow, at the Court of Versailles; whose surly pertinacity in wearing a bob-wig occasioned his being refused admittance into the King's presence. However frivolous a part of dress soever a sword may appear to one of Mr. Adams's scholar-like turn, he is by this time, I fancy, too well acquainted with the etiquette of Courts to neglect so necessary an appendage, without which no one can find admittance out of the clerical line.

I have nothing further to add but my ardent wishes for an increase of the health and happiness of yourself and family; for I am very truly,

Your friend,
S. Curwen.

Nov. 30. Attended worship at the Chapel in Margaret-street, Cavendish-Square, where Mr. Ford, from Liverpool, officiated, using the Liturgy appointed for the Dissenters on

the plan of preconceived forms in that place, — it being the first use of it in London.

Dec. 2. Mr. Gorham passed three hours with me.

Dec. 5. Evening at Covent Garden Theatre, to see old Macklin in the characters of Shylock in the "Merchant of Venice," and in Sir Archy McSarcasm in "Marriage à la Mode," a farce of his own writing; in both he excels, and although more than fourscore years of age manifests an exertion that would credit even youth. The house crowded; the character of Portia, in the former, performed by a Miss Roscoe, — her first appearance.

Dec. 18. Yesterday Charles J. Fox's famous East India Bill was on a second reading thrown out of the House of Lords, by a majority of nineteen, the vote being seventy-eight in favor, and ninety-seven against it. The Prince of Wales in the minority, being his first vote as one of that House.

Dec. 20. House of Commons in an uproar, occasioned by a supposed design to dissolve them and form a new arrangement of Administration; the members of which, one of the papers has, as usual in extraordinary cases, presented the public with.

Dec. 28. Attended public worship at Essex House Chapel. Mr. Lindsay preached from — "For we know that if the earthly house of this our tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; for in this we groan earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is in heaven. If so be that being clothed, we shall not be found naked." A text and discourse not unsuited to my particular situation, this day completing my sixty-eighth year, and in a disconsolate condition, laboring under bodily infirmities, dreadful uncertainties respecting my temporal supplies, and but too conscious of many more imperfections and follies, moral and natural; however doubtful what may be the consequence of a separation of soul and body, I most ardently long for a deliverance from personal evils, and a retreat to that state of quietude where the weary are at rest.

Dec. 31. Visited Mr. De Berdt by invitation; from thence to Capt. Hay's, and engaged to dine there next Friday.

This concludes a most unpleasing, unprofitable year, meaning in such a sense as dignifies the rational nature of mortal men. May the following year be productive of better moral effects than the last.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1784. Pitt's East India Bill lost. The Author receives Letters from Salem encouraging his Return. Riots in London between followers of Pitt and Fox. Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff. Letters from William Pynchon. Funeral of Sheriff Turner. Letter from Judge Sewall. The Author's Petition for leave to return to America, and to appoint an Agent to receive his Pension. Visit to the Treasurer. Preparations for leaving England. Embarks in Ship *Union*. Fellow-Passengers. Lands at Cowes, Isle of Wight. Excursion on the Island. Arrival at Boston. Captain Coombs. The Author's Classmates. Letter from Noah Clap.

London, Jan. 17, 1784. At New England Coffee-House, recognized by Col. Tonge, whom at first sight I knew not, till he made himself known.

Jan. 24. Last night Mr. Pitt's East India Bill lost by a majority of eight; probably a dissolution of Parliament will follow. A wretched plight is this distracted nation in, from an obstinate, despotically inclined King, and a set of profligate, unprincipled men of influence and politicians. I fear there is not sense enough left of the importance of public interest and liberty among the people, to oppose the pernicious designs and measures of Court and Parliament, and that the people, from whose efforts alone good may be expected, however unaided by nobles or gentry, will soon, oppressed and overloaded by taxes, submit to any measures their haughty imperious masters shall impose. Thus the Government, once the boast of Great Britain and the envy of the world, will soon find itself on a level with the most contemptible of those nations on whom it justly looked with pity, and imprudently with contempt. I think its ruin near enough for my old age to have the cruel mortification of seeing, brought about by the most impolitic and foolish of

all attempts, the late American war; and in the short space of nine years fallen, when at the highest pinnacle of power, glory, and wealth it had ever attained, to its present state of despair.

Feb. 2. Disturbed by disagreeable dreams from whatever cause, which, however, I pretend not satisfactorily to account for to myself; I find my imagination much more busily employed now than in my youth.

Feb. 3. Joseph Hooper called on me to accompany him to the American Commissioner's office in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, which I did, and gave a relation on oath, which proved my unacquaintedness with his affairs of no advantage to his cause. Afterwards at New England Coffee-House reading the papers, filled with melancholy accounts of the party squabbles in the House of Commons between Foxites and Pittites, the former of whom have got a majority to address the King to turn out the latter and his associates, which has produced such a chagrin in the King's mind, it is said, as has determined him to retire to Hanover, and leave this distracted country under the government of guardians of the realm, of which his son, the Prince of Wales, will be first in the commission.

Feb. 9. The extreme severity of the weather seems to ill-influence the tempers of the State managers, whose pertinacious obstinacy forebodes, by their struggles in the House of Commons, and their opposition in the House of Lords, to bring on a State convulsion. Should healing measures not soon be adopted, and the Meeting Bill run out, the army will of course be left without restraint, and the dogs of war be let loose; the consequence all have reason to dread, none fully foresee it.

Feb. 13. The two political game-cocks, Pitt and Fox, are at length to compromise, and the public business, for a while at least, be suffered to go on, which, during the contests between the House of Commons on the one side, and the King supported by the House of Lords on the other, has stagnated, to the great reproach of the contenders, and injury of the public interest, which, however, in this period of venality

and selfishness, seems to be a consideration of the smallest importance, if any at all.

Feb. 17. Received several letters from Salem, encouraging me to hope I may be permitted to return to my native country.

FROM WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ.

SALEM, *Jan.* 2, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

I have made inquiry amongst your friends, and all agree that although there seems to be no prospect of a repeal of the laws against Absentees, yet the inhabitants of this town, the committees, and all orders, seem very desirous of your returning in the spring. As Mr. Cabot, by whom I shall send this, is urgent for it, and can inform you of the present temper and disposition of the people towards you, it will be needless for me to give you particulars. Assurances from hence as to security, etc., while the laws remain unrepealed, we cannot give you, other than private opinion only. Mr. Cabot will acquaint you, and, by what Mr. Vans says, you will have it in letters from several, that there is little or no danger of any prosecutions on the laws but from the respective towns, committees, etc., where the Absentee belonged; and all seem to agree there can be, from present appearances, no danger from any of this town. Mr. Cabot will acquaint you as to the successes of all who have returned hither, and as to such as have returned to other States. At Providence, and in some parts of Connecticut, those who returned have been more cordially received and treated, and we hope a like temper will take place in Massachusetts in the spring and summer. Alcock *evasit et abdicavit* with bag and baggage, and Whitaker seems to be hastening after him. These two politicians seem to have been the authors and promoters of more mischief than it is possible that any two who are left behind them either should or would effect, or even attempt. They resembled Swift's committee of ways and means for continuing the war and promoting malevolence and contention as long as possible; but at length they became contemned and deserted by all, and I cannot recollect any better

proof or assurance you can have than the fate of these two persons as to the temper of the people of this town, and as to their disposition for peace and benevolence. However, you will doubtless attend to what you see in the public prints, as the Resolves of Assemblies in this and the other States, and judge for yourself. Mr. Dana has returned from Russia, and if you return here, during his continuance among us, it may prove a fortunate circumstance to you, as I have heard him repeatedly say much in favor of your attachments, connections, etc.

I remain, dear sir, most respectfully, your friend,

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

Feb. 28. Mr. Pitt by invitation in the city, at Grocer's Hall, Cheapside; great throngs attended; he was drawn in his carriage by men. Returning late in the night, he was assaulted, and his and other carriages broken to pieces by men armed with bludgeons; supposed, not without reason, by Fox's party, and his party's encouragement, — a peevish, ill-judged resentment.

March 7. Met Mr. William Walter, late from Nova Scotia, who at first sight recollected me and spoke; my eye and memory weakened by age, and his features somewhat hardened, I could not suddenly recognize him.

March 16. Met my friend and countryman, Mr. Isaac Smith, on the eve of his departure for Boston; took him home to tea, but could not persuade him to pass the evening, being before engaged with the "*Dr. Franklin Club*," at London Tavern.

March 20. Mr. Pitt, the great popular Minister, because Charles J. Fox's antagonist, who is become *the man of the people*, (as Fox and his supporters arrogantly assumed to be, now the *popular odium*, on account of his East India Bill,) dined this day at the London Tavern, being the third public dinner of late in the city; and who in his turn will probably, before the expiration of many months, be as much condemned and hissed as he is now caressed and applauded, — the popular breath rarely if ever long keeps one direction.

March 26. Proclamation issued for dissolving Parliament, this being the third session, the House of Commons proving refractory and unyielding to the King's measures and servants, young Pitt, Thurlow, Gower, etc. The great seal was stolen last night from Lord Thurlow's, Great Ormond-street, with two swords and thirty guineas.

April 3. Accompanied my friend, Mr. Isaac Smith, and his brother in a post-chaise to Gravesend, the former being bound to Boston in the ship *United States*. Lodged at the Falcon Inn.

April 4. Took a long stroll to Milton Abbey; saw the small remains of its ruins.

April 6. The poll finished at Guildhall; the four former city members rechosen. A Mr. Cooper, owner of a wine vault, stated at my lodgings that contested elections generally consumed six thousand hogsheads of port wine extra, and that twenty-four thousand was the average yearly consumption of Great Britain and Ireland.

April 8. Mr. Alleyn, at Treasury, stated that no payment would be made these two months at soonest, for the public embarrassments will greatly delay our quarterly payments.

April 10. Drank tea at Mr. De Berdt's, where met General Reed, late from Philadelphia.

April 14. Visited Col. Willard at No. 81 Charlotte-street, Portland-Place, to inquire about Government's offer to convey Refugees inclined to reside in Nova Scotia, with allowance to be continued as if in England.

April 30. Walked to Limehouse Church; returned by Stepney churchyard, and saw therein a tomb inclosed within iron rails, in form of a coffin, said to contain the remains of a wife buried above ground in compliance with the will of a testator, who gave the husband an estate on that condition: he is depicted on a glass window fronting the burial-ground as looking out at her tomb. Afterwards, at New England Coffee-House, met Mr. Cox, who asked me to tea with young Smith; which I accepted, meeting there his father-in-law and Mr. Jackson of Newburyport.

May 2. Attended service at Limehouse Church; Dr.

Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, preached a most excellent charity sermon to a crowded assembly. Bidding prayer was long, catholic, and charmingly delivered; concluding sentence was, "*Now to the King eternal*," etc., instead of the usual one, "*Now to God the Father, God the Son*," etc. His enunciation is loud, sonorous and manly, his person robust and tall.

May 3. Attended the scrutiny in Aldermen's room, Guildhall, between Sawbridge and Atkinson, a case decided in favor of an Act of Parliament against city right of aldermen's consent to the removal of a livery man from one company to another, without which it was asserted he was disqualified to vote for a member of Parliament, although of the livery and free.

May 4. Mr. Danforth met me, and together we visited Mrs. Hay and staid till eight o'clock.

FROM WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ.

SALEM, *March* 2, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

As Messrs. Sparhawk, Bartlett, and others are going in the *Pilgrim*, it will be needless to attempt giving you a particular account of occurrences here. You will doubtless hear from them of the alteration in the temper of the people towards Absentees, particularly of our town. Alcock's going off, (or absconding,) with Dr. Whitaker's sinking in the esteem of the people, even at the fish-market and brandy-shops, has produced a good effect; many show their disapprobation, and some their utter detestation, of certain intolerant dispositions and persecuting measures.

I said nothing about our Social Library, because of the present state of our finances and the want of regular meetings of the society. Mr. E. Hasket Derby has lately imported a considerable library of modern books, which proved to be very dear, as many think, and might have been purchased much cheaper by you; therefore the proprietors wish to avail themselves of your advice and assistance, whether you shall continue in England or return hither. I find Mr. D. Oliver,

third son of your good friend Andrew Oliver, Esq., goes also in the *Pilgrim*. All who can cross the Atlantic seem determined to go and procure their goods from England; not one discovers a disposition to receive them from France, notwithstanding their generosity towards us. Going to England is now as formerly called *going home*.

Many of our politicians seem desirous of seeing an English Ambassador in America to balance the increasing interest and influence of France, whose intrigues perplex and alarm us. You doubtless have heard of Mr. Dana's return from the Court of Russia without concluding a commercial treaty there: he is now chosen a Member of Congress, and is is soon to set out, warmly engaged in opposition to French politics.

I have advised Mr. Oliver to seek you out and inform you about us all, who wish and expect your return in the summer; as he is young, and a stranger, I doubt not you will notice him and render him all the kind offices which you may observe him to need. I have desired Mr. Bartlett to advise with you as to some of the latest and best plays, farces, etc., which we wish much to see.

March 4. The *Pilgirm* not sailing this morning, I find time to recollect an omission I made last night. Some Americans have lately returned *viâ* Philadelphia to Boston, among them William McNeal, who went off with the troops from thence, and E. Williams, who was an officer in the British service at New York, and now receives half-pay. McNeal, by means of the Committee of Safety, was taken up and used roughly on account of his conduct, as it is said, during the blockade at Boston; but Williams met with no insult or obstruction there or at Salem, but is gone into the country to settle his affairs and then return to Nova Scotia. It is true he did not choose needlessly to go to the parade, or insurance offices, etc., but went about Salem visiting his particular friends, and met with no indecency in the streets or elsewhere. Many have urged me heretofore to write, that you might return and reside here without the least danger or insult; but while such as Alcock and Whitaker had the lead,

I could not think nor say so. Now I may safely tell you what I have heard heretofore in the market-place, from some that are most desirous now for your return: — "Oh, let them return, by all means; but they must remember that they are to down on their knees to the General Court in the first place, to the committee in the next, and to their townsmen too, and ask pardon, and then we may even let them stay among us, provided they behave as they ought; even your Col. Browne himself must submit to this."

Your own and your friends' feelings require no observation on such insolence. This cannot now tend in the least to discourage your return; lest it should heretofore, I thought best not to mention it. Farewell.

Yours truly,

WILLIAM PYNCHON.

TO WILLIAM PYNCHON, ESQ., SALEM.

LONDON, *May* 9, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your favor of the 2d and 4th March was delivered into my hands by Mr. Bartlett, the sight of whom was as unexpected as agreeable. He acquaints me with an event foretold to the late Mr. Barnard and myself at Hartford, some thirteen years ago, by a clergyman of that town, concerning the mischievous incendiary (Dr. Whitaker) lately dismissed from the remnant of God's heritage over which he had for too long a time lorded, viz.: that this proud, restless, turbulent spirit would not suffer him to continue long without attempting to disturb the peace of all within reach of his pernicious influence, and must force the neighborhood sooner or later to banish him. I confess, though at this great distance of time and place, I cannot resist the most pleasurable sensations on hearing this event. Whatever is the cause of an alteration in the people's notions, the effects probably will prove advantageous to their characters and interest.

My design being to continue in England till autumn, if the proprietors of the Social Library shall think me likely to serve their interest in the purchase of books, no exertion shall

be wanting in my power to do them justice. There is one circumstance relating to books with which you may be unacquainted: the first edition of a book of character and quick sale bears a high price till the run has abated; besides, the modish outside dress, emblematic of the taste of the age, enhances the price not a little. Second-hand books, and those out of the tonish line, may generally be bought reasonably; books of amusement and the beauties of modern writers are in common estimation, and sell dear.

Respecting Mr. Hasket Derby's library, if it was sent through a merchant, probably an addition was put to the bookseller's price of at least 25 per cent., not an uncommon practice here.

Your mention of young Mr. Daniel Oliver is sufficient to recommend him to my respect and notice, if he shall see fit to desire it; without which it is not likely I may see him, being rarely in the way of Americans, having forsaken the New England Coffee-House, grown old, the transatlantics young and unknown to me, and their manners and language unpleasing.

The easy credit obtained here is astonishing, and characterizes truly this nation, who are credulous, generous, unsuspecting, and wealthy beyond belief; if great mutual complaints and sufferings do not follow the immense indiscriminate exports to America, I shall be much out of my reckoning.

It will not be surprising to me if French politics will be as much execrated among you as they were admired and praised during the war; it is morally impossible, that, despotic as the Court of Versailles is, she can relish the Republican principles and maxims of the United States longer than she can make them subservient to her own ambitious purposes. All the world knows the ruin of Great Britain was the only object of her assisting America to throw off her dependence, and the folly of her statesmen has aided the views of that intriguing power. Never had this country a fairer opportunity of disappointing the pernicious views of her rival neighbors than the present, were there a public spirit in this in-

fatuated nation; but, alas! a regard to the public welfare is no more to be found among its rulers. However indignantly I behold the conduct of her neighbors, I confess France should be considered only as a rival power, striving to give the law to a State that has for more than a century made it a professed principle to thwart all her political views. I hope your people will have more wisdom than to permit an aristocratic spirit to take place among you; for of all civil oppressions that is most intolerable.

I sincerely thank you for all your favors, particularly the last; the contents of your letters might have been published at the market-cross without injury to your character in the height of the war, unless with such persons as Alcock and Whitaker, whose mad party zeal construed into guilt every innocent word and act of those they were disposed to slander and vilify. I am, with great truth,

Your faithful and grateful friend,

S. Curwen.

May 9. After service, proceeded to Mr. Danforth's lodgings to take him by agreement to Kensington Gardens, where after a few turns adjourned to "Adam and Eve" ordinary. Mr. Samuel Porter and young Farnham afterwards joined us in the gardens, which we found excessively crowded; among others the Duke of Chartres, brother of the French King, and two other French noblemen.

May 11. Saw John Sparhawk, from (near) Portsmouth, for the first time.

May 13. Saw Captain Ingersoll from Salem.

May 15. With Mr. Bartlett purchased plays for Mr. Pynchon, and law-books for Mr. Ward. Mr. Bartlett presented me with a medal struck in Philadelphia: in a round compartment stands, "U. S.....5.... 1783;" round, "*Libertas et Justitia;*" on the other side, in the centre, an eye surrounded by a glory; the whole encompassed by *thirteen stars*, — with the legend, "*Nova Constellatio.*"

May 17. To Covent Garden; abode an hour amidst very numerous throngs, this being the last day of polling, and Fox

to be chaired; it is feared great riots and destruction will be the consequence. The foot-guards and a squadron of horse are ordered to hold themselves in readiness, and approach within a callable distance. In the afternoon went to Covent Garden, now emptied; the company gone to attend Mr. Fox's procession, — the hustings removed, and all the stands taken down. Proceeded thence to Charing Cross, which, to my surprise, I found crowded; the procession then just beginning to march by from Westminster Hall, in the following order: — The officers of each parish distinct, with their peculiar standards, attending two and two, with wands in their hands; bands of music; next gentlemen on horseback; then others on foot; in the rear was Mr. Byng, whose appearance was announced by "*Byng and Fox forever!*" Then followed a few horsemen; then *Mr. Fox*, mounted on a lofty chair, on and around interwoven with a laurel bower almost encompassing him; soon after appeared a lofty white silk banner, with this inscription, — "*Sacred to female patriotism;*" and was immediately followed by the Duchesses of Portland and Devonshire in their coaches, around which were laurel festoons, each drawn by six horses; the whole concluded with about thirty private carriages. An innumerable crowd attended, and with vociferous acclamations, but no riot nor mobbing; Government having wisely provided the horse and foot-guards, which probably discouraged the ill-disposed.

May 20. Parson Walter and Mr. Danforth visited me and took tea.

May 21. Visited by Captain Ingersoll, from Salem, from whom I have heard more particulars relative to the present state of the town and its inhabitants than for several years.

TO WILLIAM VANS, ESQ., SALEM.

LONDON, *May* 21, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

Your favor of 2d January, was, I acknowledge, unexpected, but did not surprise me, though at this late day. *The difference of your sentiments from mine and those of my mistaken friends*, needed not to have caused the destruction of your

former letter; for how wide soever our political notions have been, or perhaps now are, that letter, I dare say, conceived in purity of intention, and brought forth in decency of expression, could not have failed to prove informative and amusing; and on that score a welcome present. Besides, I sit in judgment on no man; wishing for candor towards myself, I think it my duty to practise it in my turn to all; referring it to God alone to approve or condemn, who alone has the right; and to knaves and fools who have none, to usurp that right.

The doubts that have hitherto discouraged my attempting to trust the faithless waves again, are derived from more than one source. However wanting in respect the appellation, I had rather be accounted a timid friend, a light you say I am viewed in, than an enemy; a reproach I am not conscious to have deserved.

Your report of the returned penitents to their former habitations, strengthens my belief of lenity towards myself, should I ever be in a condition to stand in need of such *lenity*. However, if I rightly understand the meaning of your caution to address to the care of a friend, you yourself, sanguine and positive as you are of the safety of my person and property, think it a proper precaution to slip behind the curtain for a while after entering on the Territories of the United States; a part, Mr. Vans, I shall on no account stoop to act, dissimulation being no part of my character, and I am too late in life to assume new habits.

I am well pleased to hear of the singular moderation of the town of Salem; if other towns have been violent in words only, as your letter intimates, their character is greatly injured and the public abused.

Having answered your letter, I now take leave, after subscribing myself, with due regards,

Your friend,

S. Curwen.

June 8. William Browne, lately arrived from Gibraltar, where he served as an officer during the siege, son of Colonel

Browne, now Governor of Bermudas, called on me after an interval of six years; he appears intelligent, and his manners much refined.

June 11. To my townsman, S. Porter's lodgings, Kensington, through the gardens. There seems no inclination in him or any Refugees to return back; fed, I presume, with delusive hopes of a compensation, or rather deluding themselves with ungrounded expectations founded only in their vain wishes and desires of Court compassion, which may be justly added to Lord Rochester's list of ideal nothings.

June 19. At one o'clock the funeral procession of Sir Barnard Turner, Sheriff, passed through Bishopgate-street amidst great crowds, though much lessened by the delay which the populace mistook for its being laid aside; the body had been arrested after it was put into the hearse, in the street, for a considerable debt, which was afterwards compromised, on whose or what account is variously stated. The hearse was preceded by two lines of the Artillery Association, headed by an officer and five privates abreast, their firelocks reversed, marching in slow pace, muffled drums beating, trumpets sounding, and other instruments playing the 104th psalm tune; the hearse was adorned with large flowing plumes of ostrich-feathers, just before which was led the horse of the deceased, dressed in black; on the saddle were laid the hat, sword, and boots crossed. A small detachment of the artillery company followed the carriage of the deceased and those of his brother sheriffs; after which the whole closed by fourteen carriages, each drawn by two pair of horses; the whole was to proceed nine miles, to Tottenham; solemn and pompous in the extreme.

June 22. At New England Coffee-House read Mr. Pitt's speech and motion to stop the smuggling of tea, by a repeal of the heavy duty on that article, and substituting a lighter one; and to prevent any injury to the revenue, by laying an additional house and window tax, whereby the poor and middling classes will be eased; and the burden, as it ought, will lay on the wealthy. Polling in the Borough for the election of a member in the room of the late Sir Barnard

Turner; candidates, Sir Richard Hotham, and Mr. Paul Mesurier.

FROM HON. JONATHAN SEWALL.

BRISTOL, *June* 28, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

Accept my thanks for your kind communication of your intentions to revisit America, and for your obliging offer of accepting any services I may wish to trouble you with. I am clear in my judgment that you are perfectly right in your present determination; you have taken no active part, — your family has remained unmolested, and Mr. F. Cabot assures me that, whenever you choose to return, you will be received with the warmest cordiality by all your old friends, and will receive no insult from any; in short, that you may go as safely as he can. This was his closing expression. You have not told me when you intend to embark; if you think proper to give me seasonable notice of the time, perhaps I may trouble you with the care of one or two letters, provided you dare be the bearer of them from an *alien — traitor* by law, *vide Act of* 1779. If you have any qualms, as I don't know but you may, upon good grounds, give me but a hint of your fears or wishes, and I shall conform to either, as my letters will be of no importance to myself or my correspondents, — no treason, no politics, I assure you. If you go, as I with twenty-eight others still remain exiles, it is not probable we shall ever see each other again in this world. God only knows what kind of one the next will be, whether more or less dirty; be it what it may, if we meet I shall most joyfully take you by the hand. Indeed I don't absolutely despair of seeing you again in this strange world, for upon my soul, though I was born and bred yet I am a stranger in it; but my design is to go out to N. Scotia this autumn or early in the spring; there, if you wish, you may see me, but while the unjust, illiberal, lying Act of 1779 remains unrepealed, never will I set foot on the Territories of the Thirteen United Independent States. I feel no resentment against them. I wish them more happiness in their

unnatural independence than my judgment allows me to hope for them; but I have been mistaken throughout the whole voyage; yet, however I may have been out in my former opinions, I wish my judgment may still be erroneous, — I wish, most sincerely, my native country may meet all the happiness she has sought, *per fas et nefas*. She thinks she has obtained it: I wish she may not be mistaken; but I have my doubts.

Mrs. Sewall accepts with thanks your compliments, and returns them most cordially; my sister, whom you kindly remember, died, poor girl, on the 17th of May last, after a paralytic stroke about three months before. I think I may say, she has gone with as few faults on her head as any of us can expect to go with. I miss her greatly, — but why should we complain?

I am your humble servant and sincere friend,

JONA. SEWALL.

TO HON. JUDGE SEWALL, BRISTOL.

LONDON, *June* 29, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

On some accounts I shall return to America with reluctance, having many doubts on my mind of meeting such a reception as will encourage my continued abode in that land of purity, sanctity and liberty. I feel too independent a spirit within to apprehend or regard any danger from Republican licentiousness, which ever has been my contempt and abhorrence.

The following *inter nos*. The success of my application to the Commissioners, now sitting in the Treasury, I am as yet ignorant of; my memorial or petition was this day delivered in, and is to be considered to-morrow. Whatever shall be the event I shall endeavor to support the same spirit, though a success equal to my supposed just expectations would serve as pillars or buttresses in an old tottering edifice, to add strength and support thereto.

Please make my compliments to your family, and to Mr. Samuel Sewall, if in your neighborhood.

Dear sir, your affectionate friend, etc.,

S. CURWEN.

June 29. After composing the following petition, I proceeded with it to the Treasury, — dubious of its fate or fortune : —

" To the Commissioners appointed by act of Parliament to consider the sufferings and service of the American Loyalists :

" The petition of Samuel Curwen humbly showeth : That your petitioner was forced to abandon his home and dwelling by the repeated menaces of the people within a few days after the unhappy rencounter at Lexington, who reproached all persons with the invidious appellation of *Tories*, as they chose to call such as did not openly accuse the King's troops as aggressors, were for supporting law and order, and for forbearing future violences ; among which number your petitioner was one. Taking refuge aboard a vessel bound to Philadelphia, he arrived there, hoping to find an asylum from outrage and indignity ; but in this he was mistaken, for though that city had during all former wars shown a manifest dislike to military levies and arrangements, and when in the late dispute, a singular moderation ; at this period the political frenzy had risen to an equal height as in New England, and your petitioner was soon informed that that city could prove no refuge to him, even by those friends under whose protection he sought for safety ; the only condition of his continuing there was a public renunciation of his principles, acknowledging his errors, and promising future obedience to the new assumed powers. Loth to be held up to the public in so disgraceful and mortifying a view, and to confess a falsehood, he took the only alternative in his power. All communication with the northward by sea being forbidden by the city Committee of Safety and Inspection, lest General Gage's troops at Boston should be supplied with flour, etc., and by land no letters could be sent but under the inspection of the State inquisitors, — the regular post-office es-

tablished by act of Parliament being shut up, and travelling by land dangerous to any but those called *Sons of Liberty*,— he therefore took shipping again, and after a series of dangers in a very tedious passage, arrived in London, where and in the country he has resided to the present time, subsisting whilst his own stock lasted on that, and since on the public bounty. Having received some overtures since the peace took place from some of his townsmen of Salem, which, together with the sad derangement of his affairs there, makes him wish to revisit his native country of New England, but the advices from his friends rendering it still doubtful whether he can with safety and comfort pass the remainder of his days there, — being near the verge of threescore years and ten, — he proposes therefore to retreat to Nova Scotia, or one of the royal Colonies, in case he cannot obtain a resettlement on the forementioned conditions, and therefore humbly requests liberty to appoint an agent here to receive the usual allowance hitherto indulged him, and for so long a time as may be judged proper to continue it.

"And your petitioner, as in duty bound, etc.,

"Samuel Curwen."

July 2. Went to Treasury; returned *re infecta*, not a little deranged but not much disappointed; my expectations from Court not being high, I can suffer but rarely any inconvenience, taking care not to put myself in the way of frequent mortification. The present application is of a kind I should have thought not liable to a repulse, many such favors having been already granted, if the request deserves not rather the appellation of a just demand.

July 5. Went to the Treasury, and there received the agreeable information that the Commissioners had granted my petition to appoint an agent to receive my quarterly allowance after my departure from England, on making satisfactory proof of my being alive at the successive periods of payment. From this I date an end to my doubts respecting my embarkation; its issue time must reveal.

July 7. Made an early visit to Mr. Gorham, to talk on the subject of our passage with Capt. Ingersoll.

July 8. On 'Change met Capt. Folger and John Sparhawk, both of whom I wish to embark with Mr. Gorham and myself with Capt. Ingersoll. Mr. Jonathan Jackson called on me for a letter of introduction to Mr. George Russell, of Birmingham, which I cheerfully gave, acquainting Mr. Russell that he possessed an unblemished reputation and extensive property, in case he may form any commercial arrangement there.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND, EXETER.

LONDON, *July* 9, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

I could not, with my strong sense of obligation to Mr. Bretland for the many instances of respectful attention received from him during my residence in the West, leave England without acknowledging them. My departure from London will be within a fortnight; a voyage at this late hour of my life is an undertaking, even were the prospects bright, I would gladly dispense with, but duty and interest call too loudly to be resisted. I presume your acquaintance on the western continent lies in a very narrow compass; however, if it shall be in my power to serve or amuse you in respect to the concerns in that distant quarter, I shall feel myself obliged by gratifying your wish.

I know not in what employment I am to pass the small remnant of my days, should Providence permit my safe return home; but I shall not think part of it ill-bestowed in directing and assisting the studies and pursuits of my niece's children, who are just of an age to receive useful ideas: with regard to the English, Latin, and Greek tongues, I shall esteem it a peculiar favor if you will be pleased to forward me a list of books and the order in which they should be used. Very truly your friend.

S. CURWEN.

July 10. To the Treasury; found the American door besieged by a score of mendicants like myself, waiting their turns, — though I thought my early attendance would have

entitled me to No. 1, I was glad to stand No. 21; so great was the crowd that I was more than once about to depart and leave them.

July 11. With Capt. Coombs took an airing to the Tower, having encompassed it on the ramparts, and taken a view of the American thirteen stripes flying on eight vessels lying in one tier; the first view I ever distinctly had of their independent naval glory. Arranged about going with Capt. Ingersoll.

July 16. Gave a power of attorney to George Bainbridge, of Bread-street, to receive my pension quarterly.

July 18. Mr. Cassini, the French mathematician, having presented through his Ambassador in London a memorial, praying that some person would undertake to carry triangles from Greenwich to Dover to meet the French at Calais, in order to determine the exact distance between the observatories of Paris and Greenwich, his Majesty, who is ever ready to patronize useful schemes, immediately granted one thousand pounds for the carrying it on, and General Roy was, by his own consent, fixed upon for the undertaking.

TO REV. JOSEPH BRETLAND, EXETER, DEVON.

LONDON, *July* 19, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

Your obliging favor of the 17th is just received. For a long time I was flattered with the expectation that my philosophical acquaintance would comply with his promise to answer your favor, till I had in truth forgotten I had not written you, and my delay arose from his, which at last ended in a refusal. He seems to value himself on a freedom from the shackles of fear, and thinks that an advantage which no believer in the existence of a Deity can boast of, and to that principle refers all those labored treatises to prove one; and though fully convinced of the truth of his system, is satisfied a universal belief of them in the present state of things would not be productive of beneficial effects in society, which to me is instead of a thousand arguments to manifest their falsity.

I would with unfeigned pleasure travel further than the distance between us to meet my worthy friend, but unless the weather prevent, or some unforeseen accident intervene, to which human affairs are liable, I shall take shipping within four days. It repents me much that I had not availed myself of leisure to have visited you; but past neglects may be, like this, lamented, not repaired.

Your kind information in respect to method of teaching, I thank you for; your friendly caution I take in good part, and shall not fail to attend to it; and your request, you may depend on my compliance with.

Be pleased to make my respectful compliments to all friends. I remain, with real regard,

Yours,

S. Curwen.

July 20. Went to Mr. Copley's, George-street, Hanover-Square, to take my leave of him, and pay my last compliments to his father-in-law, Mr. R. Clarke, and the family. Mr. Copley absent at Tunbridge.

July 22. Accompanied by Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, breakfasted on board ship *Union*, Capt. Jonathan Ingersoll, wherein I have engaged my passage to Boston; met Benjamin Pickman the elder and younger. Dined at Mr. De Berdt's, in company with General Joseph Reed, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Gorham; also drank tea and passed the evening there.

July 25, *Sunday.* Attended worship at Mr. Lindsay's Chapel, Essex-street, Strand; took my final leave of Mr. Lindsay and Dr. Disney at the chapel door.

July 28. Took leave at lodgings 107 Bishopgate-street within, and porceeded to the ship *Union*, lying at Irongate, where I propose to abide till my arrival at Gravesend. Paid twenty guineas in part for my passage-money. From henceforth I bid an everlasting farewell to London. At ten o'clock the Tower guns, to the number of eighty, were discharged; this being the day appointed by Royal Proclamation to be observed as a thanksgiving for the general peace. Despatched a boat to bring Capt. Coombs from his brig *Minerva;* Capt. Patterson and Cleves also drank tea with us.

Aug. 1. Proceeded down the river with a fair wind.

Aug. 2. Anchored off Deal.

Aug. 3. Capt. Ingersoll with two passengers arrived on board; immediately after the ship broke ground, and in an hour entered the Channel; and now hey for the ocean.

Aug. 4. This morning all our passengers breakfasted together for the first time; their names, Nathaniel Gorham, William Smith, Lewis and Francis Deblois, of Boston, a Mr. Isle, and myself.

Aug. 6. Stood in for St. Helen's Road; thence proceeded to Cowes harbor, Isle of Wight, where we anchored; went ashore, took tea and supped at the Vine Inn.

Aug. 7. With four fellow-passengers took coach for Newport, the only borough town on the island, consisting of four hundred houses; it lies at the head of water beyond Cowes five miles; remarkable for no manufactures or productions, natural or artificial: thence trudged it on foot to Carisbrook Castle, on an eminence a mile or more distant, now in ruins, and inhabited by a family named Poney, consisting of two or three maidens and their servants. The church is a living of £120 per annum. After dinner we all set off for our ship.

Aug. 8. Got under weigh, and at six o'clock are now in the bay, steering for Lymington Road, where we arrived at nine o'clock and anchored, waiting for the ebb to carry us through the Needles at a league's distance. These rocks lie on the island side of the entrance, and on the opposite shore of the main land of England. On a point, of a mile or so in length, stands *Hurst Castle*, remarkable in history for being the prison of King Charles, not long before his execution.

Aug. 10. Supposed off Berryhead, at five leagues distant. Afternoon changed our course and entered Dartmouth harbor.

Aug. 11. At six o'clock, A. M., in the offing, *Start* bearing N. by E., four leagues distant; dead calm; ten vessels in sight.

Aug. 13. Spoke brig *Paragon*, twenty-eight days out from Alexandria, with Mr. and Mrs. Hughes on board.

Sept. 25. Arrived at Boston, and at half past three o'clock landed at the end of Long Wharf, after an absence of nine years and five months, occasioned by a lamented civil war, excited by ambitious, selfish men here and in England, to the disgrace, dishonor, distress, and disparagement of these extensive territories. By plunder and rapine some few have accumulated wealth, but many more are greatly injured in their circumstances; some have to lament over the wreck of their departed wealth and estates, of which pitiable number I am; my affairs having sunk into irretrievable ruin.

TO CAPT. MICHAEL COOMBS, LONDON.

SALEM, MASS. *Oct.* 9, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

This day fortnight, at half past three P. M., I landed on the head of the Long Wharf, in Boston, being the first American ground I had touched since May 12, 1775, when I departed from Philadelphia. It is no less strange than unaccountable, how low, mean and diminutive everything on shore appeared to me. On Sunday, being the day following, I left for this place, where I alighted at the house of my former residence, and not a man, woman, or child, but expressed a satisfaction at seeing me, and welcomed me back. Thus much for myself.

The few things for your *widow* I have delivered into her hands, and I find her a woman of uncommon vigor and equanimity, nor do I think one to be met with who has better acquitted herself in the late trying times. By her resolution she has preserved the household furniture from confiscation and waste, and your account-books from inspection, though menaced and flattered by the State agents. The melancholy derangement of my own affairs has so entirely unsettled me that I can scarce attend to anything. I think it very unlikely my house can be saved.[1] It shall be among my first engagements to attend to your affairs.

With real regard, your friend,

S. CURWEN.

[1] It was saved from confiscation.

TO JONATHAN SMITH, ESQ., PHILADELPHIA.

SALEM, *Oct.* 9, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

A few days since I returned to the place of my nativity, after an absence of more than nine years, in which interval I find great revolutions to have taken place, not only with regard to the civil and political state of America in general, but also with respect to the property of individuals. Whilst some from the narrowest and basest condition have arisen to high honors and great wealth, others from comfortable, reputable, and even respectable and affluent, have fallen into indigent and distressed circumstances; and although the latter is not exactly my case, I confess myself verging to that point; my affairs are sadly deranged, but I hope time and application will cure the disorder. For that purpose, I beg you will forward to me a box containing my account-books left in your father's hands for security during my absence.

Your most obedient servant,

S. CURWEN.

TO CAPT. MICHAEL COOMBS, LONDON.

SALEM, *Nov.* 15, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

I have waited on Mr. Sewall,[1] a lawyer of your town; from him I learn he has undertaken to procure the necessary papers, and will, at my pressing instance, set about it immediately; my argument being constantly, *delay is almost as fatal to my friend as total neglect.*

I am now to congratulate you on the salvation of your wharf and warehouse from the villainous hands of the rapacious harpies, the Commissioners; that part of your real estate, by great luck, was neglected in the libel by which your other was seized and confiscated, and therefore it still remains your property. What debts are claimed and proved, must, by the law that confiscates, be levied on and taken out of the

[1] Mr. Samuel Sewall, of Marblehead, afterwards Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

estate sold, the remainder escheats to the public treasury. But so infamously knavish has been the conduct of the Commissioners, that though frequent attempts have been made to bring them to justice, and respond for the produce of the funds resting in their hands, so numerous are the defaulters in *that august body*, the General Court, that all efforts have hitherto proved vain. Not twopence in the pound have arrived to the public treasury of all the confiscations!

Mr. Sewall says, were you disposed, he would advise you not to come here, until the Act respecting Refugees or Absentees be passed, which will be, it is thought, this session.

The triumphant here look down with contempt on the vanquished; their little minds are not equal to the astonishing success of their feeble arms. God bless the worthy and blast the villainous of every party.[1]

Very truly yours,

S. CURWEN.

TO HON. JUDGE SEWALL, BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

SALEM, *Nov.* 22, 1784.

DEAR SIR:

I find myself completely ruined. I confess I cannot bear to stay and perish under the ruins of my late ample property, and shall, therefore, as soon as I can recover my account-books, left in Philadelphia on my departure from America, and settle my deranged affairs, retreat to Nova Scotia, unless my allowance shall be taken from me. I am ignorant whether it may be prudent to make application to the Commissioners on American Refugees' Affairs; but being here by their indulgence, I wish my allowance may continue. And if in this representation you can afford me any assistance by yourself, or in concert with Mr. Danforth, to whom I have also written, I shall thankfully acknowledge your counsel and aid, as a kind endeavor to rescue from want your old and faithful friend, S. CURWEN.

[1] Capt. Coombs, to whom the foregoing letter was addressed, and who is often mentioned in Judge Curwen's Journal, was a respectable merchant of Marblehead, Mass., to which place he returned some years after the peace, and died there at an advanced age.

1795. [The following letters were written ten years after Judge Curwen's return, when in his eightieth year. He survived several years longer, having died at Salem, April, 1802.]

TO SAMUEL CURWEN, ESQ.

DORCHESTER, *Feb.* 6, 1795.

DEAR SIR:

Many years are elapsed since I saw you. Hearing lately that you were returned to Salem, I have taken this opportunity to write to you. In the year 1741 I was taken ill, and continued poorly several years, but as Providence ordered it, got better and have kept school here fourteen years; I was Treasurer for the town thirty-seven years, and one of the Selectmen and Assessors thereof forty years. Although the most of our class that are dead seemed more likely to live long than I, yet to a wonder I am spared. It pleased God in his holy providence a few years since to deprive me of my habitation by fire; by the help of friends I have got up a house, and have so far finished it that I and my family live in it.

Be pleased to let me hear from you. If you can send a letter to Mr. Hopestill Capens, a kinsman of mine living in Boston, near the market, I hope I shall receive it. If you come to Boston, be pleased to come over and see me; I live within four miles of the State-House.

From your classmate,

NOAH CLAP.

TO NOAH CLAP.

SALEM, *Feb.* 18, 1795.

MY FRIEND CLAP:

Your unexpected but agreeable letter of the 6th inst. was received about a week since, wherein you say you are among the very few of our fellow-students and classmates that are still in the land of the living. This has been a subject of my frequent thoughts and inquiry; the result follows: Willis, Clap, Cook, Curwen, Parsons, Smith, Pierce, Snell; Hovey

uncertain.[1] You observe, "*although most of our classmates that are dead and gone seemed more likely to live than I*," etc.; on which I remark, it is a subject of constant observation among persons of thought and reflection, to which by experience I subscribe, that most of those whose health-promising countenances, lively spirits, and great bodily strength promise long life, are most commonly cut off in the midst of life, while the more feeble, complaining, and those frequently confined by illness, are continued to a comparatively long life, and rendered capable of more enjoyment than in the days of youth and middle age, of which number I profess myself to be one. Thanks to the gracious Being who has, in mercy I hope, lengthened my life to one of the longest periods in these days, being entered, more than two months, in my eightieth year; which I presume is your length of years.

Agreeably to your invitation, I shall, when the roads and weather prove favorable for travelling, continue my next journey as far as your dwelling, and in the mean time I remain, with due regards,

Your friend and well-wisher,

S. Curwen.

[1] Judge Curwen was of the class (thirty-eight in number) graduated at Harvard College in 1735; of whom it seems eight, and perhaps nine, were living in 1795.

Samuel Bowen

Past 70 Years old

April 7: 1786.

SUPPLEMENT;

CONTAINING

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS,

AND

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF INDIVIDUALS

MENTIONED IN THE FOREGOING WORK.

SUPPLEMENT.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

ADDRESS OF THE MERCHANTS AND OTHERS OF BOSTON TO GOV. HUTCHINSON.

BOSTON, *May* 30, 1774.

WE, merchants and traders of the town of Boston, and others, do now wait on you, in the most respectful manner, before your departure for England, to testify, for ourselves, the entire satisfaction we feel at your wise, zealous, and faithful administration, during the few years that you have presided at the head of this Province. Had your success been equal to your endeavors, and to the warmest wishes of your heart, we cannot doubt that many of the evils under which we now suffer would have been averted, and that tranquillity would have been restored to this long divided Province; but we assure ourselves that the want of success in those endeavors will not abate your good wishes when removed from us, or your earnest exertions still on every occasion to serve the true interest of this your native country.

While we lament the loss of so good a Governor, we are greatly relieved that his Majesty, in his gracious favor, hath appointed as your successor a gentleman, who, having distinguished himself in the long command he hath held in another department, gives us the most favorable prepossessions of his future administration.

We greatly deplore the calamities that are impending and will soon fall on this metropolis, by the operation of a late Act of Parliament for shutting up the port on the first of next month. You cannot but be sensible, sir, of the numberless evils that will ensue to the Province in general, and the miseries and distresses into which it will particularly involve this town, in the course of a few months. Without meaning to arraign the justice of the British Parliament, we could

humbly wish that this Act had been couched with less rigor, and that the execution of it had been delayed to a more distant time, that the people might have had the alternative either to have complied with the conditions therein set forth, or to have submitted to the consequent evils on refusal; but as it now stands, all choice is precluded, and however disposed to compliance or concession the people may be, they must unavoidably suffer very great calamities before they can receive relief. Making restitution for damage done to the property of the East India Company, or to the property of any individual, by the outrage of the people, we acknowledge to be just; and though we have ever disavowed, and do now solemnly bear our testimony against such lawless proceedings, yet, considering ourselves as members of the same community, we are fully disposed to bear our proportions of those damages, whenever the sum and the manner of laying it can be ascertained. We earnestly request that you, sir, who know our condition, and have at all times displayed the most benevolent disposition towards us, will, on your arrival in England, interest yourself in our behalf, and make such favorable representations of our case, as that we may hope to obtain speedy and effectual relief.

May you enjoy a pleasant passage to England; and under all the mortifications you have patiently endured, may you possess the inward and consolatory testimonies of having discharged your trust with fidelity and honor, and receive those distinguishing marks of his Majesty's royal approbation and favor, as may enable you to pass the remainder of your life in quietness and ease, and preserve your name with honor to posterity.

William Blair,
James Selkrig,
Archibald Wilson,
Jeremiah Green,
Samuel H. Sparhawk,
Joseph Turill,
Roberts & Co.,
John Greenlaw,
Benjamin Clark,
William McAlpine,
Jonathan Snelling,
James Hall,
William Dickson,
John Winslow, Jr.,
Theophilus Lillie,
Miles Whitworth,
James McEwen,
William Codner,
James Perkins,
John White,
Robert Jarvis,
William Perry,
James & Patrick McMasters,
William Coffin,
Simeon Stoddard, Jr.,
John Powell,
Henry Laughton,
Eliphalet Pond,

M. B. Goldthwait,
Peter Hughes,
Samuel Hughes,
John Semple,
Hopestill Capen,
Edward King,
Byfield Lynde,
George Lynde,
A. F. Phipps,
Rufus Green,
David Phips,
Richard Smith,
George Spooner,
Daniel Silsby,
William Cazneau,
James Forrest,
Edward Cox,
John Berry,
Richard Hirons,
Ziphion Thayer,
John Joy,
Joseph Goldthwait,
Samuel Prince,
Jonathan Simpson,
James Boutineau,
Nathaniel Hatch,
Martin Gay,
Joseph Scott,
Samuel Minot,
Benjamin M. Holmes,
Archibald McNiel,
George Leonard,
John Borland,
Joshua Loring, Jr.,
William Jackson,
James Anderson,
David Mitchelson,
Abraham Savage,
James Asby,
John Inman,
John Coffin,
Thomas Knight,
Benjamin Green, Jr.,
David Green,
Benjamin Green,
Henry H. Williams,
James Warden,
Nathaniel Coffin, Jr.,
Silvester Gardiner,
John S. Copley,
Edward Foster,
Colbourn Burrell,
Nathaniel Greenwood,
William Burton,
John Winslow,
Isaac Winslow, Jr.,
Thomas Oliver,
Henry Bloye,
Benjamin Davis,
Isaac Winslow,
Lewis Deblois,
Thomas Aylwin,
William Bowes,
Gregory Townsend,
Francis Green,
Philip Dumaresq,
Harrison Gray,
Peter Johonnot,
George Erving,
Joseph Green,
John Vassall,
Nathaniel Coffin,
John Timmins,
William Tailor,
Thomas Brinley,
Harrison Gray, Jr.,
John Taylor,
Gilbert Deblois,
Joshua Winslow,
Daniel Hubbard,
Hugh Turbett,
Henry Lyddell,

Nathaniel Cary,
George Brinley,
Richard Lechmere,
John Erving, Jr.,
Thomas Gray,
George Bethune,
Thomas Apthorp,
Ezekiel Goldthwaite,
Benjamin Gridley,
John Atkinson,
Ebenezer Bridgham,
John Gore,
Adino Paddock.

ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS OF MARBLEHEAD TO GOV. HUTCHINSON.

MARBLEHEAD, *May* 25, 1774.

HIS Majesty having been pleased to appoint his Excellency the Hon. Thomas Gage, Esq., to be Governor and Commander-in-Chief over this Province, and you (as we are informed) being speedily to embark for Great Britain: We, the subscribers, merchants, traders, and others, inhabitants of Marblehead, beg leave to present you our valedictory address on this occasion; and as this is the only way we now have of expressing to you our entire approbation of your public conduct during the time you have presided in this Province, and of making you a return of our most sincere and hearty thanks for the ready assistance which you have at all times afforded us, when applied to in matters which affected our navigation and commerce, we are induced, from former experience of your goodness, to believe that you will freely indulge us in the pleasure of giving you this testimony of our sincere esteem and gratitude.

In your public administration, we are fully convinced that the general good was the mark which you have ever aimed at, and we can, sir, with pleasure assure you, that it is likewise the opinion of all dispassionate thinking men within the circle of our observation, notwithstanding many publications would have taught the world to think the contrary; and we beg leave to entreat you, that, when you arrive at the Court of Great Britain, you would there embrace every opportunity of moderating the resentment of the Government against us, and use your best endeavors to have the unhappy dispute between Great Britain and this country brought to a just and equitable determination.

We cannot omit the opportunity of returning you in a particular manner our most sincere thanks for your patronizing our cause in the matter of entering and clearing the fishing vessels at the Custom-House, and making the fishermen pay hospital money; we believe it

is owing to your representation of the matter, that we are hitherto free from that burden.

We heartily wish you, sir, a safe and prosperous passage to Great Britain, and when you arrive there may you find such a reception as shall fully compensate for all the insults and indignities which have been offered you.

Henry Saunders,
Richard Hinkly,
Samuel Reed,
John Lee,
Robert Ambrose,
Jonathan Glover,
Richard Phillips,
Isaac Mansfield,
Joseph Bubier,
Richard Stacy,
Thomas Procter,
John Fowle,
Robert Hooper, 3d,
John Gallison,
John Prince,
George McCall,
Joseph Swasey,
Nathan Bowen,
Thomas Robie,
John Stimson,
John Webb,
Joseph Lee,
Thomas Lewis,
Sweet Hooper,
Robert Hooper,
Jacob Fowle,
John Pedrick,
Richard Reed,
Benjamin Marston,
Samuel White,
Joseph Hooper,
John Prentice,
Robert Hooper, Jr.

ADDRESS OF THE BARRISTERS AND ATTORNEYS OF MASSACHUSETTS TO GOV. HUTCHINSON, MAY 30, 1774.

A firm persuasion of your inviolable attachment to the real interests of this your native country, and of your constant readiness, by every service in your power, to promote its true welfare and prosperity, will, we flatter ourselves, render it not improper in us, barristers and attorneys-at-law in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, to address your Excellency upon your removal from us, with this testimonial of our sincere respect and esteem.

The various important characters of Legislator, Judge, and First Magistrate over this Province, in which, by the suffrages of your fellow-subjects, and by the royal favor of the best of kings, your great abilities, adorned with a uniform purity of principle and integrity of conduct, have been eminently distinguished, must excite the esteem and demand the grateful acknowledgments of every true lover of his country and friend to virtue.

The present perplexed state of our public affairs, we are sensible, must render your departure far less disagreeable to you than it is to us, — we assure you, sir, we feel the loss; but when, in the amiable character of your successor, we view a fresh instance of the paternal goodness of our most gracious Sovereign; when we reflect on the probability that your presence at the Court of Great Britain will afford you an opportunity of employing your interests more successfully for the relief of this Province, and particularly of the town of Boston, under their present distresses, we find a consolation which no other human source could afford. Permit us, sir, most earnestly to solicit the exertion of all your distinguished abilities in favor of your native town and country, upon this truly unhappy and distressing occasion.

We sincerely wish you a prosperous voyage, a long continuation of health and felicity, and the highest rewards of the good and faithful.

We are, sir, with the most cordial affection, esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants,

Robert Achmuty,	Sampson S. Blowers,
Jonathan Sewall,	Shearjashub Brown,
Samuel Fitch,	Daniel Bliss,
Samuel Quincy,	Samuel Porter,
William Pynchon,	David Ingersoll,
James Putnam,	Jeremiah D. Rogers,
Benjamin Gridley,	David Gorham,
Abel Willard,	Samuel Sewall,
Andrew Cazneau,	John Sprague,
Daniel Leonard,	Rufus Chandler,
John Lowell,	Thomas Danforth,
Daniel Oliver,	Ebenezer Bradish.

From the Essex Gazette of June 14, 1774.

MESSRS. HALL:

As it is generally known that an Address from the Merchants, Traders, and others, in the town of Salem, to the late Governor Hutchinson, was signed by numbers of gentlemen belonging to the town; and it being as well known that his Excellency gave his answer to the same, it remains now a matter of great speculation, especially amongst those of the town of Boston who were foremost in promoting a plan so apparently beneficial in the present exigency of

affairs in this Province, what sufficient reason can be assigned by the subscribers, (contrary to the very design of such an Address,) for then not making it public. Many conjectures might be admitted upon this matter, not to the honor of the concerned, which we shall omit for the present.

Yours,

Z. Y.

From the Essex Gazette of June 1, 1775.

SALEM, *May* 30, 1775.

Whereas we, the subscribers, did sometime since sign an Address to Governor Hutchinson, which, though prompted to by the best intentions, has, nevertheless, given great offence to our country: We do now declare, that we were so far from designing, by that action, to show our acquiescence in those Acts of Parliament so universally and justly odious to all America, that, on the contrary, we hoped we might in that way contribute to their repeal; though now to our sorrow we find ourselves mistaken. And we do now further declare that we never intended the offence which this Address has occasioned; that if we had foreseen such an event we should never have signed it; as it always has been and now is our wish to live in harmony with our neighbors, and our serious determination is to promote to the utmost of our power the liberty, the welfare, and happiness of our country, which is inseparably connected with our own.

John Nutting,
N. Goodale,
Ebenezer Putnam,
Francis Cabot,
N. Sparhawk,
Andrew Dalglish,
E. A. Holyoke,
William Pynchon,
Thomas Barnard,
Nathaniel Dabney,
William Pickman,
C. Gayton Pickman.

In Committee of Safety, Salem, May 30, 1775. The declaration, of which the above is a copy, being presented and read, it was voted unanimously that the same was satisfactory; and that the said gentlemen ought to be received and treated as real friends to this country.

By order of the Committee,

RICHARD DERBY, JR., Chairman.

In the same paper of June 1, 1775, immediately following the above, is a communication to the Committee of Safety from the late Rev. Thomas Barnard, dated May 25, 1775: —

Gentlemen:

A suspicion of being inimical to those with whom we are connected in society, and whom we esteem and love, cannot but give severe pain to a generous mind. Unhappily, I have been viewed by my countrymen in a light so disagreeable. The Address which I signed to Governor Hutchinson upon his leaving this Province, I signed with no party views, with no design whatever of injuring that country with the prosperity of which my dearest human interests are closely connected, but with strong hopes of promoting the lasting peace and welfare of my native land. But I own my fond expectations arising therefrom have been disappointed. The cause of America I look upon as capable of full defence by the voice of justice and the British Constitution; and shall be ever ready to support it in that way which the united wisdom of the Continent shall dictate.

Such are my sentiments, and upon the strength of them I would request of my countrymen to throw the veil of charity and forgiveness over any incautious action of mine which may have led them to think unfavorably of me, and to grant me a place in their esteem, which I shall ever think myself happy in deserving.

Thomas Barnard, Jr.

In Committee of Safety, Salem, May 25, 1775. — The declaration, of which the above is a copy, being presented and read, it was voted unanimously that the same was satisfactory; and that the said gentleman ought to be received and treated as a real friend to his country.

By order of the Committee,

Richard Derby, Jr., Chairman.

From the Essex Gazette, June 14, 1774.

Last Saturday, (June 11th, 1774,) the following Address was presented to his Excellency the Governor: —

To his Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Captain-General, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, and Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's Forces.

May it please your Excellency:

We, merchants and others, inhabitants of the ancient town of Salem, beg leave to approach your Excellency with our most respectful congratulations on your arrival in this place.

We are deeply sensible of his Majesty's paternal care and affection to this Province, in the appointment of a person of your Excellency's

experience, wisdom, and moderation, in these troublesome and difficult times.

We rejoice that this town is graciously distinguished for that spirit, loyalty, and reverence for the laws, which is equally our glory and happiness.

From that public spirit and warm zeal to promote the general happiness of men, which mark the great and good, we are led to hope under your Excellency's administration for everything that may promote the peace, prosperity, and real welfare of this Province.

We beg leave to commend to your Excellency's patronage the trade and commerce of this place, which, from a full protection of the liberties, persons and properties of individuals, cannot but flourish.

And we assure your Excellency we will make it our constant endeavors by peace, good order, and a regard for the laws, as far as in us lies, to render your station and residence easy and happy.

John Sargent,
Jacob Ashton,
William Wetmore,
James Grant,
Henry Higginson,
David Britton,
P. G. Kast,
Weld Gardner,
Nathaniel Dabney,
Richard Nicholls,
William Cabot,
Cabot Gerrish,
William Gerrish,
Rowland Savage,
William Lilly,
Jonathan Goodhue,
Nathan Goodale,
William Pickman,
C. Gayton Pickman,
Nathaniel Sparhawk,
William Vans,
Timothy Orne,
Richard Routh,
Stephen Higginson,
John Prince,
George Deblois,
Andrew Dalglish,
Joseph Blaney,
Archelaus Putnam,
Samuel Porter,
Thomas Poynton,
Samuel Flagg,
Benjamin Lynde,
William Browne,
John Turner,
P. Frye,
Francis Cabot,
William Pynchon,
John Fisher,
John Mascarene,
E. A. Holyoke,
Jos. Bowditch,
Ebenezer Putnam,
S. Curwen,
John Nutting,
Jos. Dowse,
Benjamin Pickman,
Henry Gardner.

THE "LOYAL ADDRESS FROM THE GENTLEMEN AND PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS OF BOSTON TO GOVERNOR GAGE, ON HIS DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND, OCTOBER 6, 1775," WAS SIGNED AS FOLLOWS: —

John Erving,
Thomas Hutchinson, Jr.,
Sylvester Gardiner,
Wm. Bowes,
John Timmins,
Nathaniel Coffin,
John Winslow, Jr.,
Alexander Bymer,
Robert Hallowell,
Robert Jarvis,
David Phips,
John Tayler,
Archibald McNeal,
Francis Green,
Benjamin Davis,
John Sampson,
William Tayler,
John Inman,
Wm. Perry,
John Gore,
Isaac Winslow, Jr.,
Thomas Courtney,
John Love,
Hugh Tarbett,
Nathaniel Perkins,
John Powell,
James Selkrig,
Archibald Cunningham,
William Cazneau,
David Barton,
John Semple,
Henry Lawton,
William Brattle,
John Troutbeck,
Stephen Greenleaf,
William Walter,
James Perkins,
Philip Dumaresque,
Joshua Loring, Jr.,
Henry Lloyd,
William Lee Perkins,
George Leonard,
Thomas Brinley,
Daniel Hubbard,
Samuel Fitch,
John Atkinson,
Joseph Turill,
Samuel Hirst Sparhawk,
Ebenezer Brigham,
William Codner,
Jonathan Snelling,
Benjamin Gridley,
Gilbert Deblois,
Edward Hutchinson,
Miles Whitworth,
Daniel McMasters,
John Hunt, 3d,
James Lloyd,
William McAlpine,
John Greecart,
William Dickerson,
William Hunter,
Robert Semple,
John Joy,
Gregory Townsend,
Isaac Winslow,
Byfield Lyde,
Richard Clarke,
Benjamin Fanieul, Jr.,
Thomas Amory,
George Brindley,
Ralph Inman,

Edward Winslow,
Benjamin M. Holmes,
William Jackson,
Richard Green,
James Murray,
Joseph Scott,
Peter Johonnot,
Nathaniel Cary,
Martin Gay,
Samuel Hughes,
William Coffin, Jr.,
Adino Paddock,
Andrew Cazneau,
Henry Lindall,
Theophilus Lillie,
Henry Barnes,
M. B. Goldthwait,
Lewis Gray,
Nathaniel Brinley,
John Jeffries, Jr.,
Archibald Bowman,
Jonathan Simpson,
Nathaniel Tayler,
James Anderson,
Lewis Deblois.

THE LOYAL ADDRESS TO GOVERNOR GAGE, ON HIS DEPARTURE, OCTOBER 14, 1775, OF THOSE GENTLEMEN WHO WERE DRIVEN FROM THEIR HABITATIONS IN THE COUNTRY TO THE TOWN OF BOSTON, WAS SIGNED BY THE FOLLOWING PERSONS: —

John Chandler,
James Putnam,
Peter Oliver, Sen.,
Seth Williams, Jr.,
Charles Curtis,
Samuel Pine,
David Phips,
Richard Saltonstall,
Peter Oliver, Jr.,
Jonathan Stearns,
Ward Chipman,
William Chandler,
Thomas Foster,
Pelham Winslow,
Daniel Oliver,
Edward Winslow, Jr.,
Nathaniel Chandler,
James Putnam, Jr.

CONSPIRACY ACT.

An Act to confiscate the Estates of certain notorious Conspirators against the Government and Liberties of the Inhabitants of the late Province, now State, of Massachusetts Bay.

Whereas the several persons hereinafter mentioned, have wickedly conspired to overthrow and destroy the Constitution and Government of the late Province of Massachusetts Bay, as established by the Charter agreed upon by and between their late Majesties William and Mary, late King and Queen of England, etc., and the inhabitants of said Province, now State of Massachusetts Bay; and also to reduce the said inhabitants under the absolute power and domination of the present King, and of the Parliament of Great Britain, and, as far as

in them lay, have aided and assisted the same King and Parliament in their endeavors to establish a despotic Government over the said inhabitants:

Sect. 1. Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that Francis Bernard, Baronet, Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., late Governor of the late Province, now State, of Massachusetts Bay, Thomas Oliver, Esq., late Lieutenant-Governor, Harrison Gray, Esq., late Treasurer, Thomas Flucker, Esq., late Secretary, Peter Oliver, Esq., late Chief Justice, Foster Hutchinson, John Erving, Jr., George Erving, William Pepperell, Baronet, James Boutineau, Joshua Loring, Nathaniel Hatch, William Browne, Richard Lechmere, Josiah Edson, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Timothy Ruggles, John Murray, Abijah Willard, and Daniel Leonard, Esqs., late Mandamus Councillors of said late Province, William Burch, Henry Hulton, Charles Paxton, and Benjamin Hallowell, Esqs., late Commissioners of the Customs, Robert Auchmuty, Esq., late Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court, Jonathan Sewall, Esq., late Attorney-General, Samuel Quincy, Esq., late Solicitor-General, Samuel Fitch, Esq., Solicitor or Counsellor-at-law to the Board of Commissioners, have justly incurred the forfeiture of all their property, rights and liberties, holden under and derived from the Government and laws of this State; and that each and every of the persons aforenamed and described shall be held, taken, deemed and adjudged to have renounced and lost all civil and political relation to this and the other United States of America, and be considered as aliens.

Sect. 2. Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the goods and chattels, rights and credits, lands, tenements and hereditaments of every kind, of which any of the persons hereinbefore named and described, were seized or possessed, or were entitled to possess, hold, enjoy or demand, in their own right, or which any other person stood or doth stand seized or possessed of, or are or were entitled to have or demand to and for their use, benefit, and behoof, shall escheat, enure and accrue to the sole use and benefit of the Government and people of this State, and are accordingly hereby declared so to escheat, enure and accrue, and the said Government and people shall be taken, deemed and adjudged, and are accordingly hereby declared to be in the real and actual possession of all such goods, chattels, rights and credits, lands, tenements and hereditaments, without further inquiry, adjudication or determination hereafter to be had; anything in the Act, entitled, "An Act for Confiscating the Effects of certain persons

commonly called Absentees," or any other law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding: provided always, that the escheat shall not be construed to extend to or operate upon any goods, chattels, rights, credits, lands, tenements or hereditaments, of which the persons aforenamed and described, or some other, in their right and to their use, have not been seized or possessed, or entitled to be seized or possessed, or to have or demand as aforesaid, since the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five. — [*Passed April* 30, 1779. *Not revised.*]

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

An Act for Confiscating the Estates of certain persons commonly called Absentees.

Whereas every Government hath a right to command the personal services of all its members, whenever the exigencies of the State shall require it, especially in times of an impending or actual invasion, no member thereof can then withdraw himself from the jurisdiction of the Government, and thereby deprive it of the benefit of his personal services, without justly incurring the forfeiture of all his property, rights and liberties, holden under and derived from that constitution of Government, to the support of which he hath refused to afford his aid and assistance: and whereas the King of Great Britain did cause the Parliament thereof to pass divers Acts in direct violation of the fundamental rights of the people of this and of the other United States of America; particularly one certain Act to vacate and annul the Charter of this Government, the great compact made and agreed upon between his royal predecessors and our ancestors; and one other Act, declaring the people of said States to be out of his protection; and did also levy war against them, for the purpose of erecting and establishing an arbitrary and despotic Government over them; whereupon it became the indispensable duty of all the people of said States forthwith to unite in defence of their common freedom, and by arms to oppose the fleets and armies of the said King; yet nevertheless, divers of the members of this and of the other United States of America, evilly disposed, or regardless of their duty towards their country, did withdraw themselves from this, and other of the said United States, into parts and places under the acknowledged authority and dominion of the said King of Great Britain, or into parts and places within the limits of the said States, but in the actual possession and under the power of the fleets or armies of the said King; thereby

abandoning the liberties of their country, seeking the protection of the said King, and of his fleets or armies, and aiding or giving encouragement and countenance to their operations against the United States aforesaid:

SECT. 1. Be it enacted by the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that every inhabitant and member of the late Province, now State, of Massachusetts Bay, or of any other of the late Provinces or Colonies, now United States of America, who, since the nineteenth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, hath levied war or conspired to levy war against the Government and people of any of the said Provinces or Colonies, or United States; or who hath adhered to the said King of Great Britain, his fleets or armies, enemies of the said Provinces or Colonies, or United States, or hath given to them aid or comfort; or who, since the said nineteenth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, hath withdrawn, without the permission of the Legislative or Executive authority of this or some other of the said United States, from any of the said Provinces or Colonies, or United States, into parts and places under the acknowledged authority and dominion of the said King of Great Britain, or into any parts or places within the limits of any of the said Provinces, Colonies, or United States, being in the actual possession and under the power of the fleets or armies of the said King; or who, before the said nineteenth day of April, Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and seventy-five, and after the arrival of Thomas Gage, Esq., (late Commander-in-Chief of all his Britannic Majesty's forces in North America,) at Boston, the metropolis of this State, did withdraw from their usual places of habitation within this State, into the said town of Boston, with an intention to seek and obtain the protection of the said Thomas Gage and of the said forces, then and there being under his command; and who hath died in any of the said parts or places, or hath not returned into some one of the said United States, and been received as a subject thereof, and (if required) taken an oath of allegiance to such States, shall be held, taken, deemed and adjudged to have freely renounced all civil and political relation to each and every of the said United States, and be considered as an alien.

SECT. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all the goods and chattels, rights and credits, lands, tenements, hereditaments of every kind, of which any of the persons hereinbefore described were seized or possessed, or were entitled to possess, hold,

enjoy or demand, in their own right, or which any other person stood or doth stand seized or possessed of, or are or were entitled to have or demand to and for their use, benefit and behoof, shall escheat, enure and accrue to the sole use and benefit of the Government and people of this State, and are accordingly hereby declared so to escheat, enure and accrue.—[*Passed April* 30, 1779. *Not revised.*]

MANDAMUS COUNCILLORS.

Salem, Aug. 9, 1774. The following were appointed by his Majesty Councillors of this Province, by Writ of Mandamus,[1] viz: —

Col. Thomas Oliver, Lieut.-Governor, President; Peter Oliver, *Thomas Flucker*, *Foster Hutchinson*, Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., *Harrison Gray*, Judge Samuel Danforth, Col. John Erving, Jr., James Russell, Timothy Ruggles, *Joseph Lee*, *Isaac Winslow*, Israel Williams, Col. George Watson, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Timothy Woodbridge, William Vassall, *William Browne*, Joseph Greene, *James Boutineau*, Andrew Oliver, Col. Josiah Edson, Richard Lechmere, *Commodore Joshua Loring*, John Worthington, Timothy Paine, *William Pepperell*, Jeremiah Powell, Jonathan Simpson, Col. John Murray, Daniel Leonard, Thomas Palmer, Col. Isaac Royall, Robert Hooper, Abijah Willard, *Capt. John Erving, Jr.*

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.

An Act to prevent the return to this State of certain persons therein named, and others who have left this State or either of the United States, and joined the Enemies thereof.

Whereas Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., late Governor of this State, Francis Bernard, Esq., formerly Governor of this State, Thomas Oliver, Esq., late Lieut.-Governor of this State, Timothy Ruggles, Esq., of Hardwick, in the county of Worcester, William Apthorp, merchant, Gibbs Atkins, cabinet-maker, John Atkinson, John Amory, James Anderson, Thomas Apthorp, David Black, William Burton, William Bowes, George Brindley, Robert Blair, Thomas Brindley, James Barrick, merchant, Thomas Brattle, Esq., Sampson Salter Blowers, Esq., James Bruce, Ebenezer Bridgham, Alexander Brymer, Edward Berry, merchants, William Burch, Esq., late Commissioner of the Customs, Mather Byles, Jun., clerk, William Codner, book-keeper, Edward Cox, merchant, Andrew Cazneau, Esq., barrister-at-law, Henry Canner, clerk, Thomas Courtney, tailor, Richard

[1] Those whose names are in italics alone took the oath of office.

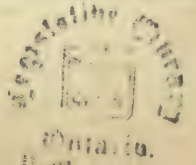
Clark, Esq., Isaac Clark, physician, Benjamin Church, physician, John Coffin, distiller, John Clark, physician, William Coffin, Esq., Nathaniel Coffin, Esq., Jonathan Clark, merchant, Archibald Cunningham, shop-keeper, Gilbert Deblois, merchant, Lewis Deblois, merchant, Philip Dumaresque, merchant, Benjamin Davis, merchant, John Erving, Jun., Esq., George Erving, Esq., Edward Foster and Edward Foster, Jun., blacksmiths, Benjamin Faneuil, Jun., merchant, Thomas Flucker, Esq., late Secretary for Massachusetts Bay, Samuel Fitch, Esq., Wilfret Fisher, carter, James Forrest, merchant, Lewis Gray, merchant, Francis Green, merchant, Joseph Green, Esq., Sylvester Gardiner, Esq., Harrison Gray, Esq., late Treasurer of Massachusetts Bay, Harrison Gray, Jun., clerk to the Treasurer, Joseph Goldthwait, Esq., Martin Gay, founder, John Gore, Esq., Benjamin Hallowell, Esq., Robert Hallowell, Esq., Thomas Hutchinson, Jun., Esq., Benjamin Gridley, Esq., Frederick William Geyer, merchant, John Greenlaw, shop-keeper, David Green, merchant, Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., James Hall, mariner, Foster Hutchinson, Esq., Benjamin Mulbury Holmes, distiller, Samuel Hodges, book-keeper, Henry Halson, Esq., Hawes Hatch, wharfinger, John Joy, housewright, Peter Johonnot, distiller, William Jackson, merchant, John Jeffries, physician, Henry Laughton, merchant, James Henderson, trader, John Hinston, yeoman, Christopher Hatch, mariner, Robert Jarvis, mariner, Richard Lechmere, Esq., Edward Lyde, merchant, Henry Lloyd, Esq., George Leonard, miller, Henry Leddle, book-keeper, Archibald McNeil, baker, Christopher Minot, tide-waiter, James Murray, Esq., William McAlpine, bookbinder, Thomas Mitchell, mariner, William Martin, Esq., John Knutton, tallow-chandler, Thomas Knight, shop-keeper, Samuel Prince, merchant, Adino Paddock, Esq., Charles Paxton, Esq., Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, John Powell, Esq., William Lee Perkins, physician, Nathaniel Perkins, Esq., Samuel Quincy, Esq., Owen Richards, tide-waiter, Samuel Rogers, merchant, Jonathan Simpson, Esq., George Spooner, merchant, Edward Stowe, mariner, Richard Smith, merchant, Jonathan Snelling, Esq., David Silsby, trader, Samuel Sewall, Esq., Abraham Savage, tax-gatherer, Joseph Scott, Esq., Francis Skinner, clerk to the late Council, William Simpson, merchant, Richard Sherwin, saddler, Henry Smith, merchant, John Semple, merchant, Robert Semple, merchant, Thomas Selkrig, merchant, James Selkrig, merchant, Robert Service, trader, Simon Tufts, trader, Arodi Thayer, late Marshal to the Admiralty Court, Nathaniel Taylor, deputy Naval Officer, John Troutbeck, clerk, Gregory Townsend, Esq., William Taylor, merchant, William Vassal,

Esq., Joseph Taylor, merchant, Joshua Upham, Esq., William Walter, clerk, Samuel Waterhouse, merchant, Isaac Winslow, merchant, John Winslow, Jr., merchant, David Willis, mariner, Obadiah Whiston, blacksmith, Archibald Wilson, trader, John White, mariner, William Warden, peruke-maker, Nathaniel Mills, John Hicks, John Howe, and John Fleming, printers, all of Boston, in the county of Suffolk, Robert Auchmuty, Esq., Joshua Loring, Esq., both of Roxbury, in the same county, Samuel Goldsbury, yeoman, of Wrentham, in the county of Suffolk, Joshua Loring, Jr., merchant, Nathaniel Hatch, Esq., both of Dorchester, in the same county, William Brown, Esq., Benjamin Pickman, Esq., Samuel Porter, Esq., John Sargeant, trader, all of Salem, in the county of Essex, Richard Saltonstall, Esq., of Haverhill, in the same county, Thomas Robie, trader, Benjamin Marston, merchant, both of Marblehead, in said county of Essex, Moses Badger, clerk, of Haverhill, aforesaid, Jonathan Sewall, Esq., John Vassall, Esq., David Phipps, Esq., John Nutting, carpenter, all of Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, Isaac Royall, Esq., of Medford, in the same county, Henry Barnes, of Marlborough, in said county of Middlesex, merchant, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers, of Littleton, in the same county, Esq., Daniel Bliss, of Concord, in the said county of Middlesex, Esq., Charles Russell, of Lincoln, in the same county, physician, Joseph Adams, of Townsend, in said county of Middlesex, Thomas Danforth, of Charlestown, in said county, Esq., Joshua Smith, trader, of Townsend, in said county, Joseph Ashley, Jr., gentleman, of Sunderland, Nathaniel Dickenson, gentleman, of Deerfield, Samuel Bliss, shopkeeper, of Greenfield, Roger Dickenson, yeoman, Joshah Pomroy, physician, and Thomas Cutler, gentleman, of Hatfield, Jonathan Bliss, Esq., of Springfield, William Galway, yeoman, of Conway, Elijah Williams, attorney-at-law, of Deerfield, James Oliver, gentleman, of Conway, all in the county of Hampshire, Pelham Winslow, Esq., Cornelius White, mariner, Edward Winslow, Jr., Esq., all of Plymouth, in the county of Plymouth, Peter Oliver, Esq., Peter Oliver, Jr., physician, both of Middleborough, in the same county, Josiah Edson, Esq., of Bridgewater, in the said county of Plymouth, Lieutenant Daniel Dunbar, of Halifax, in the same county, Charles Curtis, of Scituate, in the said county of Plymouth, gentleman, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Esq., Israel Tilden, Caleb Carver, Seth Bryant, Benjamin Walker, Gideon Walker, Zera Walker, Adam Hall, tertius, Isaac Joice, Joseph Phillips, Daniel White, Jr., Cornelius White, tertius, Melzar Carver, Luke Hall, Thomas Decrow, John Baker, Jr., all of Marshfield, in the said county of Plymouth, Gideon

White, Jr., Daniel Leonard, Esq., Seth Williams, Jr., gentleman, Solomon Smith, boatman, all of Taunton, in the county of Bristol, Thomas Gilbert, Esq., Perez Gilbert, Ebenezer Hathaway, Jr., Lot Strange, the third, Zebedee Terree, Bradford Gilbert, all of Freetown, in the same county, Joshua Broomer, Shadrach Hathaway, Calvin Hathaway, Luther Hathaway, Henry Tisdel, William Burden, Levi Chace, Shadrach Chase, Richard Holland, Ebenezer Phillips, Samuel Gilbert, gentleman, Thomas Gilbert, Jr., yeoman, both of Berkley, in the said county of Bristol, Ammi Chace, Caleb Wheaton, Joshua Wilbore, Lemuel Bourn, gentleman, Thomas Perry, yeoman, David Atkins, laborer, Samuel Perry, mariner, Stephen Perry, laborer, John Blackwell, Jr., laborer, Francis Finney, laborer, and Nehemiah Webb, mariner, all of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, Eldad Tupper, of Dartmouth, in the county of Bristol, laborer, Silas Perry, laborer, Seth Perry, mariner, Elisha Bourn, gentleman, Thomas Bumpus, yeoman, Ephraim Ellis, Jr., yeoman, Edward Bourn, gentleman, Nicholas Cobb, laborer, William Bourn, cordwainer, all of Sandwich, in the county of Barnstable, and Seth Bangs, of Harwich, in the county of Barnstable, mariner, John Chandler, Esq., James Putnam, Esq., Rufus Chandler, gentleman, William Paine, physician, Adam Walker, blacksmith, William Chandler, gentleman, all of Worcester, in the county of Worcester, John Walker, gentleman, David Bush, yeoman, both of Shrewsbury, in the same county, Abijah Willard, Esq., Abel Willard, Esq., Joseph House, yeoman, all of Lancaster, in the said county of Worcester, Ebenezer Cutler, trader, James Edgar, yeoman, both of Northbury, in the same county, Daniel Oliver, Esq., Richard Ruggles, yeoman, Gardner Chandler, trader, Joseph Ruggles, gentleman, Nathaniel Ruggles, yeoman, all of Hardwick, in the said county of Worcester, John Ruggles, yeoman, of said Hardwick, John Eager, yeoman, Ebenezer Whipple, Israel Conkay, John Murray, Esq., of Rutland, in said county of Worcester, Daniel Murray, gentleman, Samuel Murray, gentleman, Michael Martin, trader, of Brookfield, in the said county of Worcester, Thomas Beaman, gentleman, of Petersham, in the same county, Nathaniel Chandler, gentleman, John Bowen, gentleman, of Princeton, in the said county of Worcester, James Crage, gentleman, of Oakham, in the same county, Thomas Mullins, blacksmith, of Leominster, in the said county of Worcester, Francis Waldo, Esq., Arthur Savage, Esq., Jeremiah Pote, mariner, Thomas Ross, mariner, James Wildridge, mariner, George Lyde, Custom-house officer, Robert Pagan, merchant, Thomas Wyer, mariner, Thomas Coulson, merchant, John Wis-

wall, clerk, Joshua Eldridge, mariner, Thomas Oxnard, merchant, Edward Oxnard, merchant, William Tyng, Esq., John Wright, merchant, Samuel Longfellow, mariner, all of Falmouth, in the county of Cumberland, Charles Callahan, of Pownalborough, in the county of Lincoln, mariner, Jonas Jones, of East Hoosuck, in the county of Berkshire, David Ingersoll, Esq., of Great Barrington, in the same county, Jonathan Prindall, Benjamin Noble, Francis Noble, Elisha Jones, of Pittsfield, in the said county of Berkshire, John Graves, yeoman, Daniel Brewer, yeoman, both of Pittsfield, aforesaid, Richard Square, of Lanesborough, in the said county of Berkshire, Ephraim Jones, of East Hoosuck, in the same county, Lewis Hubbell, and many other persons have left this State, or some other of the United States of America, and joined the enemies thereof, and of the United States of America, thereby not only depriving these States of their personal services at a time when they ought to have afforded their utmost aid in defending the said States, against the invasions of a cruel enemy, but manifesting an inimical disposition to the said States, and a design to aid and abet the enemies thereof in their wicked purposes, and whereas, many dangers may accrue to this State and the United States, if such persons should be again admitted to reside in this State:

Sect. 1. Be it therefore enacted by the Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that if either of the said persons, or any other person, though not specially named in this Act, who have left this State, or either of said States, and joined the enemies thereof as aforesaid, shall, after the passing this Act, voluntarily return to this State, it shall be the duty of the sheriff of the county, and of the selectmen, committees of correspondence, safety, and inspection, grand-jurors, constables, and tythingmen, and other inhabitants of the town wherein such person or persons may presume to come, and they are hereby respectively empowered and directed forthwith to apprehend and carry such person or persons before some justice of the peace within the county, who is hereby required to commit him or them to the common gaol within the county, there in close custody to remain until he shall be sent out of the State, as is hereinafter directed; and such justice is hereby directed to give immediate information thereof to the Board of War of this State: and the said Board of War are hereby empowered and directed to cause such person or persons so committed, to be transported to some part or place within the dominions, or in the possession of the forces of the King of



Great Britain, as soon as may be after receiving such information; those who are able, at their own expense, and others at the expense of this State, and for this purpose to hire a vessel or vessels, if need be.

Sect. 2. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person or persons, who shall be transported as aforesaid, shall voluntarily return into this State, without liberty first had and obtained from the General Court, he shall, on conviction thereof before the Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery, suffer the pains of death without benefit of clergy. — [*Passed, September*, 1778.]

WORCESTER RESOLUTIONS RELATING TO THE ABSENTEES AND REFUGEES.

The following votes were passed by the Citizens of Worcester, May 19, 1783, and contain the substance of their doings relative to the Refugees: —

Voted — That, in the opinion of this town, it would be extremely dangerous to the peace, happiness, liberty and safety of these States, to suffer those, who, the moment the bloody banners were displayed, abandoned their native land, turned parricides, and conspired to involve their country in tumult, ruin, and blood to become the subjects of and reside in this Government; that it would be not only dangerous, but inconsistent with justice, policy, our past laws, the public faith, and the principles of a free and independent Sate, to admit them ourselves, or have them forced upon us without our consent.

Voted — That, in the opinion of this town, this Commonwealth ought, with the utmost caution, to naturalize or in any other way admit as subjects a common enemy, a set of people who have been by the united voice of the Continent declared outlaws, exiles, aliens, and enemies, dangerous to its political being and happiness.

Voted — That, while there are thousands of the innocent, peaceable and defenceless inhabitants of these States, whose property has been destroyed and taken from them in the course of the war, for whom no provision is made, to whom there is no restoration of estates, no compensation for losses; that it would be unreasonable, cruel and unjust, to suffer those who were the wicked occasion of those losses to obtain a restitution of the estates they refused to protect, and which they have abandoned and forfeited to their country.

Voted — That it is the expectation of this town, and the earnest request of their committees of correspondence, inspection, and safety,

that they, with care and diligence, will observe the movements of our only remaining enemies; that, until the further order of Government, they will, with decision, spirit and firmness, endeavor to enforce and carry into execution the several laws of this Commonwealth, respecting these enemies to our rights and the rights of mankind; give information, should they know of any obtruding themselves into any part of this State, suffer none to remain in this town, but cause to be confined immediately, for the purpose of transportation according to law, any that may presume to enter it.

LIST OF THE INHABITANTS OF BOSTON, WHO, ON THE EVACUATION OF THE BRITISH IN MARCH, 1776, REMOVED TO HALIFAX WITH THE ARMY.

	No. of family.
Lieut.-Gov. Oliver and servts.	6
Council, &c.	
Peter Oliver and niece,	2
Harrison Gray and family,	5
Timothy Ruggles and sons,	3
Foster Hutchinson and family,	13
Josiah Edson,	1
John Murray and family,	7
Rich'd Lechmere and family,	12
John Erving and family,	9
Nath'l Ray Thomas and son,	2
Abijah Willard and sons,	3
Daniel Leonard and family,	9
Nath'l Hatch and family,	7
George Erving and family,	6
Custom-House.	
Henry Hutton and family,	12
Charles Paxton and family,	6
Benj. Hallowell and family,	7
Sam'l Waterhouse, Sec'y, and family,	7
James Porter, Comp.-Gen'l.	1
Walter Barrell, Insp.-Gen'l.	6
James Murray, Inspector,	7
William Woolen, Inspector,	2
Edw'd Winslow, Collector, Boston,	1
Charles Dudley, Coll., Newport,	2
George Meserve, Coll., Piscataqua,	1
Rob't Hallowell, Comptrol., Boston,	6
Nath'l Coffin, Cashier,	4
Arthur Savage, Surveyor, &c.,	6
Eben Bridgham, Tide Surveyor,	8
Nath'l Taylor, Deputy Naval Officer,	2
Sam'l Mather, Clerk,	3
Sam'l Lloyd, Clerk,	6
Christ'n Minot, Landwaiter,	1
Ward Chipman, Cerk Sol.	1
Rob't Beebell, Clk. Collr.	1
Skinner, Cookson, and Evans, Messengers,	3
James Barick, Clerk Inspr.	5
John Ciely, Tidesman,	4
John Sam'l Pettet, Tidesman,	6
John Selby, Clerk,	2
Edw'd Mulball, Tidesman,	1
Hammond Green, do	1

	No. of family.
John Lewis, Tidesman,	6
Elkanah Cushman, do	1
Edw'd Dwyer, Messenger,	3
Sam'l Chadwal, Tidesman,	1
—— Chandler, Landwaiter,	1
—— Patterson, do	1
Sam'l Sparhawk, Clerk,	5
Isaac Massingham, Coxswain,	1
Owen Richards, do	1

Refugees.

Ashley, Joseph,	1
Anaods, Barret,	1
Atkinson, John, Merchant,	4
Atkins, Gibbs,	1
Ayres, Eleanor,	3
Allen, Eben'r,	8
Bowes, Wm., Merchant,	4
Brinley, Thomas, do	3
Burton, Mary, Milliner,	2
Bowen, John,	2
Blair, John, Baker,	1
Bouwers, Arch'd, Acct.	1
Broderick, John,	3
Butler, James,	2
Brown, Thomas, Merchant,	6
Byles, Rev. Dr.	5
Barnard, John,	1
Black, John,	7
Baker, John, Jr.	1
Badger, Rev. Moses,	1
Beath, Mary,	4
Butler, Gillam,	1
Brandon, John,	1
Brattle, Wm.	2
Coffin, Wm.	2
Carneau, And'w, Lawyer,	1
Codner, Wm.	1
Conner, Mrs.	2
Cummins, A. and E., Milliners,	3
Coffin, Wm., Jr., Merchant,	4
Cutler, Eben'r,	1
Campbell, Wm.	1
Caner, Rev. Dr.	1
Cook, Rob't,	1
Chandler, John, Esq.	1
Chandler, Rufus, Lawyer,	2
Chandler, Nath'l,	1
Chandler, Wm.	1
Carver, Melzer,	1
Cooley, John,	4
Courtney, Thos.	11
Carr, Mrs.	3
Deblois, Gilbert,	5
Dayley, John,	4
Dunbar, Daniel,	1
Danforth, Thos.	1
Demaresque, Philip, Mercht.	8
Deblois, Lewis,	3
Duncan, Alexander,	1
Daylay, Francis,	1
Dickenson, Nath'l,	1
Draper, Margaret,	5
Dougherty, Edw'd,	2
Deonezzau, Adam,	7
Duelly, Wm.	3
Emerson, John,	1
Elton, Peter,	7
Fisher, Willfree,	4
Foster, Thos.	1
Fanieul, Benj., Merchant,	3
Fitch, Samuel, Lawyer,	7
Foster, Edw'd, Blacksmith,	7
Fall, Thomas,	5
Foster, Edw'd, Jr.	5
Forest, James,	7
Flucker, Mrs.	6
Gilbert, Thos.	1
Gallop, Antill,	1
Gray, Andrew,	1
Gray, John,	3
Goldsbury, Sam'l,	3

	No. of family.
Gardener, Dr. Sylvester,	8
Gridley, Benj.	1
Grison, Edmund,	2
Gay, Martin,	3
Gilbert, Sam'l,	1
Grozart, John,	1
Gray, Mary,	1
Green, Francis,	8
Greenwood, Sam'l,	5
Grant, James,	1
Griffen, Mrs.	3
Gore, John,	3
Griffin, Edmund,	4
Hill, Wm.	17
Hallowell, Rebecca,	4
Hall, Luke,	1
Henderson, James,	5
House, Joseph,	1
Hughes, Samuel,	1
Hooper, Jacob,	2
Hicks, ——, Printer,	1
Hurlston, Richard,	1
Holmes, Benj., Mulberry,	11
Hatch, Hawes,	1
Hale, Sam'l,	1
Hester, John,	6
Hutchinson, Mrs.	7
Horn, Henry,	7
Halferson, James,	1
Heath, Wm.	1
Inman, John,	3
Ireland, John,	2
Jones, Mary,	6
Jarvis, Rob't,	1
Joy, John,	8
Jeffries, Dr. John,	6
Johonnot, Peter,	1
Jones, Mrs.	4
Knowlton, Margaret,	4
King, Edw'd and Sam'l,	7
Lazarus, Sam'l,	1
Lovel, John, Senr.	5
Leonard, George,	9
Lisle, Mrs.	5
Lillie, Theoph.	4
Lateryche, Edwd. Golslen,	1
Lyde, Byfield,	5
Liddel, Henry,	4
Laughton Henry,	5
Lloyd, Henry,	10
Linkletter, Alex.	3
Lowe, Charles,	2
Loring, Joshua, Jr.	1
Murray, Wm.	3
Moody, John, Jr.	1
McKown, John,	1
McAlevine, Wm.	2
Moody, John,	4
McKown, John, of Boston,	5
McDonald, Dennis,	1
Mackey, Mrs.	1
Mitchelson, David,	2
McNiel, Arch'd,	13
Marston, Benj.	1
Moore, John,	1
Miller, John,	5
Mulcatry, Patrick,	4
McKinsley, Mrs.	12
Morrison, John,	1
McMaster, Patrick and Dan'l,	3
McMullin, Alex.	1
Mitchell, Thos.	1
Mills, ——,	2
McClintoch, Nathan,	1
Nevin, Lazarus, and wife,	2
O'Niel, Joseph,	4
Oliver, Wm. Sandford,	1
Oliver, Dr. Peter,	1
Powel, John,	8
Phillips, Martha,	3
Phipps, David,	11
Pelham, Henry,	1

	No. of family.
Putnam, James,	7
Paine, Sam'l,	1
Perkins, Nath'l,	1
Patterson, Wm.	3
Phillips, Eben'r,	1
Paddock, Adino,	9
Pollard, Benj.	1
Patten, George,	3
Perkins, Wm. Lee,	4
Price, Benj.	2
Page, George,	1
Rummer, Rich'd,	3
Rogers, Jerem'h Dummer,	2
Rogers, Samuel,	1
Richardson, Miss,	1
Rose, Peter,	1
Read, Charles,	1
Ramage, John,	1
Routh, Richard,	6
Rhoades, Henry,	5
Russel, Nath'l,	3
Richards, Mrs.	3
Ruggles, John and Rich'd,	2
Smith, Henry,	6
Sullivan, George,	1
Serjeant, John,	1
Scott, Joseph,	3
Simmonds, Wm.	3
Stow, Edward,	4
Sterling, Elizabeth,	1
Sterling, Benj. Frederick,	1
Simpson, John,	5
Simpson, Jerem'h,	2
Semple, Robert,	4
Stayner, Abigail,	3
Stearns, Jonathan,	1
Savage, Abraham,	1
Saltonstall, Leverett,	1
Service, Rob't,	5
Snelling, Jona.	6
Sullivan, Bartholomew,	2
Smith, Edward,	4
Spooner, Eben'r,	1
Shepherd, Joseph,	2
Selkrig, James,	6
Scammel, Thomas,	1
Thomson, James,	1
Taylor, Mrs.	5
Terry, Zebedee,	1
Tyng, Wm.	4
Taylor, Wm.	2
Winslow, Isaac,	11
Winslow, Pelham.	1
Winslow, John,	4
Winslow, Mrs. Hannah,	4
Winslow, Edward,	1
Williams, Seth,	1
Willis, David,	4
Wittington, Wm.	3
Warden, Wm.	2
Williams, Job,	1
Warren, Abr'm,	1
Willard, Abel,	4
Warden, Joseph,	3
Willard, Abijah,	1
Wheaton, Obadiah,	3
Wheelwright, Joseph,	1
Winnet, John, Jr.	1
Wright, Daniel,	2
Welsh, Peter,	1
White, Gideon,	1
Wilson, Arch'd,	1
Welsh, James,	1
Worrall, Thos. Grosby,	5
Total,	926

From the Salem Gazette, Nov. 6, 1783.

LIST OF PERSONS WHO HAVE DIED IN EXILE FROM MASSACHUSETTS: —

Gov. Bernard, his lady, and son,
Gov. Hutchinson, and son and daughter,
Mrs. Oliver, his other daughter,
A daughter of Mr. Thomas Hutchinson, Jr.
Rev. Mr. Troutbeck,
Mr. Bouteneau,
Mr. Robinson, Commissioner,
Mr. Wooten,
Col. Royal,
Commodore Loring,
Mr. Nath'l Coffin,
Mr. Joseph Green,
Young Mr. Green,
Mr. Willard,
Mr. Evans,
Mr. Thompson, of Medford,
Mr. Wyer, of Newbury,
Mr. Martin Howard,
Capt. Poynton, of Salem,
Rev. Mr. Sargeant and daughter,
Lieut. Gov. Oliver's lady,
Mrs. Gardiner,
Mrs. Pepperrell,[1]
Mrs. Amory,
Mrs. Savage,
Mrs. Paddock,
Mrs. Jefferies,
Mrs. Cordis,
Mrs. Spry,
Mrs. Prince,
Mrs. Barrell,
Miss Kitty Hutchinson,
Miss Sewall,
Miss Fitch,
Miss Fisher,
Mr. Jolly Allen,
Mr. Flucker,
Mr. Robert Temple,
Dr. Dabney,
Mr. Vassal's daughter.

NEW YORK CONFISCATION ACT.

An Act for the Forfeiture and Sale of the Estates of Persons who have adhered to the Enemies of this State, and for declaring the Sovereignty of the People of this State in respect to all property within the same. — Passed, October 22, 1799.

Therefore be it enacted by the People of the State of New York, etc., That John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, formerly Governor of the Colony of New York; William Tryon, Esq., late Governor of the said colony; John Watts, Oliver De Lancey, Hugh Wallace, Henry White, John Harris Cruger, William Axtell, and Roger Morris, Esq., late Members of the Council of the said colony; George Duncan Ludlow, and Thomas Jones. late Justices of the Supreme Court of the said colony; John Tabor Kempe, late Attorney-General of the said col-

[1] Wife of Andrew Pepperrell, Esq., 1st Dec. 1780. He died in London in the spring of 1783. He was a brother of Sir Wm. Pepperrell, Baronet.

ony; William Bayard, Robert Bayard, and James De Lancey, now or late of the city of New York, Esqs.; David Matthews, late Mayor of said city; James Jauncey, George Folliot, Thomas White, William McAdam, Isaac Low, Miles Sherbrook, Alexander Wallace, and John Wetherhead, now or late of the said city, merchants; Charles Inglis, of the said city, clerk, and Margaret his wife; Sir John Johnson, late of the County of Tryon, Knight and Baronet; Guy Johnson, Daniel Claus, and John Butler, now or late of the said county, Esqs.; and John Joost Herkemer, now or late of the said county, yeoman; Frederick Philipse and James De Lancey, now or late of the County of Westchester, Esqs.; Frederick Philipse, (son of Frederick,) now or late of the said county, gentleman; David Colden, Daniel Kissam the Elder, and Gabriel Ludlow, now or late of Queen's County, Esqs.; Philip Skeene, now or late of the County of Charlotte, Esq., and Andrew P. Skeene, son of Philip Skeene, late of Charlotte County; Benjamin Seaman and Christopher Billop, now or late of the County of Richmond, Esqs.; Beverly Robinson, Beverly Robinson the younger, and Malcom Morrison, now or late of the County of Dutchess, Esqs.; John Kane, now or late of the said county, gentleman; Abraham C. Cuyler, now or late of the County of Albany, Esq.; Robert Leake, Edward Jessup, and Ebenezer Jessup, now or late of the said county, gentlemen; and Peter Du Bois and Thomas H. Barclay, now or late of the County of Ulster, Esqs.; Susannah Robinson, wife to the said Beverly Robinson, and Mary Morris, wife to the said Roger Morris; John Rapelje, of Kings County, Esq.; George Morrison, Richard Floyd, and Parker Wickham, of Suffolk County, Esqs.; Henry Lloyd the Elder, late of the State of Massachusetts Bay, merchant; and Sir Henry Clinton, Knight, be and each of them are hereby severally declared to be, *ipso facto*, convicted and attainted of the offence aforesaid; and that all and singular the estate, both real and personal, held or claimed by them the said persons severally and respectively, whether in possession, reversion or remainder, within this State, on the day of the passing of this Act, shall be, and hereby is declared to be forfeited to, and vested in the People of this State.

ACTION OF NEW JERSEY REGARDING THE LOYALISTS, A. D. 1776.

The Council of Safety appointed and authorized a correspondence with Congress and other States to perform the duties of Justices of Peace, to apprehend and imprison disaffected persons, and to call out

such portions of the militia as they may deem necessary to execute the laws.

Likewise on the recommendation of Governor Livingston another bill was presently passed authorizing the confiscation of the personal estates of all those who adhered to the British interest; yet allowing such persons a period of grace in which upon renewing their allegiance to the State, they might return and take possession of their property. — *Lippincott's History of New Jersey*, p. 177.

New Jersey refrained from publishing lists of the Loyalists for various reasons; so her histories are barren on this subject.

THE FOLLOWING OFFICERS DECLINED SIGNING THE ARTICLES OF THE ASSOCIATION WHEN OFFERED TO THEM BY THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF REVOLUTIONISTS OF SOUTH CAROLINA: —

Thomas K. Gordon, Chief Justice;
Edward Savage,
Charles M. Cosstell,
John Fewtrell, and
William Gregory, } Assistant Judges;
Thomas Shottowe, one of the Council, and Secretary of the Province;
James Simpson, Attorney General;
George Roupell, Deputy Postmaster-General;
—— Norris, Governor's Secretary;
Robert G. Howarth, Governor of Fort Johnson;
James Treid, Clerk of the Court of C. P.;
Richard Lambton, Deputy Auditor-General;
George Milligan, Chief Surgeon of his Majesty's Troops;
John Morris, Comptroller of the Customs, and
Hon. Wm. Wragg, of the Council.

All these assigned to the Committee their several reasons for refusing to sign; most of them saying that their oaths of office prevented them. They were permitted to take their property, and retire peaceably wherever they pleased, and many of them went to England. Others went to the West Indies, and, waiting for a change in affairs, joined the two expeditions against South Carolina under Sir Henry Clinton.

If others who did sign had acted with equal honor and good faith, it would have been better for all parties. Some of them were known to have acted treacherously, in giving information from time to time

of what the Americans were doing or about to do; and one afterwards acknowledged that he had obtained a seat in the General Committee for the purpose of exciting doubts, distrusts, and distractions in their plans and proceedings. Such conduct produced suspicion and enmity, even against the innocent, the harmless and the honorable, which led to banishment, hostility and sequestration on both sides, as each in turn acquired the ascendency and power to do wrong.

When Charleston surrendered, after a siege of six weeks, the capitulation was not only signed by General Lincoln, the military commander, in behalf of the United States, but by the Lieutenant-Governor, General Gadsden, in behalf of South Carolina; the Governor being absent from the State. All parties appeared to believe that the State had capitulated as well as the city, until the British arms had been extended without opposition over every part of the State. Sir Henry Clinton had returned to New York, and Lord Cornwallis succeeded to the command. It was then first discovered that the State was not included in the capitulation, but declared to be a conquered Province, and its inhabitants subject to martial law; consequently liable to be ordered out in arms against their friends, their country, and political principles. Within three months after the capitulation, the terms were violated by the British Commander. Some of the inhabitants of the city were sent off to St. Augustine; and those of the State were ordered to parade under British officers. This order of Lord Cornwallis was a firebrand rekindling strife and hostilities in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, and the cause and origin of the war of plunder, devastation, and misery which succeeded. This resistance was called the second rebellion.

It is remarkable that in the rebellion of '98 in Ireland the same plan was adopted, and successfully executed by Lord Cornwallis, aided by two, at least, of those who had been his chief agents in South Carolina, Lord Rawdon, then Earl of Moira, and Colonel Wemyss, then General Wemyss. Their success in our Southern States was prevented by the American Congress and General Greene's army.

In the fall of 1782, the British forces having retired to the precincts of Charleston, the State Government was reëstablished, and the Legislature convened at Jacksonborough. Here, while the war was still pending, and their enemy still occupying the capital of the State, and chief seaport, only thirty-five miles from where they were legislating, many of its members impoverished, and all aggrieved by

that enemy, and the Royalists who were their associates, guides, informers, and partisans, it is not surprising that retaliatory confiscations were made on the property of some such Royalists. The Act of Confiscation was passed at this session of the Legislature, the property taken, and some of it sold under their authority. No subsequent Act of this kind was ever passed, but for many years thereafter almost every Legislature restored some part of the confiscated property to the different former owners or their descendants, and their return to the country was welcomed. Many of their descendants are among the most respectable, influential, and valuable citizens of our State. Nothing is ever said or done to hurt their feelings, and the Act of Confiscation has been torn out of the Statute Book, to efface the record as far as possible — nobody knows by whom, probably by common consent.

LISTS OF THE LOYALISTS PROSCRIBED BY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

No. 1.— *Those mentioned in the Confiscation Act*, Vol. 4, p. 516.

Adam Thomas, Thomas Boone, Bruce, Fisher, Linwood & Co., John Bailey, John Bremar, Fenwicke Bull, Sir William Baker, Col. Thomas Browne, Mrs. Colleton, Colin Campbell, Doctor Crokett, Robert Dean, Messrs. Dee, Brailsford, Hodge & Sands, Samuel Douglass, Eyecott, Thomas Fullalove, Doctor Gibb, Nathaniel Hall, Richard Hill, John Hume, John Hammalin, Greenwood & Higginson, Thomas Gibbons, Robert Holmes, Peter Roger, Handasyd Hartley, Lieut.-Governor Irvine, Jeremiah Knott, George Kincaird, Richard Lambton, Rev. Charles Lorrisade, Lord G. C. Montagu, Charles Maine, Walter Mansell, John Murray, James Michie, Patrick M'Coy, Sir John Nisbett, Capt. Ord of the Navy, George Ogilvie, William Ogilvie, Osmond, Ralph Phillips, Rowland Rugely, Henry Reeves, Robert Raper, proprietors of Roberts' Barony, John Savage, John Simpson, (of Georgia,) Peter Simond, John Stuart, George Saxby, proprietors of Thorp's Barony, Peter Taylor, Charles Wright, Jermyn Wright, Robert Wells, Sir James Wright, Lieut. Wilton of the Army, Christopher Williman.

No. 2. — *Citizens who congratulated Sir Henry Clinton on the Fall of Charleston. For the words of the Address, see "Moultrie's Memoirs."*

William Ancrum, Capt. B. Baker, William Burt, Thomas Buckle,

Sen'r, David Bruce, Thomas Buckle, Jr., Archibald Brown, Robert Beard, Capt. James Cook, Gilbert Chalmers, William Cameron, Gideon Dupont, Jr., Richard Dennis, James Duncan, Arthur Downes, Thomas Eustace, Thomas Else, Christopher Fitzsimmons, John Fisher, John Walter Gibb, Paul Hamilton, Sen'r, Joel Holmes, Edward Hare, John Hartz, Alexander Harvey, Edward Legge, Jr., Aaron Loococke, Alexander Macbeth, William McKenny, James M'Kie, William Nisbet, Hopton Price, Edmund Petrie, William Russell, Jeremiah Savage, David Saylor, William Valentine, John West, Jr., John Wagner, John Taylor Ward, Thomas Winstanley.

No. 3. — *Those who served as Volunteers in the Royal Militia.*

Charles Atkins, George Cooke, John Davis, William Greenwood, Wm. Glen, Sen'r, John Hopton, Alexander Inglis, Robert Johnston, Zeph. Kingsley, Robert Lindsay, Andrew McKenzie, Thomas Shepoe, Robert Philip, James Rugge, John Rose, Doct. Hugh Rose, Andrew Reid, John Smyth, John Tunno, Jacob Valk, John Wragg, Richard Wayne, Alexander Wright, Robert Williams, Doct. Robert Wilson.

No. 4. — *Those who congratulated Earl Cornwallis.*

James Brisbane, Basil Cooper, Samuel Carne, Doctor James Cletheral, Dr. Alexander Garden, Patrick Hindes, Charles Johnston, Robert Perreneau, Alexander Rose, John Scott, son of Jonathan.

No. 5. — *Those who held Commissions under the Royal Government.*

Richard Ash of Beaufort, John Adamson, Capt. Anderson of Thickety Creek, Elias Ball of Wambaw, Elias Ball of Covington, Robert Ballingall, Malcolm Brown, James Bosseau, John Brockington, Jr., Robert Blair, Jonathan Belton, Hugh Brown, Brian Cape, Rob't Cunningham, Patrick Cunningham, James Cassels of Georgetown, Gabriel Capers, James Carey, Wm. Cunningham, Andrew Cunningham of Ninety-six, Daniel Clarey of Ninety-six, Capt. Thom Commander, Andrew Deveaux, Jr., Wm. Dorrill, Geo. Dawkins, John Downey of Camden, Robert English, John Fisher of Orangeburg, Thos. Fenwicke, Dr. James Frazer, Col. Thomas Fletchall, Matthew Floyd, John Fanning, Elias Fossin, Henry Ferguson, John George Fardo, Doctor Charles Fyffe, Thos. Gaillard, James Gordon of Georgetown, John Gaillard, Zach. Gibbes, Robert Gray, William Guest of Tyger River, Benj. Legge, Col. Robert McKenzie, Wm.

Henry Mills, John Mitchell, Capt. Wm. H. McGillory, Chr. Nielie, Henry O'Niel, Chas. Ogilvie, Philip Porcher, Wm. Rees, Benj. Rees, Joseph Rhems, Henry Rugely, Samuel Rowe, Joseph Robinson, James Smyth, Joseph Seabrook, Jr., Wm. Stevens of Saluda, David Turner, Wm. Valentine of Camden, John Wigfall, Benj. Wilford, Capt James Dandridge, Harbrough, Elias Buckingham, Joseph Black, John Cunningham of Ninety-six, William Else, Benj. Gregory, Geo. Grierson of Waxsaw, John Geiger, Andrew Hiblen, James Holmes, Col. Richard King, Moses Kirkland, John Linden, Jr., Doctor James Linah, Patrick Murray, John Musgrove, Richard Pendaris, Daniel Plumber, Patrick Murray Muckle.

No. 6. — *Those who avowed their Allegiance to his Britannic Majesty, and manifested themselves inveterate Enemies to the State.*

Andrew Deveaux, Senr., Edmund Ellis, David Friday, David Guerrard, Anthony Harrison, George Julien, John Linden, Senr., Robert Porter Murrell, Doctor Peter Spence, John Willard, Andrew Williamson, John Wilson of Georgetown, John Joachim Zubly.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

Abbot, Stephen. Major-General the Hon. Stephen Abbot, of Salem, Mass., served with high reputation in the army during the Revolution. He entered as a Captain of scouts attached to Washington's head-quarters in Cambridge, and continued his command throughout the war. It was early discovered that the enemy, when in possession of Newport, was constantly receiving cattle from Point Judith, and to this place Captain Abbot repaired, and obliged the inhabitants to send all their cattle to a distant part of Long Island, where they could not be taken by the enemy. On the return of peace, he established and commanded the Essex Regiment, and was afterwards Major-General of the Second Division of the Massachusetts militia, which, under his judicious management, became an efficient body of soldiers.

At President Washington's visit to Salem, in 1789, he greeted his veteran companion-in-arms most cordially, and showed his regard for him by selecting his daughter for his partner with which to open, with a minuet, the grand ball given in honor of the President in the splendid Assembly Rooms, then just erected on Federal Street. This young lady became the mother of our much respected fellow-citizen, Stephen Abbot Chase, Esq., who now owns and occupies the building, long since converted into a dwelling. It was for many years the residence of the late Hon. Samuel Putnam. General Abbot died in Salem, at the age of sixty-four, on the 9th of August, 1813. His remains were attended to the tomb by several societies of which he was an honored member, by the civil and military officers and clergy of the community, and a vast concourse of citizens. At St. Peter's the burial service was read by Rev. Mr. Henshaw, and funeral dirges, as well as masonic honors, were performed. The spectacle testified the very great esteem in which the departed was held. He was beloved for his public spirit and fidelity to all his trusts, as a legislator, and in many of the most useful and laborious town offices. The important one of Overseer of the Poor he filled for twenty-two years, with discriminating judgment, promptitude, and decision. He was eminent

for social virtues and benevolence, and exceedingly popular wherever known.

Ashley, Jonathan. The Rev. Mr. Ashley, of Deerfield, Mass., was one of the few clergymen who favored the cause of the mother Government. He had married a relative of Governor Hutchinson and Rev. Mr. Newton, of Greenfield, over whom Mr. Ashley was supposed to exercise considerable influence. On one occasion these clergymen made an exchange, and Mr. Ashley was informed by Mr. Newton that he might take the occasion to treat upon the subject of the Revolution, *by way of cautioning the people.* Mr. Ashley somewhat enlarged upon the liberty granted him, and seriously offended the congregation. During the intermission of service at noon, the friends of the patriot cause assembled, discussed the matter, and finally chose a committee to take measures in relation to the afternoon service, which they did by locking up the meeting-house. When Mr. Ashley came to commence the services, he was met at the door by one of his Deerfield parishioners, who gave him a significant nudge with his elbow. After repeating this form of salutation, Mr. Ashley asked him the reason of the attack, and admonished him that he "should rebuke an *elder.*" "*An elder? an elder,*" replied his tormentor; "if you had not said you was an elder, I should have thought you a poison sumach." Mr. Ashley had to retire without entering the church. But this was not the last of the reverend gentleman's troubles. Returning to his own parish at Deerfield, he soon after preached a sermon in which he spoke against the patriot cause, and gave his opinion that those Americans who fell at Lexington met with a fearful doom in the next world. On the following Sunday he undertook to enter his pulpit, but found it spiked up. After ineffectual attempts to enter, he turned to one of his deacons and requested him to go and get his hammer and force for him an entrance. The deacon was a blacksmith, but informed his pastor that he did not work on Sundays. At last an axe was procured, and the pulpit entered. Mr. Ashley graduated at Yale College in 1730; was ordained at Deerfield in 1738, and died there in 1780, aged 68. He possessed a strong and discerning mind and lively imagination, and was an energetic preacher. He published a sermon on "Visible Saints," vindicating Mr. Stoddard's sentiments respecting church membership. Also a sermon at the ordination of John Norton, Deerfield, 1741, and a letter to William Cooper, 1745.

Baring, Sir Francis, Bart., born April 18th, 1750, was a son of John Baring, of Larkbeer, near Exeter, England, from which city the

former was first elected to Parliament on the 9th Nov. 1776, an interesting account of which is contained in the third chapter of this work. He early distinguished himself by his accurate knowledge and dexterity in financial calculations at the eventful period in which his public career commenced, and the reputation thus early acquired continued throughout his life. He exhibited a just knowledge of the interest of his country, and an anxiety to extend her commerce. In negotiating the various loans required from time to time, his affluence and talents enabled him to assist the Minister, and he finally became the leading member of the moneyed interest; and even the prosperity of England, at certain periods, may be said to have revolved around him as its *primum mobile*. He was designated by Mr. Erskine as "the first merchant of the world," and his services on all occasions of great national interest, particularly as a Director of the East India Company, and as a Member of Parliament, were too important to escape the notice of Administration, and entitle his memory to grateful recollection. The honor of baronetcy was conferred upon him on 29th May, 1793.

Sir Francis possessed such influence in the commercial world that his death, which occurred on the 12th September, 1810, occasioned a sensible depression in the public stocks. He married a daughter of William Herring, Esq., a cousin and coheiress of Dr. Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury.

The sister of Sir Francis married the celebrated lawyer John Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, which title became extinct at the decease of their only son.

Sir Thomas Baring, born in 1772, succeeded his father in the baronetcy. Another son, Alexander Baring, late Lord Ashburton, became the head of the great commercial house, and did not retire from it until 1830. He was born in 1774, visited this continent in 1794, and travelled through the greater portion of the then United States on horseback, before 1797. He met the present King of France at the Falls of Niagara when there was but one house in Buffalo, and that a very indifferent one. Mr. Baring married a daughter of the Hon. William Bingham, one of the most opulent and public-spirited citizens of Philadelphia, then a Senator in Congress from Pennsylvania. The house of Baring, Brothers & Co. have with scrupulous fidelity attended to the interests of the United States as Government Agent for nearly half a century, which entitles it to our gratitude; and we can never too highly appreciate the services and sacrifices of Lord Ashburton in his embassy, which secured to Great Britain and the

United States a treaty satisfactory to all the right-minded of both countries.

Mr. Baring, having served as a member of the House of Commons for many years, and held with honor, for a short period, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, was elevated to the peerage in 1835, a proud testimonial of his distinguished abilities, and a just reward for a life devoted to the honor and best interests of his country.

Bernard, Sir Francis, Bart., Governor of Massachusetts, arrived in the Province from New Jersey, as successor to Governor Pownall, August 2, 1760, and continued at the head of the Government nine years. His administration was during one of the most interesting periods in American history. He had governed New Jersey two years, in a manner very acceptable to that Province; and the first part of his administration in Massachusetts was very agreeable to the General Court. Soon after his arrival, Canada was surrendered to Amherst. Much harmony prevailed for two or three years, but this prosperous and happy commencement did not continue; there had long been two parties in the Province, — the advocates for the Crown, and the defenders of the rights of the people. Governor Bernard was soon classed with those who were desirous of strengthening the Royal authority in America; the Sons of Liberty, therefore, stood forth uniformly in opposition to him. His indiscretion in appointing Mr. Hutchinson Chief Justice, instead of giving that office to Colonel Otis, of Barnstable, to whom it had been promised by Shirley, proved very injurious to his cause. In consequence of this appointment he lost the influence of Colonel Otis; and by yielding himself to Mr. Hutchinson, he drew upon him the hostility of James Otis, the son, a man of great talents, who soon became the leader on the popular side. The laws for the regulation of trade, and the exactions of the officers of customs, were the first things which greatly agitated the public mind; and afterwards the Stamp Act increased the energy of resistance to the schemes of tyranny. Governor Bernard possessed no talent for conciliating; he was for accomplishing ministerial purposes by force; and the spirit of freedom gathered strength from the open manner in which he attempted to crush it. His speech to the General Court after the repeal of the Stamp Act was by no means calculated to assuage the angry passions that had lately been excited. He was the principal means of bringing the troops to Boston, that he might overawe the people; and it was owing to him that they were continued in the town. This measure had been proposed by him and Mr. Hutchinson, long before it was executed. While he professed

himself a friend to the Province, he was endeavoring to undermine its Constitution, and to obtain an essential alteration in the Charter, by transferring from the General Court to the Crown the right of electing the Council. His conduct, though it drew upon him the indignation of the Province, was so pleasing to the Ministry that he was created a Baronet, March 20, 1769. Sir Francis had too little command of his temper; he could not conceal his resentments, nor could he restrain his censures. One of his last public measures was to prorogue the General Court in July, in consequence of their refusing to make provision for the support of the troops. The General Court, however, before they were prorogued, embraced the opportunity of drawing up a petition to his Majesty for the removal of the Governor. It was found necessary to recall him; and he embarked, August 1, 1769, leaving Mr. Hutchinson, the Lieutenant-Governor, Commander-in-Chief. There were few who lamented his departure: he died in England, June, 1779.

If a man of greater address and wisdom had occupied the place of Sir Francis, it is very probable our Revolution would not have taken place so soon. But his arbitrary principles, and his zeal for the authority of the Crown, enkindled the spirit of the people; while his representations to the Ministry excited them to those measures which hastened the separation of the Colonies from the mother country. From the letters of Governor Bernard, which were obtained and transmitted to this country by some secret friend, it appears he had very little regard to the interests of liberty. His select letters on the trade and government of America, written in Boston, from 1763 to 1768, were published in London in 1774; his other letters, written home in confidence, were published in 1768 and 1769.

Blowers, Sampson Salter, Hon., a native of Boston, and grandson of the Rev. Thomas B. Blowers, second minister of Beverly, Massachusetts, graduated at Harvard College, 1763, of which institution he was for several years the oldest living graduate. He was born in March, 1742, and died in 1824, over *one hundred years* of age. He studied law with Governor Hutchinson, and married the daughter of Benjamin Kent, a lawyer celebrated for his eccentricity and wit. Mr. Blowers was, with John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., engaged to defend Capt. Preston and the British soldiers, on their trial at Boston, November, 1770, for what was termed "the Boston Massacre." On the eve of the Revolution, in 1774, he sailed for England, and returned in the autumn of 1778, just in time to find his name in the Proscribing Act of the Massachusetts Provincial Assem-

bly. He was forthwith imprisoned, but soon liberated and sent in a cartel to Halifax. From this time he pursued his profession there; was raised to the Supreme Bench in 1795; became the Chief Justice in 1801, and resigned all his honors in 1833. Judge Blowers has never revisited his native place. His sister died at Boston in March, 1842, at the age of ninety-eight; she was the widow of an officer of marines, who fell on board the *Alliance* frigate, in an action with two British sloops of war, May, 1781.

The following notice of Judge Blowers appeared in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," in March last: —

"The old man of whom ye spake; is he yet alive?"

The Hon. Sampson Salter Blowers, of Halifax, [Harvard University, 1763,] this day completes his *century of years;* the elder patriarch of Harvard's LIVING ALUMNI. He was a native of Boston, his father living (as we some time ago learned from an authority near in blood) at the time in Quaker Lane, now Congress Street: a nephew of Pyam B., merchant, [H. U. 1721,] and grandson of Rev. Thomas B., second minister of Beverly, [H. U. 1695.] Young Blowers entered upon the study of law with Hutchinson, then simply Judge of Probate and Lieutenant-Governor; and married the daughter of Benj. Kent, Esq.,[1] [H. U. 1727,] an Attorney-at-law in Boston, "celebrated for his eccentricity and wit," who, like himself, became a Refugee, and died in Halifax, at an advanced age, in 1788. In November, 1770, then in his noviciate at the bar, he was employed as junior counsel to Messrs. Adams and Quincy (the latter his classmate) in behalf of the eight British soldiers of the 29th Regiment, on their trial for what was long and most absurdly called "the Boston Massacre." The victims of that night, (March 5th, 1770,) though magnified by the effervescence of the time into *martyrs of liberty*, did but poor credit indeed to the name, and as to most of them, abundantly provoked the

[1] Kent was a minister of Marlborough a very brief period [1733–'35]; though, so unclerical was his deportment and his humor, that we might rather have wondered had his stay been longer. He removed to Boston; and, so late as 1769, his name is found, in somewhat odd association, with those of the most prominent and strenuous Whigs of the place, as a Committee of Safety, in a communication to Dr. Franklin. To him it is, we suppose, that the Doctor, in a letter written from Philadelphia, within the last year and a half of his own life, refers: — "You tell me our poor friend Ben Kent is gone; I hope to the regions of the blessed: or at least to some place where souls are prepared for those regions. I found my hope on this, that, though not so orthodox as you and I, he was an honest man and had his virtues. If he had any hypocrisy, it was of that inverted kind with which a man is not so bad as he seems to be." — See *Sparks's Franklin*, vii. 366, x. 460.

leath they found. Gordon, with strange looseness for one who was writing in the midst of the scene, says, (Vol. i. 194,) "The soldiers had the same counsel as their commander." But Robert Auchmuty, who, according to Eliot, made, in defence of Capt. Preston, a plea so memorable and persuasive, as "almost to bear down the tide of prejudice against him, though it never swelled to a higher flood," had no concern in the succeeding trial; while the subject of this notice was certainly not retained in the earlier one. On the eve of the Revolution (1774) S. S. B., for some reason or object, sailed for England, and returned in the fall of 1778, just in time to find his name in the Proscribing Act of the Provincial Assembly of Massachusetts, (October,) which could not then have been passed many weeks. He was imprisoned forthwith; but within the next fortnight was despatched in a cartel to Halifax. From this time, as we are told, he steadfastly pursued his profession there; being raised to the Supreme Bench in 1795, becoming its presiding head in 1801, and resigning all his honors in 1833.

Though his lot was cast with the obnoxious side, Judge B. stood by no means alone among his companions. The class of 1763 was fruitful in Loyalists, generally, also, Refugees: — *Bliss*, of Springfield, and *Upham*, of Brookfield, (the last, father of the present minister of Salem,) were constituted a few years after Judges of the highest court of New Brunswick;[1] *Dr. John Jeffries*, of Boston, (after signalizing himself in a then novel sphere,) returned a few years in the rear of the peace, to resume practice in his native town; *Hooper*, of Marblehead, second son of "old King Robert," and *Porter*, for a time an eminent attorney in Salem, both died in England.

Judge B. has left behind him in the race the longest-lived of his classmates by more than TEN years. *Col. Pickering*, of Salem, one of the *three* latest survivors, died Jan. 29, 1829. The last of the trio, *Samuel Perley*, settled successively at three several places in New Hampshire, and finally in Gray, Maine; finished his course at the lat-

[1] No other class, perhaps, can show so many instances of the highest judicial elevation. Three Refugee Judges of the Supreme Court! to which must be added the Hon. Nathan Cushing, of Scituate, — a zealous Whig, — who deeply ingratiated himself with the popular party by the spirit of his decisions as First Judge of Admiralty, in 1776, against captured British vessels; and who, at a later period, [1789–1801,] was one of the highest bench of Massachusetts. There is yet one other distinction to which the class of 1763 appropriates. The *first English Oration* ever heard upon the Commencement boards was pronounced by Jed. Huntington, of Norwich, Conn., (afterwards well known as a general officer in our Revolutionary contest, and father of the late Rev. Josh. Huntington, of the Old South Church.)

ter place, November 28, 1831. Of the departed sons of Harvard, Judge Blowers (with the exception of three others, Holyoke, Green, and Farrar,) has alone fairly rounded his century.[1]

Boylston, Ward Nicholas, Esq., the son of Benjamin and Mary Hallowell, (his mother being the sister of Nicholas Boylston,) was born at Boston in 1749; by the desire of his maternal uncle, his name was changed in 1770. In 1773 he embarked for Newfoundland; from thence he sailed to Italy; travelled through Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and along the Barbary coast; and returned through France and Flanders to England, in 1775. He entered into business as a merchant, and remained in London till 1800, when he returned to Boston, and continued to reside in Massachusetts till his death, which occurred in January, 1828, at the age of seventy-eight.

He possessed a mind emulative of the spirit of his maternal ancestry, which he acknowledged in a letter dated May 20, 1800, when he founded at Cambridge the "Boylston Medical Library." In this he expressed the pride he felt in being nearly allied to his maternal great-uncle, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, "who first introduced the inoculation for

[1] In such a connection as this, and for the sake of the narrow circle who are curious in such matters, it may not be amiss to specify the twelve alumni who have reached the highest point of longevity. Those unasterized, it will be observed, we presume not to number their days, but give their age at the moment we are writing.

* 1746. Dr. E. A. Holyoke, of Salem, died March 31, 1829, 100 years 7 months.

1763. Hon. S. S. Blowers, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 100 years 7 months.

* 1745. Rev. N. Porter, minister of Chebacco parish, (Ipswich,) and of Ashfield, died February 29, 1820, 99 years 11 months.

* 1759. Hon. Paine Wingate, minister a few years at Hampton Falls, N. H., and afterwards in high civil trusts, died at Stratham, N. H., March 7, 1838, 98 years and 10 months.

* 1744. Col. Peter Frye, formerly of Salem, and in various public trusts, died (as a Refugee) at Camberwell, Surrey, near London, February 1, 1820, (his birthday) 97 years.

* 1712. Mr. John Nutting, Salem, successively grammar schoolmaster, Register of Deeds, and Collector of the port at different times, died May 20, 1790, 96 years 4 months.

* 1753. Rev. Peter Thacher Smith, minister of Windham, Me., (1762–90,) d. as P. T. S., "Esq.," October, 1826, 95 years 3 months.

1765. Dr. Ezra Green, surgeon in the Continental Navy, under John Paul Jones, and since physician in Dover, N. H., 95 years 10 months.

* 1728. Thaddeus Mason, Esq., Register of Deeds for Middlesex, died at Cambridge, May 1, 1802, 95 years 4 months.

1767. Hon. Timothy Farrar, New Ipswich, N. H., formerly a Judge of the Supreme Judicial Court of New Hampshire, 94 years 8 months.

* 1741. Mr. Joseph Waldo, merchant in Boston, died (as a Refugee) in Bristol, England, April, 1816, 94 years.

* 1710. Rev. Joseph Adams, minister of Newington, N. H., 37 years 6 months, died May 26, 1783, 94 years.

the small-pox into America, from whence it was carried to England, and has ever since been extending its beneficial influence through the world;" and also to his uncle, Nicholas Boylston, "whose memory is known and honored for his liberal donations to Harvard University." In 1840, Mr. Boylston's fund for a college and anatomical museum amounted to nine thousand dollars; which was in addition to the medical library of eleven hundred volumes, and the fund for prize dissertations established by him in 1800.

Brattle, Major Thomas, has been unjustly ranked with the Loyalists of 1775. Letters addressed by him to the Hon. Oliver Wendell, from London, New York, and Newport, in 1779 and '80 fully show that his heart was with the people. They breathe an ardent love of country, and prove that his going to England at the breaking out of the Revolution was not prompted by an aversion to the popular measures of that period. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1760. He was an Absentee, and proscribed in the Act of 1778. Long after his return from England he remained at Newport, R. I., his fate being in suspense. He finally recovered his house and grounds at Cambridge, where he died, February 7, 1801, at the age of 59.

Brattle, Gen. Wm., son of the minister of Cambridge of the same name was graduated at Harvard College in 1722, was a man of fine talents and excellent character. He was a Representative to the General Court from Cambridge, and for a long period a member of the Council. He first studied theology; afterwards law, in which profession he secured large practice and rose to eminence. He became a Major-General of the militia, and secured the favor of the Governor of the Colony, at the same time ingratiated himself with the people. At the commencement of the struggle for independence he did not sympathize with the popular views of that day, but was induced to retire into Boston and to go with the troops to Halifax, where he died in October, 1776, aged about seventy-five. He first married a daughter of Gov. Saltonstall; afterwards, the widow of James Allen, daughter of Col. Fitch. — *Mass. Hist. Collection*, vii. 58, and viii. 82.

Browne, Hon. William, Governor of Bermuda, son of Samuel Browne, Esq., of Salem, and a grandson of Gov. Burnet, graduated at Harvard College in 1755. He was Colonel of the Essex Regiment, and succeeded Judge Ropes on the bench of the Supreme Court, in 1774, for a short time. The Provincial Assembly urging their title to nominate to judicial and civil trusts, he was requested to resign that office, held under the royal seal, as also the honor of Mandamus

Councillor, to which he had been called by a county committee, which he contrived to evade. He was one of the seventeen "*Rescinders*" in 1768. In the several capacities of representative, colonel, councillor, and judge, he rendered himself obnoxious by adhering to Government; which was thus incidentally noticed in a newspaper, when he found it expedient to take refuge in Boston in the autumn of 1774: —

"Agreeable to the advice of the respectable Provincial Congress, the training band company of Lynn, being part of the First Regiment in the county of Essex, formerly commanded by William Browne, Esq., (*politically deceased of a pestilent and mortal disorder, and now buried in the ignominious ruins of Boston,*) met on Monday, the 15th inst., for the purpose of choosing," etc. etc.

Col. Browne was esteemed among the most opulent and benevolent individuals of that Province prior to the Revolution; and so great was his popularity that the gubernational chair was offered him by the "*Committee of Safety*" as an inducement for him to remain and join the "*Sons of Liberty.*" But he felt it a duty to adhere to Government, even at the expense of his great landed estate, both in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the latter comprising fourteen valuable farms, all which were afterwards confiscated. He went to England via Halifax, in April, 1776, and was Governor of Bermuda from 1781 to 1790, when he returned to England, where he died in Percy-street, Westminster, Feb. 13, 1802, aged sixty-five. Col. Browne married his cousin, a daughter of Gov. Wanton, of Rhode Island, and was doubly connected with the Winthrop family; the wives of the elder Browne and Gov. Wanton being daughters of John Winthrop, F. R. S., great-grandson of the first Governor of Massachusetts, who graduated at Harvard College in 1700. Col. Browne's son William was an officer in the British service at the siege of Gibraltar in 1784.

Browne, Hon. William. His ancestor, who bore the same name and title, was amongst the first settlers of Salem, and one of its most benevolent and beloved citizens. Wealth and influence flowed through five generations of the family.

The one of whom we are now to speak was graduated at Harvard College in 1755, and was one of the most prominent inhabitants of Massachusetts. Previous to the Revolutionary troubles he enjoyed great popularity, but by espousing the cause of the mother country he forfeited all claim to the favorable consideration of the people. He was one of the "seventeen *Rescinders*" in 1786, signed the Address to Governor Hutchinson in 1774, and was a Mandamus Coun-

cillor. He became a Refugee; was included in the Banishment Act of 1778, and the Conspiracy Act of 1779.

His landed estates, which were numerous, were all confiscated to the use of Government, and his homestead became the property of the late Elias Hasket Derby, Esq., and there he erected his princely mansion which was taken down in 1815. On its site now stands the Salem City Market.

Col. Browne had been a Judge of the Superior Court and commanded the Essex Regiment; the latter office he was compelled to resign in consequence of his officers refusing to serve under him while he held a seat at the council board. After leaving the country he was appointed Governor of Bermuda, and died in England in 1802. Aged sixty-eight.

Burgoyne, General. It is curious that a man of such celebrity as a writer, a senator, and an officer, as the late Lieutenant-General John Burgoyne, should be found among the number of those of whose youthful days no memorial has been preserved. Neither the time, place, nor circumstances of his birth are known. Even his parentage is doubtful. He is said, but upon what authority it does not appear, to have been a natural son of that Lord Bingley who died at an advanced age in 1774. That he had the advantage of a liberal education and early intercourse with polished society, is sufficiently evident from his writings; and it is probable that he was early devoted to the profession of arms, for on the 10th of May, 1759, he was raised to the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, and in the August of the ensuing year he was appointed Lieut.-Colonel Commandant of the 16th Light Dragoons. His after services at different periods, in Spain, Portugal, and America, are all well known, especially the unfortunate termination of his military career at Saratoga, which, though it tarnished not his honor, cast a shade over his brow, ever afterwards conspicuous to the physiognomical eye. He arrived in England on parole in May, 1778, and published a letter to his constituents, throwing the blame of the failure of the expedition on Lord Sackville, (George Germaine,) the Secretary of the American Department; and a reply to it, doubtless written by Lord Sackville, exhibits some of the peculiarities of the style of Junius. He made on certain occasions no ordinary figure in Parliament, and towards the close of the year 1781, when a majority of Parliament seemed resolved to persist in the war, he joined the opposition, and advocated a motion for the discontinuance of the fruitless contest. He knew that it was impossible to conquer America. "Passion, prejudice, and interest," said he, "may operate suddenly and partially; but

when we see one principle pervading the whole continent, the Americans resolutely encountering difficulty and death for a course of years, it must be a strong vanity and presumption in our own minds, which can only lead us to imagine that they are not in the right." He moved in the first circles, and married Lady Charlotte Stanley, a daughter of the Earl of Derby; and yet we know not who and what originally he was. He was the author of four successful dramas: "The Maid of the Oaks," "The Lord of the Manor," "Richard Cœur de Lion," and the comedy of "The Heiress;" and yet the curiosity of his biographer, even in this anecdote-dealing and memoir-sifting age, cannot trace his origin, or the scenes of his education. The fable of the Lord of the Manor seems in some degree to have been suggested (though sufficiently disguised in the modification of character and circumstances) by the incident of his own matrimonial connection; for his was a clandestine and unauthorized marriage, at a time when he held only a subaltern's commission in the army, and is said to have excited at first the resentment of the lady's father to such a degree that he declared his resolution never to admit the offenders into his presence, though in process of time the anger of the Earl subsided, a reconciliation was effected, and was succeeded by a warm and lasting attachment. It is probable, also, that the memory of his lady, who died in the year 1776, at Kensington Palace, during his absence in America, is embalmed by the affectionate regrets of the General in that beautiful air in the first act of that opera:

"Encompassed in an angel's frame,
An angel's virtues lay;
Too soon did Heaven assert the claim,
And call its own away.

My Anna's worth, my Anna's charms,
Must never more return!
What now shall fill these widow'd arms?
Ah, me! my Anna's urn!"

It is some confirmation of this conjecture that General Burgoyne contracted no second marriage. Taste and sentiment, rather than vigor and originality, and familiarity with local manners and the superficies of character, rather than the comprehensive views of the sources of human action and penetration into the deepest recesses of the human heart, characterize the genius of this writer; and his satire, though well pointed, will accordingly lose its interest when the memory of the fleeting follies and temporary politics at which it is levelled shall have died away. Of his dramatic works, incomparably the most

valuable is the comedy of "The Heiress," which may, indeed, be called the last comedy produced on the English stage.

From the peace till his death, which took place in August, 1792, he lived as a private gentleman, devoted to pleasure and the Muses. The following letter, addressed by him to Garrick, is characteristic: —

TO DAVID GARRICK, ESQ.

Wednesday, Nov. 9, 1774.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your obliging and most friendly letter was delivered to me yesterday, at the moment I was sitting down to dinner with company, or I should have endeavored on the moment to return my acknowledgments with a warmth of expression due to that with which you have honored me. In regard to the very signal distinction you propose to me of the freedom of the house, and the manner of presenting it, I hope you will permit me to decline the parade, and at the same time believe me truly sensible of the honor of it. I should feel myself as proud to be seated in Drury Lane, by your deliberate judgment of my talents, as ever an old Roman did in acquiring the freedom of *his* theatre by public services; but you are at present too partial towards me; and, till I appear in my own eyes more worthy, I must request you to bound your kind intentions to an order for admittance occasionally to your green-room, where I promise neither to criticize your men ill-naturedly, nor lead astray yourself. The having contributed the songs and music, and other reasons alleged for my introduction to your rehearsals, will, I conclude, equally pass with the company for this additional favor, without the necessity of any farther discovery. But as you kindly insist upon my directions, I desire it to be done by a simple order to Johnson, and no gold-box, nor silver-box, — not even a mulberry one: you must give me a reception *Hamlet-like*, — I will have no *appurtenances of welcome*. I think I may, without vanity, congratulate you upon the piece having laid hold of the audience last night. A general relish was very discernible. I could not help agreeing with a critic who sat near me, and who expressed himself delighted with the genteel scenes, that the introduction of the lamplighters was too coarse to assort with the rest. Suppose three or four of your girls were introduced in the act of weaving cords of flowers, such as the dancers use in the second act. They might fix one end of the cord to the scene, and keep slipping back as they weave the flowers, in the manner the ropemakers do, which would be picturesque. In that case, O'Daub's part might begin with his conversation

with the architect; and he might present himself to the girls in some nonsense like the following: "*O'Daub.* — If these pretty maids would pay me with a kiss a-piece, 'faith, I'd paint them all round for nothing at all. Surely they look as bright as a May morning already, and a touch of my brush will make them remembered by those who never saw 'em." If after this the two additional verses of the song were added, the words would apply, and Moody's action might have effect. Should you approve this idea, or any one like it, the alteration is so short it might be studied and acted in half an hour; but I submit it to you on the sudden, like many crudities with which I have troubled you. Lord Stanley is come to town, and very earnest to see "The Maid of the Oaks." I send to Johnson's for a box for Lady Betty to-morrow, that she may do him the honors, and I hope I shall succeed. If you could send me the copy this afternoon, I would return it in time for you to put it into the printer's hands to-morrow afternoon. Believe me with the truest sense of the value of your friendship, dear sir, your faithful and obedient, etc. etc.

J. Burgoyne.

Cabot, Andrew, was born at Salem, December 15, 1750; married Lydia, daughter of George Dodge, Esq., and resided in Beverly. He early engaged in commerce with his brothers, George and John. He afterwards purchased the Lechmere Farm in Cambridge, and removed there. He was the first earnest projector of a bridge in that neighborhood, which resulted in the building of the Charles River Bridge. He was an eminent merchant and much esteemed for his social qualities. He died in Beverly, after a short illness, in May, 1791, aged forty-one.

Cabot, John, was born in Salem, January 13, 1745; married Hannah, daughter of George Dodge, Esq., and for a long time resided in Beverly, engaged in commercial pursuits; he afterwards removed to Salem, but died in Boston 28th August, 1821.

The ancestor of the Cabot family early emigrated to Salem from the island of Jersey.

Cabot, George, of Salem, Mass., born in 1752, was for some years a master mariner, which the better qualified him for commercial operations, in which he embarked with success. He was a member of the Provincial Congress in Concord in 1777, at the age of twenty-five, and a member of the State Convention in 1788, for considering the Constitution of the United States. Soon after he was chosen a Senator in Congress, and fully coöperated in the financial views of

Hamilton. He was master of the science of political economy, which, together with his very general and accurate commercial knowledge, rendered his services invaluable in framing our commercial and revenue laws.

On the 3d of May, 1798, he was offered the Secretaryship of the Navy on its first establishment, but declined the office in favor of Mr. Benjamin Stoddard, whose great skill in shipbuilding was thought to be an advantage, and who was appointed. The Navy under his management was created and has generally been a popular arm of war, as well as a protector of our constantly increasing commercial marine. He was President of the Hartford Convention in 1814. In private life Mr. Cabot was highly esteemed for benevolence and many virtues. He was a professor of religion, and a member of the church of which Rev. Dr. Kirkland was pastor, and who, after the decease of Mr. Cabot, married his daughter. He died at Boston, where he had resided many years, April 18, 1823, aged seventy-one.

Carleton, Sir Guy, (afterwards Lord Dorchester,) a distinguished British General in America, was appointed a Brigadier in that country in 1766; he was raised to a Major-Generalship in 1772. At the close of the year 1774, a commission passed the seals constituting him Captain-General and Governor of Quebec.

When Canada was invaded by Montgomery in 1775, Carleton was in the most imminent danger of being taken prisoner upon the St. Lawrence after the capture of Montreal; but he escaped in a boat with muffled paddles, and arrived safely at Quebec, which he found threatened by an unexpected enemy. Arnold, although he had been repulsed by Col. McLean, was yet in the neighborhood of the city, waiting for the arrival of Montgomery, previously to another attack. General Carleton, with the skill of an experienced officer, took the necessary measures for the security of the city; his first act was to oblige all to leave Quebec who would not take up arms in its defence. When Montgomery approached, his summons was treated with contempt by the Governor, whose intrepidity was not to be shaken; by his industry and bravery Carleton saved the city. After the unsuccessful assault of the last of December, in which Montgomery was killed, he had nothing more immediately to apprehend. In May, 1776, he obliged the Americans to raise the siege; and it was not long before he compelled them to withdraw entirely from Canada. In October he recaptured Crown Point; but, as the winter was advancing, he did not attempt the reduction of Ticonderoga, but returned to St. John. In the beginning of the next year he was superseded in

his command by Burgoyne, who was intrusted with the Northern British Army. Carleton's experience, abilities and services were such as rendered him worthy of the command, which was given to another. Though he immediately asked leave to resign his government, he yet contributed all in his power to secure the success of the campaign. In the year 1782 he was appointed, as successor of Sir Henry Clinton, Commander-in-Chief of all the British forces in America. He arrived at New York with his commission in the beginning of May. After the treaty was signed, he delayed for some time the evacuation of the city, from regard to the safety of the Loyalists, but on November 25, 1780, he embarked and withdrew the British ships from the shores of America. He was subsequently Governor-General of Canada, and took with him the best portrait of Washington ever executed. It was the work of Mr. Pyne, an unsuccessful competitor of Sir Joshua Reynolds, whom Gen. Carleton employed in Philadelphia to paint the object of his highest admiration. By some unaccountable neglect it was left in Canada, when Lord Dorchester was appointed Governor-General of India, which command he was never destined to enjoy, having died in England, at the close of the year 1808, at the age of eighty-three. This excellent likeness and work of art was purchased in Canada by the late Henry Brevoort, Esq., of New York, and long graced his fine gallery there.

Gen. Carleton was a brave and able officer, and rendered important services to his country. Though he was not conciliating in his manners and possessed the severity of a soldier, yet his humanity to the American prisoners whom he took in Canada, has been much praised.

Chandler, Nathaniel, son of Col. John and Mary (Church) Chandler, was born November 6, 1750, graduated at Harvard College in 1768, was a law student of James Putnam of Worcester, called to the bar in 1771, and commenced business in Petersham where he continued until the courts were closed.

He became a Refugee Loyalist, and for some time commanded a corps of Volunteers in the British service. From New York he went to England. Returning in 1784, he engaged in business at Petersham, which illness compelled him to relinquish. He removed to Worcester, where he died a bachelor, March 7, 1801. Mr. Chandler was early a pupil of the elder President Adams, who used to speak of him as a scholar possessing fine abilities. Had he been assiduous in his profession, he might have risen to eminence. His personal appearance was pleasing and he had a fine address. His great flow of spirits and fertile imagination rendered him a great favorite in the social circle.

Clinton, Governor George, the youngest son of Col. Charles Clinton, was born in Ulster County, New York, and died in Washington, in 1812, aged seventy-two. Having studied law with William Smith, afterwards Chief Justice of New York, he rose to distinction at the bar, and was a zealous Whig in the Colonial Assembly in 1775. On the fifteenth of May in that year, he took his seat as a member of Congress, and voted for the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776; but being called away by his appointment of Brigadier-General, before the instrument was ready for signature, his name was not attached to it. He was the first Governor elected under the new Constitution, and was rechosen for eighteen successive years, when he was succeeded by the illustrious patriot John Jay. Upon the advance of the enemy up the Hudson in Oct. 1777, he prorogued the Assembly, and took command of Fort Montgomery, where he and his brother James made a gallant defence on the fifth of that month. They escaped under cover of the night. The next day forts Independence and Constitution were evacuated. On the restoration of peace the States generally permitted a return of the proscribed Loyalists. Those from New York petitioned the Assembly for that boon, but the Governor in his opening speech threw his influence against the measure and it was rejected. He presided in the Convention at Poughkeepsie in June, 1788, for deliberating on the Constitution, and opposed the ratification on the ground that State rights were not sufficiently guarded by it. After five years in private life he was again elected Governor in 1801, but in 1804, being elected Vice-President of the United States, he continued in that station until his death. Through life he exhibited great energy and decision of character, and the democratic element always prevailed in the measures under his control.

Clinton, Sir Henry, an English General, son of the Colonial Governor Clinton, was the grandson of the Earl of Lincoln. After distinguishing himself in the battle of Bunker Hill, in 1775, he was sent unsuccessfully against New York and Charleston. He afterwards, in September, 1776, occupied the city of New York. October 6, 1777, he assaulted and took forts Clinton and Montgomery. In 1778, he succeeded Howe in the command at Philadelphia, whence Washington compelled him to retire. In May, 1780, he took Charleston. It was he who negotiated with Arnold in his treason. He returned to England in 1782, and died Dec. 22, 1795; a few months before, he had been appointed Governor of Gibraltar. He published a narrative of his conduct in America, 1782. — *Observations on Cornwallis's Answer*, 1783; *Observations on Stedman*, 1784.

Coffin, Nathaniel, Esq., of Boston, the father of Sir Isaac Coffin, Bart., who was his fourth and youngest son. Mr. Coffin graduated at Harvard College in 1744; was Cashier of the Customs at Boston; an "*Addresser*" of Gov. Gage; a Refugee in 1775; was proscribed in the Banishment Act of 1778, and died in England before November, 1783. He was the son of Nathaniel and Patience (Hale) Coffin, and born April 20, 1744. — See *History of Portland.*

Coffin, Thomas Aston, Esq., son of William Coffin, of Boston, and cousin of Sir Isaac Coffin, remained in Boston after the siege, and was proscribed in 1778. He was private Secretary to Gen. Carleton, and in 1784 was appointed Commissary-General to the British troops at Quebec. He died in London, May 3, 1810, aged fifty-six. Mr. Coffin graduated at Harvard College in 1772.

Conway, General Thomas, was born in Ireland, came to America from France in 1777, was a Major-General in the Army of the American Revolution, and at the recommendation of Silas Deane, aided the formation and discipline of the army. He had a considerable reputation in France as an officer, where he had been educated to the profession of arms, and, expecting from Congress the commission of Major-General, was disappointed by being made in May, 1777, only a Brigadier. During the arduous winter of that year, when Washington had his camp at Valley Forge, Gen. Conway was one of the most active of his secret enemies, endeavoring to procure the elevation of Gen. Gates to the supreme command. He had been in November appointed by Congress Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General, notwithstanding Washington had written a letter to a member of that body remonstrating against his promotion; a fact which proves that a strong influence unfriendly to Washington at that time existed in the Continental Congress. So prominent was he in his efforts made to foster discontent in the public mind by writing anonymous and forged letters, and by spreading insinuations against the Commander-in-Chief and strictures on his conduct, that the whole conspiracy became known as "Conway's Cabal." His character, early discovered by Washington, was at length understood by Congress. His pretentious and offensive language made him unpopular in the army, and early in 1778 he sent to the President of the Congress the resignation of his commission, which to his surprise was immediately accepted by that body. He had many difficulties with American officers; was challenged, July 4, 1778, by Gen. Cadwallader, and received a ball in the head. Supposing the wound fatal, he wrote the following letter of apology to Washington: —

Sir: —I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written or said anything disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over, therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

I am with great respect, etc.,

Thomas Conway.

Contrary to all expectation, he recovered from his wound; but finding himself without rank in the army, covered with public opprobrium, and his very name become a byword, he abandoned a country in which he had dishonored himself, and embarked for France in the course of the year. He died in France, but the date of his decease is unknown. — *American Cyclopediæ. Irving's Life of Washington.*

Cooper, Myles, D. D., President of King's, now Columbia, College, New York, was born in 1734, and educated at the University of Oxford, where he graduated as Master of Arts in 1760. Arriving in New York, and recommended by the Archbishop of Canterbury as well qualified to assist in a college, he was received by President Johnson in the most affectionate manner, and appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy. After the resignation of Dr. Johnson, he was chosen to the Presidency in February, 1763. Soon after, Dr. Clossey, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, where he had also taken the degree of Doctor of Physic, was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy.

A grammar-school was also established and connected with the College, under the charge of Mr. Cushing, from Boston. The classes were now taught by Dr. Cooper, Dr. Clossey, and Mr. Harper, with great advantage.

In 1775 Dr. Cooper was a stanch Loyalist, and on being discovered as a public writer on the side of the Crown, a large mob assailed him in the night at the College, with threats against him, but Alexander Hamilton kept them at bay by his unsurpassed eloquence, while Dr. Cooper escaped to a friend's in the upper part of the city, from whence he was put on board a vessel bound to England. This was in the month of May, 1775.

On the 10th of the same month, prior to his departure, Dr. Cooper wrote to his friend and fellow-sufferer, Isaac Wilkins, Esq., who had preceded him to London, as follows: "All things yet in *statu quo*. On Sunday I went to Morrisania to visit Mrs. Wilkins; she was as

well as could be reasonably expected, after parting with *you*, and returned that evening to Castle Hill, where I hope she will enjoy your return in safety. I had not time, you know, to write by you, save to Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Vardill, but they will sufficiently introduce you to all whom you would wish to see for the present. If I think of anything I can do for you, I will write, by Mr. Cooke, for Bristol next week, and I will let no opportuuity escape that I hear of, without giving you a line, whilst I continue in this country of confusion, which for the sake of the College I am minded to do as long as I can with any degree of prudence. Should this Congress be as hot as the last, we are undone; should cooler measures be adopted, we may yet be preserved; for Britain, though stout, is exorable."

From Oxford, Feb. 4, 1777, where he had resided for three months, he thus writes to the same friend, then at Long Island: "Mr. Wetherhead wrote me about Mr. Seabury's pay; I have applied to the Bishop of London to interfere with the Admiralty, and hope all will be settled to his satisfaction. I wish much to hear from him; in the mean time, my best respects to him, Wetherhead, Samuel Bayard, etc. I will write to as many as I can by this packet, but, like an improvident man, I have deferred the business to the last, and now am called upon by the Provost to attend some affairs of the College, which are agitating before the House of Commons; so that it is out of my power to say whether or not I shall be able to write another line. Dr. Clossey shall hear from me presently."

From Edinburgh, 26th Feb. 1779, he wrote to the same friend at Long Island, as follows: "I received your obliging letter of 2d October, in London; I had not been there for a year before, and was only there then for a few days, having gone from this remote region into the South to take possession of a very small living presented me by the present Chancellor, from which business I returned as quickly as possible to this city, which has been my residence for fourteen months past, and where I am too agreeably situated to think of moving unless for the better; or unless I should be obliged to reside on the little living aforesaid; or unless, which would be best of all, a happy termination of American disputes should enable me to resume my old situation; and till such an event takes place, I do not expect to be completely satisfied.

"You gave me spirits by representing matters in your quarter in a better light than I had viewed them. Indeed, Drs. Inglis and Seabury had been uniform in their information, so much of it as came to my knowledge, of the same purport; but the corroborative evidence

even of a layman to two priests still had its effect. I wish to Heaven you may not be wrong in your opinions. My most affectionate regards to Mr. Cutting, Mr. Colden, the Ludlows, Dr. Ogden, etc., whom I suppose you frequently see."

To the same friend, care of Rev. Dr. Inglis, at New York, he wrote from Edinburgh, May 30, 1783, as follows: "O, my dear friend! I shed tears most copiously when I first opened your letter, and upon the perusal of it *now* in order to answer it, I am more affected than before. Heavens! what confusion must you all be witnesses of in your unhappy situation. And yet I cannot help forming some hopes, that, now the contest is ended the governing powers will relax their severity, and endeavor to bring over to them the minds of those whose persons and properties they have possession of. I long for accounts from New York that I can depend upon; for I have not received a line from any of my correspondents there since their independency; a circumstance that must occasion such changes in the American system as cannot be conceived, I trust, by the wisest at this distance.

"'T is true I have taken a living; it is in Berkshire, half-way between London and Bath, and twenty-six miles from Oxford; a spot as delightful as can well be imagined, yet I don't know if ever I shall go thither to reside. I am as pleasantly situated here as I could wish to be."

He had been for some time one of the ministers of the Episcopal Chapel of Edinburgh, where he died May 1, 1785, at the age of fifty-one. Dr. Cooper possessed wit and humor to a great degree; and pleasing manners, united to agreeable conversational powers. Although he had long expected death, he died suddenly, soon after writing the following epitaph of himself: —

"Here lies a priest of English blood,
Who, living, liked whate'er was good;
Good company, good wine, good name;
Yet never hunted after fame.
But, as the first he still preferred,
So here he chose to be interred;
And, unobserved, from crowds withdrew,
To rest among a chosen few;
In humble hope that Sovereign Love
Will raise him to the blest above."

LINES BY DR. COOPER, PRESIDENT OF KING'S, NOW COLUMBIA, COLLEGE.

The following lines were written by Dr. Cooper,[1] in England, on the 10th of May, 1776, the anniversary of his departure from New York. As it is descriptive of his precipitate flight from the College, to avoid the outrages of a mob, this effusion may be regarded as a document of historical interest, aside from the beauty of the poetry: —

" To thee, O God! by whom I live,
The tribute of my soul I give,
On this revolving day:
To thee, O God! my voice I raise,
To thee address my grateful praise,
And swell the duteous lay.
Nor has this orb unceasing run
Its annual circle round the sun,
Since when the heirs of strife,
Led by the pale moon's midnight ray,
And bent on mischief, urged their way
To seize my guiltless life.
At ease my weary limbs were laid,
And slumbers sweet around me shed
The blessings of repose:
Unconscious of the dark design,
I knew no base intent was mine,
And therefore fear'd no foes.
When straight a heaven-directed youth,[2]
Whom oft my lessons led to truth,
And honor's sacred shrine,
Advancing quick, before the rest,
With trembling tongue my ear addrest,
Yet sure in voice divine:
'Awake! awake! the storm is nigh —
This instant rouse — this instant fly —
The next may be too late:
Four hundred men, a hostile band,
Access importunate demand,
And shake the groaning gate.'
I wake — I fly — whilst loud and near
Dread execrations wound my ear,
And sore my soul dismay;
One avenue alone remain'd,
A speedy passage there I gain'd,
And wing'd my rapid way.
That moment all the furious throng,
An entrance forcing, pour'd along,

[1] A life-sized portrait of Rev. Dr. Cooper, painted by Copley, for his ancestor, was presented by the late Mr. Stuyvesant to the editor, and is now in his possession.

[2] Mr. Nicholas Ogden.

And fill'd my peaceful cell; [1]
Where harmless jest, and modest mirth,
And cheerful laughter oft had birth,
And joy was wont to dwell.
Not ev'n the Muses' hallow'd fane,
Their lawless fury can restrain,
Or check their headlong haste;
They push them from their solemn seat,
Profane their long rever'd retreat,
And lay their Pindus waste.
Nor yet content — but hoping still
Their impious purpose to fulfil,
They force each yielding door;
And whilst their curses load my head,
With piercing steel they probe the bed,
And thirst for human gore.
Meanwhile along the sounding shore,
Where Hudson's waves incessant roar,
I work my weary way;
And skirt the windings of the tide,
My faithful pupil by my side,
Nor wish the approach of day.
At length ascending from the beach,
With hopes reviv'd by morn, I reach
The good Palemon's [2] cot;
Where, free from terror and affright,
I calmly wait the coming night,
My every fear forgot.
'T was then I scal'd the vessel's [3] side,
Where all the amities abide
That mortal worth can boast;
Whence, with a longing, lingering view,
I bid my much-lov'd York adieu,
And sought my native coast.
Now all compos'd, from danger far,
I hear no more the din of war,
Nor shudder at alarms;
But safely sink each night to rest,
No malice rankling through my breast,
In freedom's fostering arms.
Though stripp'd of most the world admires,
Yet torn by few untam'd desires,
I rest in calm content;
And humbly hope a gracious Lord
Again those blessings will afford,
Which once his bounty lent.
Yet still for many a faithful friend,
Shall day by day my vows ascend
Thy dwelling, O my God!
Who steady still in virtue's cause,
Despising faction's mimic laws,

[1] King's, now Columbia, College. [2] Mr. Stuyvesant's seat in the Bowery.
[3] *Kingfisher*, sloop of war, bound to England.

The paths of peace have trod.
Nor yet for friend alone — for all
Too prone to heed sedition's call,
Hear me, indulgent Heaven!
Oh! may they cast their arms away,
To Thee, and George, submission pay,
Repent and be forgiven!"

Copley, John Singleton, Esq., the distinguished historical painter, was born at Boston. His mother was a daughter of Gen. Winslow, and his sister-in-law was the wife of Col. Henry Bromfield. He married a daughter of Richard Clarke, Esq., one of the consignees of the East India Company's tea; and being an Addresser of Gov. Hutchinson, was early a Refugee Loyalist. Mr. Copley visited Italy in 1774, and joined his wife and children in England in 1776. He resumed his profession in the metropolis with unsurpassed success. His "Death of Chatham," "Defence of Gibraltar," and "Charles I. in the House of Commons,"[1] placed him among the first artists of the age. He died in the full exercise of his talent, suddenly, in 1815. Many of his superb portraits adorn the mansions and galleries of Massachusetts. His only son, Lord Lyndhurst, as distinguished in the legal profession as his father was as an artist, was born in Boston in 1772, and graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he distinguished himself, winning many prizes. In 1816 he was elected to Parliament. In 1819 became Solicitor-General; in 1826, on the death of Lord Gifford, Master of the Rolls, and in 1827, Lord High Chancellor of England, which honorable post he held in 1845 for the third time; all of which offices he filled with distinguished ability.[2]

[1] This superb picture, illustrating a most important event and era in the history of civil liberty, was purchased by President Quincy and a few other eminent citizens of Boston several years ago, and adorns the city library. England could not appreciate it; that soil was uncongenial to the sentiment it inculcates, but here we trust the tree of liberty will grow and live forever.

[2] The following is extracted from a letter written by this distinguished man to his aunt, Mrs. Startin, of New York. It shows his character at that period of his life, then at the age of twenty-five. We insert it, as it praises the measures of the American Government with regard to France, dated London, July 20, 1797: —

"In the character of a correspondent, deficient as I am, I yet think I may triumph over my aunt, for not one line have I received from her since I quitted New York. Perhaps she has not yet forgiven the many strange pranks which I played during my residence in America. And yet she promised to forget and forgive. I am sorry to receive from Mr. Prune unfavorable accounts of Mr. Startin's health. I hope you will have the goodness to remember me very kindly to him, and place me in the most favorable light by stating what is really the case, that I am already grown as grave as a judge.

"The moderate but spirited and energetic conduct of the American Government has exalted the character of the nation in the opinion of the haughty inhabitants of

He was raised to the peerage in 1827, and his armorial motto, "*ultra pergere*," may well apply to his former career. A sister of Lord Lyndhurst is the widow of Gardner Greene, Esq., of Boston. John Singleton Copley, Baron Lyndhurst, died in London, October 12, 1863.

The London "Times," in a notice of his death, says: —

"It is strange to think that there so lately dwelt among us a man who was born in America while Massachusetts was a British Colony, who heard Erskine's great speech in defence of Hardy, who visited Washington at Mount Vernon, who prosecuted Queen Caroline on her memorable trial, who had been Solicitor and Attorney-General, Master of the Rolls, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and three times Lord Chancellor, and who held the Great Seal six-and-thirty years ago, before Lord Palmerston was a Cabinet Minister, or the Queen, who has reigned over us for six-and-twenty years without a regency, had left the nursery, and who, up to the last few weeks of his life, was the charm of his social circle, and the trusted adviser and Mentor of a great political party."

In regard to his oratorical abilities, the editor remarks: —

"Many orators have exceeded Lord Lyndhurst in the brilliancy of particular passages, but in the art of treating a subject as a whole, and leaving on his audience his own impression of the whole and of every part, he is, as far as we know, wholly unrivalled. He disdained ornament, exaggeration, or metaphor; his language was clear, precise, and elegant, but such as might have been expected rather from a contemporary of Demosthenes than an English orator of the nineteenth century. He was his own best critic, and had cultivated his taste up to the standard of his other intellectual powers. He was neither dazzled by vanity nor misled by passion; his temper was as serene as his intellect was clear; and his speeches left little or nothing upon which his antagonists could found an attack or an answer. Whoever has heard Lord Lyndhurst on a great occasion, has probably enjoyed the very best opportunity which modern times afford of estimating the style and manner of the great orators of classical antiquity."

CORNWALLIS, CHARLES, Marquis, Commander of the British Army in America, surrendered at Yorktown, October 19, 1781; an event which brought the war to a close. In 1790 he was Governor-General of India, and by his victories in the war with Tippoo Saib acquired high reputation. Again was he appointed, in 1805, Governor

Europe, who were accustomed to regard with too supercilious an eye a people just risen from the subordinate rank of colonists.

"The situation of Europe has, since the opening of the campaign, undergone a great change. The regicide, attacked on every side by the beagles of royalty, seems to have lost all his former spirit and fury, and the zealots think that the ravaging monster will be torn to pieces without even the desperate glory of dying hard."

of India; where he died, at Ghazepore, October 5. He married, in 1768, Miss Jones, a lady of large fortune, who is said to have died of a broken heart, in consequence of his engaging in the American war. He published an answer to the "Narrative of Sir Henry Clinton," 1783.

Crowninshield, George, was one of a family of merchants who contributed in no slight degree by their energy and enterprise to the commercial prosperity of Salem. When still in the early enjoyment of abundant success, he avoided confining himself to the beaten track of our usual commerce at that time, and, striking out boldly in search of untried regions, discovered and opened to our trade ports now generally visited, and which have proved inexhaustible in their commercial opportunities. The same spirit of enterprise animated his brother-in-law, Elias Hasket Derby, who thus became the founder of that extensive East India trade which had so great a share in causing Salem to possess for a time so high a mercantile reputation. Mr. Crowninshield was born in Salem, August 6, 1734: he was the grandson of an emigrant German physician from Leipsic, in Saxony, John Caspar Richter Von Cronenshilt, who came to Boston about 1686, and who died there in 1711. Two of his sons, John and Clifford, came to Salem to the family of their mother Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob Allin, who was himself a captain in the early trade of Salem prior to 1700. These two sons afterwards became successful merchants; the younger, Clifford, outliving by many years his brother, died in 1776; the elder, John, was the father of the subject of this sketch.

He was born in Boston, Jan. 19, 1696, and is found in Salem as a captain in the West India trade about 1724. He was a sharer in the growing trade of Salem during the ensuing years, and associated with himself in business one by one his three sons, John, Jacob, and George. He married, September 27, 1722, Anstiss Williams, by whom he had four sons and five daughters. He built the mansion house in Essex Street opposite Union Street, where he resided during many years, and where he suddenly fell dead, May 25, 1761; where too, on the evening of December 29, 1819, Rev. William Bentley, D. D., the pastor and constant friend of his son George, died in a precisely similar manner. Of his three sons, John, the eldest, soon followed his father, dying in 1766, aged thirty-seven, with the same suddenness.

Jacob, the second son, died November 15, 1774, aged forty-one, on his passage from Jamaica. He was the father of the well-known Captain Benjamin Crowninshield, noted for his skill and bravery upon

the sea. Of the latter we shall take further notice at the close of this article.

George thus became the only surviving son, and the sole conductor of the business. This he enlarged, though subject to great fluctuations during the Revolution. He married, July 18, 1757, Mary, daughter of Richard Derby, a merchant of the first rank, (and father to Elias Hasket, who married Elizabeth Crowninshield, a sister of George,) by whom he had a numerous family of sons and daughters, and who died November 26, 1813, aged seventy-six. He inherited from his father-in-law his mansion-house in Essex Street, opposite Hardy Street, but he afterwards built a more splendid one in Derby Street, which was demolished, to make room for the present Custom-House, about 1816.

In the season of prosperity after the Revolution until the Embargo, he shared liberally, and afterwards during the war of 1812 he with his sons largely increased their fortunes by their success in privateering; the most noted of their vessels being the well-known *America*. His spirit of enterprise did not desert him in his latter years, as after 1800 his ships were the first to visit and trade with certain ports on the African coast, previously unvisited, but now of the first importance.

Mr. Crowninshield was in politics an ardent Republican, and opposed to the Federal policy, and spared no pains to increase Democratic sentiments. With his sons he exerted a strong influence upon certain classes of the population, especially the seafaring portion, who held them in high personal regard on account of their open, hearty sympathy with them, and efforts in their behalf, especially during those times when our ships were subject to such outrages from foreign nations upon the sea.

In religion he was a Unitarian, being a partaker of the change to liberal opinions, which the religious society with which he was connected underwent during the ministry of the lamented Dr. Bentley.

He died of old age, though in the enjoyment of his faculties, June 17, 1815, aged eighty-one years. An obituary notice says of him: — "To a firm constitution and a healthy and temperate life he united a generous ambition of active character, and in the prosperity of his family, of his commercial enterprises, and of his country, he enjoyed what a laudable ambition might pursue and covet to obtain. He was most respectfully interred on Sunday evening last."

He ever acted a patriotic part during the Revolution and the war

of 1812, being prompt in his offers of ships and loans to the Government; was active and public-spirited in the affairs of his native town, and desirous to originate and improve its financial or charitable institutions.

Two of his sons, George and John, were distinguished as merchants. The former was the owner of the famous pleasure-yacht, the *Cleopatra's Barge*, in which he made the tour of the ports of Europe. She was commanded by his cousin, Capt. Benjamin, and was the first American vessel to cross the ocean solely upon a pleasure excursion. He returned in October, 1817, and at 9 in the evening of the 26th of the following November, while she was lying in port at Salem, he died suddenly in the arms of his servant in her cabin, at the age of fifty-one. By a curious coincidence, Samuel Curwen Ward, his friend, and the companion of his voyage, expired at the same time, at the same age, of a consumption. John, the second son, was noted for his fine business qualifications and elevated tone of character. He, as well as his brothers, bore a conspicuous part in the privateering service during the war of 1812. Jacob and Benjamin Williams took active parts in the stormy political periods following the administration of Washington, and held high official places in the National Government. The former was elected to Congress from the Essex South District in 1802, which office he retained until May 15, 1808, when he died at Washington, aged thirty-eight, after a long and distressing illness, caused by the rupture of a blood vessel. In 1805, he was appointed Secretary of the Navy, but declined serving on the score of ill health. In the House he was specially valued for his knowledge of marine and commercial matters, which was extensive and accurate. He was diligent, prompt and zealous in promoting the interests of Government, and on great national questions, especially those connected with our foreign policy, his patriotism and ability shone conspicuous. His private character was unblemished, and he possessed amiable manners, an open disposition, and a liberal heart.

The latter, Benjamin Williams, was Secretary of the Navy from December, 1814, until his resignation in November, 1818. He was also elected to Congress in 1823, and held the office until 1831, a longer time than any incumbent had hitherto enjoyed it. He was also a State Senator, and in 1818–19 a candidate for the gubernatorial chair.

Like his brother, his commercial knowledge was accurate and extensive; his character progressive, though firm; his understanding comprehensive. He resided in Boston the latter years of his life,

where, February 3, 1851, he expired in the same sudden manner and of the same disease as so many of his family had done. His age was seventy-nine years.

Another son, Richard, was among the foremost in the introduction and improvement of woollen factories, which he erected and for a time carried on in the neighboring town of Danvers. He was a pioneer in those departments of manufacture, and originated many of those suggestions which have since been so successfully and extensively carried out in the manufacturing cities of the State. He died August 18, 1844, in his seventieth year.

Benjamin Crowninshield, a nephew of the subject of this article, was the son of Jacob. He was born in Salem in 1757, and died in Charlestown, November 22, 1836; was a master mariner, and during the war with England in 1812, commanded the private armed ship *John*, of 258 tons, mounting sixteen six-pound guns, and manned by one hundred and four men; also the ship *Alexander*, of 308 tons, mounting eighteen six and nine-pounders, and manned by one hundred and forty men.

After the war he commanded the yacht belonging to his bachelor cousin, George Crowninshield, called *Cleopatra's Barge*, and accompanied the owner on a pleasure-trip to the Mediterranean Sea, visiting the most important ports, entertaining numerous parties on board in reciprocation of hospitalities extended to the travellers.

Curtis, Charles, of Scituate, Massachusetts, the son of Benjamin and Rebecca (House) Curtis, was born in 1744, and graduated at Harvard College in 1765. His wife was a daughter of Deacon John James. He was gentlemanly, and with fair prospects, and was thought to have gone over to the British with ambitious views; and is believed to have failed as to reward for his mistaken loyalty; his only office after his defection was that of forage-master near New York.

The Committee of Inspection, by request of the town of Scituate, waited upon him and Frederick Henderson, to know whether they intended to adhere to the Continental Association; the former replied, "I shall not adhere to it;" the latter said as the former, with the addition, "I don't know any Congress." His ignorance is much to be wondered at, as he had been an inhabitant of this town for several years, and ever since quitting his marine vocation.

Mr. Curtis was the only one among many suspected persons, who, either through despair of the cause or more interested motives, had any known design of flying to the British. He died in New York previous to 1832.

Cushing, Thomas, LL. D., Lieut.-Governor, the son of Thomas Cushing, a very popular Speaker of the Assembly of Massachusetts, was born in 1725, graduated at Harvard College in 1744, was fond of public life, and paid too little attention to pecuniary considerations. He was for many years a Representative, and in 1763, when Governor Bernard negatived Mr. Otis as Speaker, he was elected in his place, and continued in that office till chosen a member of the First Congress, to meet in Philadelphia in 1774. He was elected Lieut.-Governor in 1779, which office he held till his death in 1788. His name as Speaker having been signed to all the public papers made it known abroad, where he was considered the leader of the Whigs. Dr. Johnson, in his pamphlet called "*Taxation no Tyranny*," says, "one object of the Americans is to adorn the brows of Mr. Cushing with a diadem." And he was at other times the object of the sarcasm of ministerial writers. He was a member of the corporation of Harvard College, and attentive to its affairs, and from it he received a diploma of Doctor of Laws.

Three years after he graduated, Mr. Cushing was married to Deborah Fletcher, and five children were the fruit of this marriage. Col. Thomas Cushing, their only son, married Miss Catharine, daughter of Timothy Orne, Esq., of Salem. She survived him many years, and was the wife of the late Hon. Elisha Mack, of Salem.

Governor Cushing's life was devoted to his country's service. At his last moments he expressed a satisfaction in having uprightly filled all the offices which had been entrusted to him. He gave many proofs of his charity; his heart melted at the woes of others, and his hand was ever open to relieve them.

Cushing, William, son of John and Mary (Cotton) Cushing, was born March 1, 1734, and graduated at Harvard College in 1751. He was preceptor of a grammar-school in Roxbury, in 1752; was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He studied law with Jeremy Gridley and was admitted to the bar in 1755.

In 1774, he was married to Hannah Phillips, and settled in Pownalborough, (now Dresden,) Maine. He was erect and graceful, of middling stature, rather slight in person, of fair complexion, with aquiline nose, and brilliant eyes. His oratory was ready and flowing. He was selected by Washington as one of the Justices of the Supreme Court, for which he was eminently qualified by his learning, by his unshaken integrity and deliberate temper.

He was afterwards nominated to the office of Chief Justice of the United States, and confirmed by an unanimous vote of the Senate,

but declined the honor in consequence of infirm health. He died at Scituate, September 13, 1810. He left no offspring.

Dana, Francis, LL. D., Chief Justice of Massachusetts, was a descendant of Richard Dana, who died at Cambridge about 1695. His father was Richard Dana, an eminent magistrate. He was born at Charlestown in August, 1742, and after graduating at Harvard College in 1762, studied law with Judge Trowbridge. He passed the year 1775 in England, where he had a brother, Edmund, a minister at Worcester, who died in 1823. In 1776 he was appointed a Delegate to Congress, and taking his seat in November, 1777, continued in that body until in November, 1779, he accompanied Mr. Adams to Paris, as a Secretary of Legation. He was elected December 19, 1780, as Minister to Russia; where he remained, though not publicly received, from August, 1781, till the close of the war, returning in December, 1783. He was chosen a Delegate to Congress in 1784; and a member of the Massachusetts Convention, where he advocated the Constitution. The office of Envoy Extraordinary to France, in 1799, he declined; and Mr. Gerry was deputed in his stead, with Messrs. Marshall and Pinckney. Appointed Chief Justice of Massashusetts in 1792, he discharged very impartially and ably the duties of that office until his resignation in 1806. He died at his seat in Cambridge, April 25, 1811, aged sixty-eight. Judge Dana was a learned lawyer, and presided in court with great dignity; his opinions on the bench were remarkable for their clearness and perspicuity. In his politics, during the days of violent excitements, he was strongly attached to the Federal party. His correspondence while in Europe is contained in Dr. Sparks's "Diplomatic Correspondence," vol. viii.

De Grasse, Francois Joseph Paul, (Admiral Count Tilly,) born in 1723, made his first appearance in the war between England and France, as the ally of the North American Colonies, in command of the frigate *Robuste*, in the battle of Ouessant, July, 1778; the first serious act of hostility between the two powers, and the first step of the Count de Grasse in defence of American liberty. Under Count d'Estaing, in command of a squadron, he aided in taking the island of Grenada, in 1779, when the British fleet was saved from total defeat by a calm at the close of the action. After three years of distinguished services, he left Brest in 1781, in command of a fleet of a hundred and fifty sail, (twenty of the line,) and in thirty-six days fell in with Admiral Hood, then blockading Martinique, whose superiority of sailing alone enabled him to escape, with severe damage to four of his ships.

After a short stay at Port Royal de la Martinique, he concerted with

the Marquis de Bouillé the attack of Tobago, the success of which, and its rapidity of execution, are well known.

His distinguished talents and zeal in the cause of America gained her entire confidence; and measures of coöperation were concerted between Generals Washington and Rochambeau and the French admiral, which resulted in the defeat of Cornwallis at Yorktown, and virtually closed the war between Great Britain and America. Count de Grasse was solicited for protection against the British fleet daily expected upon the coast, for a reinforcement of troops, for provisions "*de guerre and de bouche*," and for 1,200,000 francs for the more pressing necessities of the French troops. To all of these demands he lent most zealous and efficient aid, and in the short space of twelve days he collected all his disposable naval force, (without endangering St. Domingo,) embarked three thousand four hundred troops, and by his personal influence, and the actual pledge of his estates in St. Domingo and France, raised the funds desired. The expedition (necessarily a secret one) arrived at the Capes of the Chesapeake on the 28th August, the same day that Admiral Hood appeared off New York with fourteen vessels of the line. He succeeded in landing the troops, and on the 5th September was prepared, and engaged the British fleet until nightfall, when they separated. After four days' vain search for his opponents, he returned to the Capes in time to intercept two frigates, the *Iris* and *Richmond*, which were leaving the bay with despatches they had been unable to deliver to Cornwallis. The allied armies (informed of the approach of the French fleet, by the frigate *La Concorde*, on 15th August) arrived at the mouth of the Elk on 6th September, one hour only after the bearer of despatches from Count de Grasse. Count Rochambeau spoke of this coincidence as most remarkable, that a combined expedition of land and naval forces, the one from the north of America and the other from the West Indies, should both arrive in the same bay only one hour apart. On the 19th October, Lord Cornwallis capitulated to the united forces of France and America; six thousand five hundred men were made prisoners of war, one hundred and sixty cannon, twenty-two flags, and forty transports, fell into the hands of the allies.

This expedition originated with Count de Grasse; the plan was matured by Washington, Rochambeau, and himself in concert.

To the activity of all the commanders is mainly due this transcendent success, as only eight days after the capitulation was signed, an increased British naval force arrived off the Capes with seven thousand troops on board; enough, in all probability, to have sustained the Royal authority in the South.

Congress passed a resolution on the 28th October, to erect a monument at Yorktown in commemoration of this great event, and also the following: — "That the thanks of the United States, in Congress assembled, be presented to his Excellency the Count de Grasse, for the skill and valor he has shown in attacking and beating the British fleet, in Chesapeake Bay, and for the zeal and ardor by which he gave, by the naval force under his command, the most effective and distinguished succor and protection to the allied army in Virginia." Congress also presented him four pieces of cannon, inscribed as follows: "Taken from the English Army, by the combined forces of France and America, at Yorktown, Virginia, August 19, 1781. Presented to his Excellency Count de Grasse, in testimony of the inestimable services rendered by him on that day."

The cannon remained at the *château* of Tilly, fourteen leagues from Paris, until, during the French Revolution, the property and all its dependencies were lost to the family.

On the 13th February, 1782, the island of St. Christopher surrendered to Count de Grasse and the Marquis de Bouillé.

In command of the united forces of France and Spain in the West Indies, the Count sustained his high naval reputation, and defended himself successfully against the English fleet until the 12th April, when (his vessels having been injured by contact with each other, his own ship, the *Ville de Paris*, being run afoul of by the *Zèleé*, he was attacked by eleven of the enemy. His sails torn and ships ungovernable, his crews fasting and worn down with the exertions of the previous nights, and without chance of success, he hauled down his flag, after combating from 8 A. M. till 6 P. M. History offers no example of a longer or more spirited naval engagement, or a more obstinate resistance. It was proved at a court of inquiry that the most important manœuvres, as well as nine signals from the Admiral, were neglected. Count de Grasse (which is worthy of notice) never left the quarter-deck during the action, nor received a wound; he had a hundred and twenty-one killed on board the *Ville de Paris*, and a very large number wounded.

Carried a prisoner to England, the hero became negotiator, and exerted himself with that Government to incline it to peace. He had the gratification of taking to France, in August following, verbal propositions of peace to the French Government from Lord Shelburne, First Lord of the Treasury. France insisted upon the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States as a condition of the treaty, and the preliminaries were signed at Paris on the 30th November, 1782.

History shows that the United States are as much indebted to the unceasing efforts of the Count de Grasse in her favor after his return to Europe, as for his brilliant achievements in the Chesapeake and West Indies. It may be said that his life was consecrated to securing independence to the North American Colonies; for its accomplishment he employed all his valor, all his talents, all his zeal, and finding his task completed and object gained, he died on the 14th January, 1788, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

Count de Grasse left an only son, who served with honor in the several grades of the French Army, and was decorated by Count Rochambeau at St. Domingo with the Cross of St. Louis, in behalf of Louis XVI. At the massacre of Cape Francois, he saved himself and family on board an American vessel, which landed them in complete destitution at Charleston, where, with other exiles, they experienced the hospitality and sympathy of the inhabitants. Count de Grasse became a citizen of the United States, and subsequently returned to the service of his country, his attachment to which was manifested in the campaigns of Italy and Spain.

The last daughter of the first Count de Grasse was the widow of the late Francis Depau, Esq., of this city, one of our most enterprising, opulent, and public spirited merchants, to whom all praise and credit is due for greatly extending our commerce with France, by establishing the first line of packets between New York and Havre.

D'Estaing, Admiral Charles H., (Count D'Estaing,) commanded the French fleet sent to our aid in the war of the Revolution. He made an unsuccessful assault upon Savannah, Oct. 9, 1779, where Pulaski was mortally wounded. He afterwards captured Grenada. Being a member of the Assembly of Notables in France, and incurring the suspicion of the dominant faction, he fell by the guillotine at Paris on the 29th April, 1793. — *Allen's Biog. Dict.*

De Kalb, John, Baron, a Major-General in the American Army during the war of the Revolution, was born in 1732, in Alsace, a German Province in possession of France, and educated to the art of war in the French Army.

In 1762 he visited the Anglo-American Colonies as a secret Agent of the French Government. He was a Brigadier in the French service, when, Nov. 7, 1776, he made with Franklin and Silas Deane an engagement to serve in the forces of the revolted Colonies. In 1777 he accompanied Lafayette to America.

Congress appointed him a Major-General, Sept. 15, 1777; after which he joined the main army under Washington, and was active in

the events near Philadelphia which preceded the encampment at Valley Forge. He served in New Jersey and Maryland, till in April, 1780, he was sent to reinforce Gen. Lincoln, then besieged in Charleston, but arrived too late. He was second in command to Gen. Gates; and in the disastrous battle of Camden, Aug. 16, 1780, was at the head of the Maryland and Delaware troops, who maintained their ground till Cornwallis concentrated his whole force upon them.

The night before the battle he warned Gen. Gates of their danger if they fought from the unfortunate position in which the enemy had placed them; when Gates intimated that he was afraid: to which De Kalb replied, "We shall see to-morrow which is the brave man." De Kalb fell mortally wounded, surrounded by many of his body-guard, killed; whereas Gates was found next morning more than twenty miles from the battle-field. De Kalb fell, pierced with eleven wounds, in the charge upon his regiments before they gave way. He died at Camden three days afterward, and a monument was erected there to his memory in 1825, Lafayette placing the corner-stone.

Derby, Elias Hasket, Sen. This eminent merchant and distinguished citizen of Salem, Mass., descended from Roger Derby, born in 1643, who emigrated from Topsham, near Exeter, England, and settled here. The father of the subject of this notice, named Richard, early embarked in commercial pursuits with varied success. He lived to witness the independence of his country, and by his will, proved in 1783, he left an ample provision for his widow, and divided nearly seventy thousand dollars among his children. He founded the Derby Academy at Hingham. His eldest son, Richard, was an ardent patriot, and his son John was owner of the ship *Columbia*, which on her second voyage discovered the Columbia River. By a remarkable concurrence of events, and by the uncommon speed of two ships owned by his father and brother, he carried to England the first news of the battle of Lexington; returned to Salem with the first intelligence of the effect it produced in England, which he laid before Gen. Washington, at Cambridge; and, at the close of the war, brought to America from France the first news of peace.

His second son, Elias Hasket, the subject of this Memoir, was born in Salem, August 6, 1739, and in early life appears to have been the accountant and correspondent of his family. At an early age he married a Crowninshield, while his sister married a Crowninshield. From 1760 to 1775, imbibing the spirit of his father, and acquiring through him and his captains, a knowledge of commerce, he engaged extensively in trade to the West Indies. So that at the close of this

period he was owner of seven vessels, and had, by industry and frugality, acquired a property of fifty thousand dollars. All of the family espoused the cause of the Colonies. Mr. Derby took a prominent part with his townsmen in the equipment of one hundred and fifty-eight armed vessels fitted out from Salem during the Revolution, mounting more than two thousand cannon, and manned by the seamen of Salem and the contiguous ports.

Thus active was Mr. Derby in creating a volunteer navy, which proved itself as effective as the army in humbling the pride and crippling the resources of Great Britain. The distinguished naval hero, Jonathan Haraden, performed prodigies of valor in command of these vessels, an account of which will be found in these pages under the title of "Capt. J. Haraden." Capt. Richard J. Cleveland, who was in his employ from 1788 to 1795, and who has passed to the spirit world, after a life of singular vicissitudes, bears the following testimony to his ability and character, in the first page of his "Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises," published in 1842:—

"In the ordinary course of commercial education in New England, boys are transferred from school to the merchant's desk at the age of fourteen. When I reached this age, it was my good fortune to be received into the counting-house of Mr. Derby at Salem, a merchant who may justly be termed the father of American commerce to India; one whose enterprise and sagacity were unequalled, and perhaps have not been surpassed since. To him our country is indebted for opening the trade to Calcutta, before whose fortress his was the first vessel to display the American flag; and, following up the business, he reaped golden harvests before other merchants came in for a share of them. The first American ships seen at the Cape of Good Hope and the Isle of France belonged to him. His were the first ships which carried cargoes of cotton from Bombay to China; and among the first which made a direct voyage to China and back. While he lived he continued to prosecute this business. In the transaction of affairs abroad he was liberal, greatly beyond the practice of the present day, — always desirous that all should share the good fortune to which he pointed the way; and the long list of masters of ships who have acquired fortunes in his employ, is a proof both of his discernment in soliciting and of his generosity in paying them.

"Without possessing a scientific knowledge of the construction and sparring of ships, Mr. Derby seemed to have an intuitive faculty in judging models and proportions; and his experiments, in several instances, for the attainment of swiftness of sailing were crowned with

success unsurpassed by others. He built several ships in the immediate vicinity of the counting-house, which afforded me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the building, sparring, and rigging of vessels. The conversations to which I listened, relating to the countries then yearly visited by Americans, the excitement on the return of an adventure from them, and the great profits which were made, always manifest from my own little adventures, tended to stimulate the desire in me of visiting those countries, and of sharing more largely in the advantages they presented."

Mr. Derby's large and tasteful house on Essex Street, with a conservatory, was occupied by him but for a few months when he was called to his fathers. He had enriched it with a large library, and secured the services of Mr. Heussler, a scientific horticulturist from Germany. The mansion in which he lived while acquiring his fortune still stands in Washington Street, (then Court,) and is the city residence of R. Brookhouse, Esq.

Although Mr. Derby left seven children, neither of them were willing to cope with the style of living attendant on such a structure as his new palatial residence. The buildings and garden were closed for years, and finally gave place to the square and market which now bear the name of Derby.

We cannot forego the pleasure of closing this article without giving the following obituary, which is ascribed to the pen of his son-in-law, the Hon. Benj. Pickman.

Extract from the Salem Gazette of Sept. 10, 1799.

"Died in this town on Sunday last, at the age of sixty, Elias Hasket Derby, Esq., having survived his amiable consort but a few months.

"Though his natural disposition led him to retire from public observation, yet his character has been of too much importance in the community of which he was a member for his departure out of life not to be sensibly felt and regretted. By a regular application to commercial pursuits, by a careful attention to all parts of his business, and by a remarkable course of good fortune, he arrived to a high degree of opulence. He possessed an uncommon spirit of enterprise, and in exploring new channels of commerce has frequently led his countrymen to sources of wealth. He was among the first who embarked in the trade beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which has since become so extensive and lucrative; he made various improvements in navigation, and the many excellent vessels built according to his own plans and under his immediate direction are proofs of his skill in naval architecture.

"If that man is deserving of the gratitude of his country 'who makes two blades of grass grow where one only grew before,' the memory of Mr. Derby has a claim to the affectionate regards of his fellow-citizens, for he possessed a good taste in gardening and agriculture, and most judiciously — both for his own enjoyment and the benefit of his country — applied a part of his wealth to improvements in that department. By his successful experiments in his excellent garden and farm in Danvers, he taught the neighboring farmers that their lands are capable of productions which they had before thought could be procured only in more genial soils. It was in these improvements that Mr. Derby found some of his most tranquil enjoyments, and they imparted delight to all who had the curiosity to visit them.

"In all his dealings Mr. Derby regarded the principle of justice, and his engagements were sacredly fulfilled. In the possession of riches, he did not forget the duties of charity. Providence had blessed him with abundance, and others partook of the gift; his hand often cheered the heart of poverty and affliction, and his charities were always applied with judgment, — often in secret, never with ostentation. His deportment was modest and grave. In the hours of relaxation he was affable, mild, and cheerful.

"In the interesting domestic character of husband and father, he was particularly amiable, and possessed the unbounded affections of his family. He was a sincere believer in the Christian religion, which he evinced by an habitual regard to its precepts, by a uniform attendance upon public worship, and by a firm expectation — expressed throughout his last sickness, — of inheriting its promises. In short, he has well discharged the duties of life, and we trust he is removed to a better world." *Extracted from E. H. Derby's Life of his Grandfather.*

Derby, Richard, son of Richard and brother of Elias Hasket, Sen., was born in Salem, January 6, 1736, and died December 8, 1781. He studied medicine in early life, but soon embarked in commerce. An earnest patriot, he took a leading and active part during the Revolution. He was of the Committee of Safety and Correspondence; a Representative to the General Court from 1769 to 1773; a Delegate to the Provincial Congress in 1774–5; a Counsellor in 1774, '76 and '77. He was appointed in September, 1778, one of the State Agents for prizes in the Middle District. He owned a large and valuable estate at Realside, Beverly, known as the Brown Hall Estate, formerly Col. William Browne's, where he resided during the summer months and conducted his farm. He married Lydia, daughter of Jon-

athan and Elizabeth Gardner, of Salem. Of their sons, Richard was a Captain in the Navy of the United States, and died at Boston, June 18, 1832, aged sixty-seven, and General Samuel Gardner, who died at Weston, Mass., Jan. 17, 1843, aged seventy-six.

Draper, Sir William, rendered himself famous by his correspondence with "Junius," in vindication of the character of the Marquis of Granby as Commander-in-Chief; for although as a writer he was second only to Junius, he was foiled by him, and withdrew from the contest extremely mortified. He soon after left England, arrived at Charleston, S. C., in January, 1769, and travelled towards the north as far as New York, receiving every attention on his way. At New York he married Miss De Lancey,[1] "*a lady of great connections there, and agreeable endowments*," says the "London Magazine" for 1766. She died in 1778. In 1778 he was appointed Governor of Minorca. He built at Clifton, near Bristol, a monument of taste, and called it "Manilla House;" and he also erected in College Green, at Bristol, a mausoleum over the remains of his parents.

The Fairfaxes of Virginia. In this estimable and noble family the immortal Washington passed four years of his youth. And as it was the period when character usually receives its stamp, there is no doubt that the formation of his was essentially influenced by the association.

The Hon. Col. William Fairfax, a son of Henry Fairfax, of Towlton Hall, Yorkshire, and a grandson of Thomas the fourth Lord Fairfax, lost his father when very young, and was educated under the auspices of his uncle, Lord Lonsdale, (ever styled *the good*,) at Lowther School, in Westmoreland. Here he acquired a good knowledge of the classics as well as modern languages. At twenty-one he entered the army, and served in Spain during Queen Anne's war, under his uncle, and afterwards in the expedition against the Isle of Providence, then in possession of pirates. Upon its reduction he was appointed its Governor, but the climate disagreeing with him, he resigned his commission and removed to Salem, Massachusetts, in 1724, where he resided for eight years, as Collector of the Customs and a magistrate, esteemed and respected by all.[2] His wife died during this period, and he was united in a second marriage to Deborah, daughter of Francis Clarke,[3]

[1] Daughter of James De Lancey, Chief Justice and Lieutenant-Governor of New York, who died in 1760.

[2] His house was the S. E. corner of Cambridge and Essex Streets.

[3] Miss Mary C. Anderson, great-granddaughter, who owned and occupied the Clarke House at the corner of Essex and North Streets, until taken down, owned a fine portrait of this ancestress of the present noble family of Fairfax.

Esq., of Salem, a gentleman of the first respectability. Three children were the offspring of this connection, viz.: Bryan, William, and Hannah. He sailed from Salem with his family for the South on the 17th of June, 1734, and settled first in Westmoreland County, Virginia, near the Washington family, and afterwards in Fairfax County, where he erected a beautiful villa on the Potomac, adjoining Mount Vernon, which he called Belvoir. He long sustained the offices of Lord-Lieutenant and Keeper of the Rolls of the county, Collector for South Potomac, and President of the Council of Virginia. He was highly accomplished, and eminently distinguished for public and private virtue and religious principle. He died Sept. 3, 1757, aged sixty-six. Washington, on leaving for his command on the 23d of April, 1755, thus addressed Col. Fairfax: — "I cannot think of leaving the county without embracing the last opportunity of bidding YOU *farewell.*"

His eldest son, GEORGE W. FAIRFAX, succeeded to his father's estate and employments. In early life he was for a while co-surveyor with Washington to his kinsman, Lord Fairfax. In 1753 he was a candidate for the House of Burgesses, and Washington, then just twenty-one, deeply interested in his success, was engaged in a personal altercation in his behalf, with Mr. Payne, a friend of the rival candidate; and it may be well to remark in passing, that, finding himself the aggressor, he made an apology, and that forever secured the friendship of Mr. Payne. This is the only altercation it is believed which Washington was engaged in during his long life. Mr. Fairfax took an unfavorable view of the Revolutionary movement, and long before the appeal to arms went to England. So critical was his arrival there, that he passed in the river Thames the ill-omened *tea* which eventually caused the rupture between the mother country and her Colonies. It is probable he is the friend referred to by Weems in the following paragraph of his book, (p. 67,) "Lord Fairfax happened to be at Mount Vernon when Washington received advice from a friend in London that the Tea Ships were about to sail for America, and said to him, 'Well, my Lord, and so the ships with the *gunpowder* tea, are, it seems, on their way!'

"'Why, Colonel,' replied his Lordship, 'do you call it *gunpowder* tea?' To which he responded, 'Because I fear it will prove inflammable, and produce an explosion that will shake both hemispheres.'"

Part of Mr. Fairfax's estates were confiscated on account of his principles, and the heavy reverse of fortune obliged him to abandon his seat in Yorkshire, lay aside his carriage, and remove to Bath.

Here he so lived as to save large sums, which he sent for the use of the American prisoners. He died 3d April, 1787, in his sixty-third year, lamented for his many virtues and accomplishments.

Respecting this early and constant friend, Washington thus wrote to a correspondent, 8th January, 1788:—"I received your letter informing me of the death of our much esteemed and worthy friend, George W. Fairfax. I sincerely condole with you and his other friends in England upon the occasion. Notwithstanding the long and uninterrupted friendship which subsisted between Colonel Fairfax and myself, and however desirous I may be to give every proof of my affection for him and his amiable relict, yet I must decline acting as an executor of his estate. My situation [1] would prevent a faithful discharge of the trust on my part."

THOMAS, second son of the Hon. William Fairfax, a Midshipman, and esteemed one of the handsomest young men of his age. The following epitaph, penned by his distressed father, shows his early fate:

"*To the Memory of Mr. Thomas Fairfax,*

who died fighting in his country's cause, on board the *Harwich*, in an engagement with Mr. Bourdenaye, commander of a French squadron on the Indian coast, 26th June, 1746, aged twenty. Beloved of his commander, (Capt. Carteret,) and highly favored by his friend, Commodore Barnet, for his politeness of manners, and undoubted bravery and skill in the theory of his profession. He was excelled by few as a naval draughtsman, and gave early promise, by a pregnant genius and diligent application, of a consummate officer for the service of his country. But the wisdom of Heaven is inscrutable; human life is ever in the hands of its Author, and while the good and brave are always ready for death, resignation becomes their surviving friends. Convinced of this duty, yet subdued by the sentiments of a tender parent, this tablet was inscribed and dedicated by his sorrowful father."

WILLIAM, the fourth son, entered the army an Ensign, and was killed in the attack on Quebec, September 13, 1759. He had promising abilities, and was highly esteemed by General Wolfe, whom he had first accompanied to Louisburg at the time of its second reduction. When the General landed under Quebec, he saw young Fairfax sitting upon the bank of the river, and said to him, "*Young man, when we come into action, remember your name.*"

They both fell that day on the Heights of Abraham, Wolfe proclaiming that he died satisfied, as he had gained *the battle.*

[1] President of the Convention for forming the new Constitution.

Bryan, the third son, pursued the usual course of preparatory studies, and took orders in the Church. He had previously passed some years at Barbadoes with his uncle, Major Gedney Clark. He was for many years Rector of a parish in Fairfax County, Virginia, where he continued to officiate till his death, a counterpart of Goldsmith's village pastor. The salary and perquisites of his arduous office he gave for the support of the widow and children of his predecessor in the church. His views of the Revolution were not in accordance with Washington's, but this did not in the least affect their friendship for each other, which commenced in infancy and continued without interruption through life. It is happily illustrated by the following extract of a letter from Washington to him during the gloomy period of 1775 : —

"The friendship which I ever professed and felt for you met with no diminution from the difference in our political sentiments. I knew the rectitude of my own sentiments, and believing in the sincerity of yours, lamented, although I did not condemn, your renunciation of the creed I had adopted."

The foregoing was prompted by Washington's kind interposition in obtaining permission for his retirement to England, of which, however, he was unable to avail himself in consequence of certain oaths and obligations required by those in power at New York. This service elicited the following letter from Rev. Mr. Fairfax to General Washington, to which the letter just now read was in answer : — "*There are times when favors conferred make greater impressions than others ;* — at the time when your popularity was at the highest and mine at the lowest, and when it is so common for men's resentments to run high against those who differ from them in opinion, *that you should act with your wonted kindness to me, has affected me more than any favor I have ever received, and could not be believed by some in New York, it being above the run of common minds.*"

At the decease of his kinsman, Robert Lord Fairfax, in 1793, the Rev. Bryan Fairfax succeeded to the Barony. Washington bequeathed him the superb Bible in three folios, which the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Soder and Man, had presented to the former with flattering testimonials of respect. Thomas, the eldest son of Bryan Lord Fairfax, refused an acknowledgment of the title at the decease of his father, which would have secured him the rich inheritance of Leeds Castle and its appendages.

To a letter which the editor had the honor to address to that venerable gentleman in December, 1842, he received the following reply : —

"As to those designated Loyalists, and opposed to the separation from England, I do not know of any of our name except it be Thomas Lord Fairfax, and my father, the Rev. Bryan Fairfax. As to the former, I suppose, though I am not sure that he ever was, but never heard of his suffering any persecution for political opinions. But as to my father, I know that he was, and *conscientiously so*, I believe, remaining as it were neutral and taking no part for or against the measures of that period; he was not molested except that, with all others of the same way of thinking, he was doubly taxed." To this letter Dr. Orlando Fairfax, of Alexandria, a son of the last mentioned Thomas, appended the following note, viz.: —

"My father, Thomas Fairfax, a man of more than eighty years, is the eldest son of Bryan Lord Fairfax, but he has always been a Republican."

It now remains to speak of the distinguished head of this virtuous, public spirited, and accomplished family, Thomas, sixth Lord Fairfax, the early patron of Washington; and we deem it necessary to dwell more fully upon the incidents of his life and the influences of his character than upon those of the others.

He was born in 1691, a son of Thomas the fifth Lord Fairfax, and Catherine, daughter of Lord Culpepper, in whose right he afterwards possessed Leeds Castle, several manors in Kent and in the Isle of Wight; and also that immense tract of country comprised within the boundaries of the rivers Potomac and Rappahannock in Virginia, called the Northern Neck, containing by estimation five millions seven hundred thousand acres. He had the misfortune to lose his father while young, and came under the guardainship of his mother and grandmother, the dowager ladies Fairfax and Culpepper, the latter of whom was a Princess of the House of Hesse-Cassel. He was sent to the University of Oxford, where he passed several years, and became highly esteemed for learning and accomplishments. His judgment upon literary subjects was frequently appealed to, and he was afterwards, in conjunction with Addison and others of the "Kit-Cat Club," a writer of that immortal work "The Spectator." He took a commission in the army, and at the time he left it (which was at the decease of the survivor of the two ladies before mentioned) he was at the head of a regiment called the "*Blues*."

He now began to inquire into the value and situation of his estates, and discovered that the proprietary lands in Virginia had been mismanaged. He wrote at once to his cousin, the Hon. William Fairfax, at Salem, Mass., requesting him to remove to Virginia, and take upon

himself the agency of them. Mr. Fairfax readily complied; *i. e.*, resigned his office, and removed there in 1734, first into Westmoreland County, where he opened an agency office for the granting of the lands; and as the quitrent he demanded was but two shillings for every hundred acres, the vacant lands, were rapidly let, and a considerable permanent income was soon derived from them. Lord Fairfax, informed of these circumstances, determined himself to visit his kinsman, to whom he felt greatly indebted, and he passed about a year with him in Virginia; and becoming captivated with the climate, beauties, and products of the country, he resolved to return and settle his affairs in England, and pass the remainder of his life on his vast and noble domain here. He probably came first to America in 1739, and finally settled on the Northern Neck in 1746, at Belvoir, in the family of his friend and kinsman, where he remained several years, directing the management and surveys of his plantations, and amusing himself with hunting. Game at length becoming scarce and the lands not answering his expectations in this quarter, he determined to remove to a fine tract in Frederick county, sixty miles above "Belvoir." Here he built a house which he called "Greenway Court," and laid out a beautiful farm. He passed the remainder of his long life after the manner of a gentleman farmer, keeping many servants, several hunters, and a good plain table. His manners were humble, modest, and unaffected; not tinctured in the smallest degree with arrogance, pride, or self-conceit. He was also free from selfish passions, and was liberal almost to excess. The produce of his farm, except what was necessary for the consumption of his own family, was distributed and given away to the poor settlers in the neighborhood. To these he frequently advanced money to enable them to go on with their improvements, to clear the woods and cultivate the grounds, and where the lands proved unfavorable, and not likely to answer the expectation of the husbandman, he usually indemnified him for the expense he had been at in the attempt, and gratuitously granted him fresh lands of more promising nature. He was the friend and father of all who held and lived under him; and as the great object of his ambition was the peopling and cultivating the fine country of which he was the proprietor, he sacrificed every other pursuit, and made every other consideration subordinate to it.

Lord Fairfax was brought up in the English Revolutionary principles of 1688, and early imbibed high notions of liberty, and of the excellence of the British Constitution. He devoted much of his time to the public service here; he was Lord-Lieutenant and Keeper of the Rolls for Frederick County; presided at the county courts held

at Winchester, where he always kept open table during the sessions. His chief amusement was hunting, and in pursuit of this exercise he frequently carried his hounds to distant parts, and entertained every person of good character who attended him in the fields, at the inn where he took up his residence for the hunting season.

After Braddock's defeat, in 1755, the Indians in the interest of the French committed dreadful massacres upon the back settlements, and as Lord Fairfax had been pointed out to them as a captain of renown, the possession of his scalp became an object of their sanguinary ambition. With the view of gratifying their desire, they made daily inroads in the vicinage of "Greenway Court;" and it is said that not less than three thousand lives fell sacrifices to their merciless barbarity between the Apalachian and Alleghany mountains. It was at this crisis that the gentlemen of Virginia (for the protection of the frontiers) associated themselves under command of Peyton Randolph, afterwards President of Congress. Serious apprehensions were at that time entertained for the safety of Lord Fairfax (and family), who, being importuned by his friends to retire to the river settlements for security, is said to have addressed his nephew, who at that time bore the commission of Colonel, in the following manner, viz.: — "The danger we are exposed to, Col. Martin, which is undoubtedly great, may possibly excite in your mind apprehension and anxiety; if so, I am ready to take any step you may judge expedient for our common safety. I am an old man, and it is of little importance whether I fall by the tomahawk of the Indian, or by disease or old age; but you are young, and it is to be hoped may have many years before you. I will, therefore, submit to your decision, whether we shall remain where we are, taking every precaution to secure ourselves against the outrages of the enemy, or abandon our habitation and retire within the mountains, that we may be sheltered from dangers to which we are exposed. If we determine then to remain, it is possible that, notwithstanding our utmost care and vigilance, we may both fall victims; if we retire, the whole district will break up immediately, and all the trouble I have taken to settle this fine country *will be prostrated, and the occasion perhaps irredeemably lost.*" After a short deliberation, Col. Martin concluded to remain, and as affairs soon took a favorable turn, measures were adopted for securing the settlement against the carnage and depredations of the Indians. His Lordship was never married, and it is thought that disappointment in an affair of the heart had no inconsiderable share in determining his retirement from the world to the then almost uninhabitable forests

of America. And although he lived many years sequestered from polished society, he never forgot the accomplished manners he had acquired in his youth at Leeds Castle and the University, and which secured him a welcome at Court and in the Army. His avowed motive for removing to America was the most noble and heroic, viz., to settle the immense tract of which he was proprietor; and it may be well to remark that no part of "*The Old Dominion*" was better peopled and improved.

So unexceptionable and disinterested was his behavior, both in public and private, and so generally was he respected and beloved, that although a Loyalist in principle in our Revolutionary struggle, he was neither molested nor insulted. He, of course, took no active part in the contest, and was, like others who *thought* like him on the subject, only doubly taxed.

Lord Fairfax died at his farm of Greenway Court in the autumn of 1781, (then in his ninety-second year,) soon after learning that the British Army, under Lord Cornwallis, had surrendered to General Washington; "*and little did Lord Fairfax think*," says Weems, the historian, "*when educating George Washington, that he would one day sever the British Empire and break his own heart.*" The last event was not less certain than the first; for, on hearing that the British Army had surrendered, he said to his servant, "*Come, Joe! carry me to my bed, for it is high time for me to die.*"

He was buried under the communion-table of the Episcopal Church at Winchester, in which he had been for many years a communicant. He had long before made a donation of the land upon which the church was erected, as well as the graveyard by which it was surrounded; and to their shame be it spoken, this ecclesiastical corporation sold this consecrated spot in 1833, when the bones of no less than one thousand persons, including those of its philanthropic and noble donor, were removed, and a row of brick buildings now covers the site!

The title passed to ROBERT, the only surviving brother of the deceased. The estates in Virginia were confiscated, in consequence of loyal principles honestly imbibed and frankly avowed by the late proprietor. The illustrious John Jay said: "*The Revolution was a subject upon which men might honestly differ.*"

Robert Lord Fairfax claimed from the British Government ninety-eight thousand pounds sterling, as the amount of property confiscated; and to himself and the trustees under the will were finally awarded sixty thousand pounds sterling by the Commissioners appointed to in-

quire into and make reparation for the losses and services of American Loyalists.

Robert, the seventh Lord Fairfax, died at Leeds Castle in 1793; and the Rev. Byran Fairfax, of whom we have before spoken, succeeded to the title.

Such were the connections, nearest neighbors, most intimate friends, associates and patrons of Washington, from infancy to manhood! In these noblemen public spirit and private virtue were ever exemplified; their individual interest was always a secondary consideration to the public welfare. They foresaw the rising greatness of the West, and adopted a system for its settlement, which has since been pursued by our Government for improving the public domain.

This western wild was not a field on which England's scholars or soldiers could expect to reap renown. When they left Europe and the attractions of Court, they, of course, abandoned all the hope of worldly fame; their highest aim appears to have been to settle with a moral and religious people a vast territory, and thereby enhance the happiness of individuals and the general good of mankind. With almost boundless wealth, —

> "They scattered blessings o'er a smiling land,
> And read *their* history in a nation's eyes."

If the foundation of that sublime structure, the character of Washington, was laid by his exemplary parents, for the manner in which it was raised, step by step, to its dazzling height, we must refer to the principles, precepts and examples of the noble family of which he was so long an inmate, and whose virtues seem to have so fully impressed him. Here it was that good morals, so carefully inculcated by his mother, were fostered; and here were religious observances constantly practised and enjoined; nor were they forgotten when, by the influence of these friends, he was preferred for a military command. Col. William Fairfax, President of the Council, thus addressed Washington when encamped at the Great Meadows in 1754: "*I will not doubt your having public prayers in the camp.*"

And where but in a family of retired soldiers could Washington so early have acquired such knowledge of the art of war as to become qualified for the office of Adjutant-General at nineteen? or for the mission to Fort Du Quesne, which reflected such credit upon his judgment and observation? The profession of arms however had no peculiar charm for Washington, for very soon after adopting it he thus addressed by letter the Speaker of the Assembly of Virginia: "*The*

sole motive which invites me to the field is the laudable desire of serving my country, not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans." And to his wife, on accepting the chief command of the army raised "for the defence of American liberty," in 1775, he writes thus: "As it has been a kind of destiny that has thrown me upon this service, I shall hope that my undertaking it is designed to answer some good purpose. It was utterly out of my power to refuse it without exposing my character to such censures as would have reflected dishonor on myself, and given pain to my friends."

In 1788 he thus replied to the Address of a corporate body: "How pitiful in the eye of reason and religion is that false ambition which desolates the world with fire and sword for the purpose of conquest and fame, compared to the milder virtues of making our neighbors and fellow-men as happy as their frail condition will permit them to be."

Neither was Washington ambitious of place or power; for when called upon to become Chief Magistrate in the new Government of 1789, he thus writes to General Knox: "I should with less regret go to the tomb of my ancestors than enter the vortex of politics."

Probably it was from Lord Fairfax, the courtier of Britain's "Augustan" age, that "Washington acquired the very dignified and courtly manners, in which he discovered," says Chief Justice Marshall, "a just consciousness of that respect which is due to station, and whereby he maintained the happy medium between the arrogance that wounds and the facility which allows the office to be degraded in the person who fills it."

And from whom but one of the writers, with Addison, of the admirable "Spectator," could he have acquired a style so forcible and perspicuous as to elicit from one of the first historians of our day (Mr. Allison) the following praise: "He bequeathed to his countrymen an Addresss on leaving their Government to which there is no composition of uninspired wisdom which can bear a comparison."

[The foregoing was included in a lecture "On the early Associations of Washington, and their Influence on the Formation of his Character," delivered by the editor at Tompkinsville, New York, Jan. 20, 1859, in aid of the Mount Vernon Fund.]

FANEUIL, BENJAMIN, JR., a merchant of Boston, and, together with Joshua Winslow, consignee of one third of the East India Company's tea, destroyed at Boston in 1773. He was a Refugee first to Halifax and afterwards to England. He was an Addresser of Governor Gage in 1775.

All we have been able to gather of this branch of the distinguished family whose name he bears is the following letter, which shows his movements during the early part of the Revolutionary struggle: —

TO MRS. ANN JONES, HALIFAX.

LONDON, *Mar.* 9, 1777.

DEAR MADAM:

This is the first oppt'y that has offer'd for acknowledging the receipt of y^r^ fav. 21 Nov. last, by w^ch^ we have the pleasure of knowing you were all in health & in a situation not very disagreeable. I cannot say I am very sorry of y^r^ disappointment in missing y^r^ passage for England. For unless you could bring a barrel of guineas with you, you are better anywhere than here. This is the best country in the world for those whose circumstances are affluent; but the very worst for us who are obliged to *tirer le diable par le queue.* I have paid y^r^ dft in favor of Jas. Butler, Esq., or £60, but as the year's interest on Col. Vassal's bond is not due till May, I shall say nothing to him about it till that time, as it is not mentioned in the bond for the interest to be paid every six months. Col. Oliver has not been long returned from Ireland, but I mean to call on him in a few days & endeavor to get the interest due on his bond. The India ships were all either sailed or at least gone down the Channel before your letter came to hand, so that it was not in my power to pay the 10 guineas you desire to Coz Tommy, or I would have done it with great pleasure, nor indeed can I learn anything of him as yet. The ships from India will begin to arrive in August next, at which time I will make further inquiry about him. I have delivered your compliments to the persons you mention. This, I think, replies to the different parts of your letter. As I flatter myself you may wish to hear how we have disposed of ourselves since we have been in England, I must inform you that, on our arrival in London, Mrs. Watson sent us a very kind invitation to their country-house at Walthamstowe, about seven miles from London, where we remained till they left the country, a day or two after Christmas, — except that in October we passed a few days at Mr. Mauger's seat at Warbourne abo. 100 miles from London & 20 from Southampton; at the last place we spent a day at Col. D'Auvergne, who mar^d^ a daughter of Mr. Mauger, — and another with Mr. Sadlier, a gent^n^ of a handsome fortune, of the best character, and as genteel a man as I have seen in England, — he rec^d^ us with

great kindness, urged us to stay a longer time at Southampton, and invited me to make use of his house if I should ever return to that part of the country. Mr. Mauger was so kind as to offer us the use of his house at Warbourne for the winter; but as I found it would be necessary for me to be in London in the winter to solicit the great folks, I could not accept his offer. Since we have been in London we have met with a Mrs. Racket, dau. of a Mrs. Cailonel who was a sister of old Dr. Cutler. She married a Mr. Racket, (a tailor,) a man of fortune, who lives in very genteel style, — keeps his chariot, country-house, &c. They have shown us a thousand civilities, which, indeed, we have rec^{d} from many people we did not know, — all this is very clever, but does not help us in our main matter.

As soon as Mr. Watson's family came to town we took lodgings in drawing-room, bedchamber, chamber for our man-servant, and the use of a kitchen in the Strand, almost over against Somerset House, for which we pay two guineas per week, — and with provisions, &c., cost us a guinea a day, exclusive of our clothes & idle expenses, — but I hope this will not last above a fortnight longer, when we mean to go to Bristol where we can board for half the money. As soon as the Xmas holidays were over, the Tea consignees presented a petition to the Lds of the Treas^{y}, praying a support until the affairs in America are settled. This method was taken by the Council, and, indeed, by all the Refugees.

Within the few days the Lds of Tr^{y} have agreed to allow for the present C. Jus. Oliver £400 a year; Lt.-Gov. Oliver and Mr. Flucker £300 a year; the Council (Mr. Boutineau among the rest) £200; the Refugees in general £100, some only £50. Our affair is not yet absolutely determined on account Ld. North's sickness, but we are told we shall be tucked in between the Council & the other Refugees and be allowed £150 a year. This is a fine affair, and we can by no means live upon it; but there are such a confounded parcel of us to be provided for that I am told no more will be allowed. As soon as this is settled we propose taking ourselves away from London & going to Bristol. Should there be any oppt'y of writing to Boston, I should take it kind if Coz Betsy would write to my father and let him know what I write, & give our loves to Mr. Belham's family & my aunt Phillips' family. I do not mention my poor mother, as I fear she will not be alive at the time. We are grieved at her situation, but must submit. When we shall be able to return to Boston, I cannot say, but hope and believe it will not exceed one year, for sooner or late America will be conquered, and on that they may

depend. Pray present our best compl^ts to Mr. and Mrs. Butler, Mr. Joe Buller, Mr. Jack Dight and Betsy Kelly. Tell Mr. Butler I shall not write till I get an answer from him to my long letter by the *Rich'd Penn.* To Madame Phipps, say the Colonel is well, and going to take another wife. To Mr. and Mrs. Jewett, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Lloyd; our love also to Coz Betsy and Andrew. Tell Coz Betts, Mr. Robinson and Mr. Faneuil were last eve'g at the Oratorio, & had the honor of sitting opposite their Majesties. The Queen's face is very like Jenny Howard, but smaller. Her person and manner like young Mrs. Loring. I have had the honor of seeing & being very nigh her in the Presence Chamber. Give our love to Mr. & Mrs. Franklin. Tell her Mr. Mauger is disposed to serve him. Mr. Mauger has been three times to Lord George's levee on his acc^t. I once saw him there. I would advise Mr. Franklin to write often & cultivate his friendship. Our American acquaintance are all well. Mrs. F. was last week to meet Mr. & Mrs. Geo. Erving. Col. Erving and family spend the day with us to-morrow, & set out for Exeter in a few days, where they have taken a house. Poor Katy Hutchinson died about five weeks ago. Pray give our compliments to Johnny and Mr. Simpson. A man was condemned to be hanged for setting fire to Portsm. Dock. He has confessed he was employed by Mrs. Simpson's father-in-law, a Mr. Silas Deane, now in France, & it is thought that some people here will be bro't into trouble by his confession.

My fingers ache & paper is almost expended.

I am, Dr Madm,

Yr aff serv^t & nephew,

BENJ'^N^ FANEUIL, JR.

FISKE, JOHN, son of Rev. Samuel Fiske, pastor of the First Church in Salem, was born there April 10, 1744. He commenced a seafaring life at fourteen, in brig *Jupiter*, with Capt. Richard Derby, Jr., and before many years became a master mariner, and was also master of the Marine Society, a charitable institution for the seafaring, founded in 1766. He married, first, a daughter of Deacon Phipper; second, a daughter of Col. Lee, of Manchester; and third, the widow Gerry, who survived him. His only son, John, died just as he reached manhood, and his daughters were married to the late Ebenezer Putnam and Edward Allen, Esqrs., from whom are several descendants. General Fiske died 28th September, 1797, aged fifty-three. His intrepidity and ambition marked his capability for usefulness, and at the com-

mencement of the war for independence, he was appointed Captain of the brig *Tyrannicide*, belonging to Massachusetts, which was the first vessel commissioned by either of our State Governments: this was July 8, 1776. A few days after leaving Salem he encountered, and, after a severe battle, took a tender to the British squadron, of equal force, viz: fourteen six-pounders and one hundred men, — so we are told by a grandson of General Fiske, although we have not been able to find a record of it; also that he was very successful in his cruises, and fought several sanguinary battles. His first Lieutenant was the renowned Jonathan Haraden, who was promoted to the command of the *Tyrannicide*, 10th Dec. 1777, and Fiske ordered to the *Massachusetts*, a larger and better vessel, belonging also to the State. He acquired a name and a fortune during the war, and at its close again embarked in commerce with uprightness and success. He imparted a generous support to all enterprises and to industrious men, which not a little impaired his fortune. He was exceedingly popular and beloved by all, especially those in his employ. Few men have more faithfully or successfully served their country, as was fully delineated by the Rev. Dr. Bentley in a funeral sermon at his decease. Upon reëstablishing the militia system he was successively elected to the ranks of Colonel and Brigadier, and was a Major-General in 1792. His splendid mansion on Walnut Street, ever the abode of generous hospitality, was afterwards occupied by the "Sisters of Notre Dame."

Frye, Peter, Esq., of Salem, was born in Andover, and graduated at Harvard College in 1744. He was a Judge of the Common Pleas and Register of Probate for Essex County, and Colonel of the First Regiment. He was for several successive years a Representative in the Provincial Assembly, and was one of the seventeen noted "*Rescinders*" in February, 1768; a term of reproach applied to the minority, whose votes sustained Gov. Bernard in his demand that an obnoxious vote be rescinded, at the Earl of Hillsborough's request. In the event of refusal he was directed to dissolve the Assembly. The vote repelling the demand was 92 to 17. Col. Frye adhered to Government, and was a Refugee in 1775. He married a daughter of Col. Pickman, of Salem. His daughter Love married Dr. Peter Oliver, and afterwards Admiral Sir John Knight, K. C. B., and died at her seat at Camberwell, near London, in 1839. Col. Frye died also at the residence of his daughter, on the 1st of February, 1820, aged ninety-seven. He was included among the banished by law, in September, 1778.

Gage, General Thomas, the last Governor of Massachusetts

appointed by the Royal Government, died in England in 1787. After the conquest of Canada in 1760, he was appointed Governor of Montreal. At the departure of Gen. Amherst in 1763, he succeeded him as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America; he was appointed Governor of Massachusetts, and arrived at Boston, May 13, 1774. He was a suitable instrument for executing the purposes of a tyrannical Ministry and Parliament. Several regiments soon followed him, and he began to repair the fortifications on Boston Neck. The powder in the arsenal in Charlestown was seized; detachments were sent out to take possession of the stores in Salem and Concord; and the battle of Lexington became the signal of war. In May, 1775, the Provincial Congress declared Gage to be an inveterate enemy of the country, when the exercise of his functions was confined to Boston. In June he offered pardon to all Rebels except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. The battle of Bunker Hill, a few days afterwards, proved he had mistaken the character of the people. He embarked for England in October, and was succeeded in command by Sir William Howe. He is reprobated for treachery in permitting the inhabitants liberty to leave the town on delivery of their arms, and the detaining of many of them.

In 1774 Gov. Gage gave the Colonial Assembly notice of their removal to Salem, by adjourning the General Court to the 7th of June. While the opposition was preparing measures against the Administration, a messenger was despatched to the Governor who lived at some distance. The Secretary was sent to dissolve the General Court, and finding the door of the Assembly locked, he read the proclamation on the steps. This was the first repulse to Government authority. This took place August 23, 1774.

While the Representatives were sitting with closed doors, they appointed the following gentlemen a committee to meet other committees that might be convened the 1st Sept. at Philadelphia, viz: Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Bowdoin, and John Adams. They also voted five hundred pounds, and chose a Treasurer. Thus commenced our Massachusetts Provincial Council, and a general Congress initiated as these measures were adopted by the other Colonies.

Gates, Horatio, a Major-General in the Army of the United States, was a native of England: is said to have been a natural son of Lord Orford. In early life he entered the British Army, and laid the foundation of his future military fame; he was aid to General Monckton at the capture of Martinico, and after the peace of Aix-la-

Chapelle, he was among the first troops which landed at Halifax under General Cornwallis. He was with Braddock at the time of his defeat in 1755, and was shot through the body. When peace was concluded, he purchased an estate in Virginia, where he resided until the commencement of the American war in 1775, when he was appointed by Congress Adjutant-General, with the rank of Brigadier-General, and accompanied Washington to Cambridge. In August, 1777, he took command of the Northern Department, and succeeded in capturing Burgoyne in October. Congress passed a vote of thanks, and ordered a medal of gold to be presented to him by the President. His conduct towards his conquered enemy was marked by a delicacy which does him the highest honor; he did not permit his own troops to witness the mortification of the British in depositing their arms. After Gen. Lincoln was taken prisoner, he was appointed, June 13, 1780, to the command of the Southern Department; August 16, he was defeated by Cornwallis at Camden.[1] After the peace he retired to his farm in Berkley County, Virginia, where he remained until the year 1790, when he came to reside in New York; having first emancipated his slaves, and made a pecuniary provision for such as were not able to provide for themselves. Some of them would not leave him, but continued in his family. On his arrival at New York, the freedom of the city was presented to him. In 1800 he accepted a seat in the Legislature; his political opinions did not separate him from many respectable citizens, whose views differed widely from his own; he died April 10, 1806, aged 77. A few weeks before his death, he wrote to his friend, Dr. Mitchell, then at Washington, on some business, and closed his letter, dated Feb. 27, 1806, with the following words: — "I am very weak, and have evident signs of an approaching dissolution; but I have lived long enough, since I have lived to see a mighty people animated with a spirit to be free, and governed by transcendent abilities and honor." He retained his faculties to the last; he directed that his body should be privately buried, which was accordingly done. General Gates was a Whig in England, and a Republican in America; he was a scholar, well versed in history and the Latin classics. While he was hospitable and generous, yet his manners and deportment indicated his military character.

Germaine, Lord George, afterwards Lord Sackville, was tried by court-martial on account of his conduct at the battle of Minden in 1759, and disgraced. To him has been attributed the authorship of

[1] See the article "De Kalb," in this volume.

"Junius's Letters"; but it is hardly possible that an officer who had been publicly pointed at and formally convicted by a court-martial as a coward, would pen the following remark of Junius respecting himself: "His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here; and *I know he loves to be stationed in the rear as well as myself.*"

He was Secretary of State for the American Department during the war of the Revolution, and it is generally admitted that his administration was bad.

In a letter to Lord Howe, on his naval conduct, attributed to Lord Sackville, he says: "Had your Lordship and your brother saved the Northern Army, which you had abundant power to do, the rebellion, then in its infant state, must have been suppressed; the war with France and Spain had not happened; and, what is yet of more moment to the peace and safety of the Empire, that faction, which is daily distracting the Councils of State and wrenching asunder the union of power which is necessary to its safety, would now hide its monstrous head in the dark cells of its own folly and treason."

Gen. Howe had friends in Parliament, and Lord George Germaine's orders and instructions were the subject of their philippics; and they were powerful enough to make that minister retire.

Gibbs, Henry, a merchant of Salem, and a correspondent of Mr. Curwen when in the Louisbourg Expedition, was the son of the Rev. Henry Gibbs, of Watertown, and born May 13, 1709. He graduated at Harvard College in 1726; married, first, Margaret, daughter of Rev. Jabez Fitch, of Portsmouth, N. H., and, second, Katherine, daughter of Josiah Willard, of Boston. He died the 17th February, 1759, leaving several children. His son Henry, by his second wife, was born May 7, 1749; graduated at Harvard College in 1766; was a teacher of youth for several years at Rowley, Newcastle, and Lynn; afterward he entered into mercantile business at Salem. He married Mercy, daughter of Rev. Benjamin Prescott, of Danvers. They had several children: William, the antiquarian of Salem; Josiah Willard, an eminent Professor of Yale College; and Henry, a merchant of Philadelphia.

The first mentioned was a Representative to the General Court from Salem, and Clerk of the House from 1755 to his death. He was a Justice of the General Sessions and Court of Common Pleas.

Goodale, Nathan, Esq., son of Joshua Goodale and Experience Judd, was born 14th December, 1740, probably in the Goodale Mansion, on Mill Plain, now Boston Street, just beyond Blubber

Hollow, on the road to South Danvers; he was baptized Dec. 21, 1740, at the church in Salem village. His mother died 14th August, 1748, and his father contracted a second marriage with Anna Derby, of Salem, Sept. 10, 1749.

Nathan Goodale graduated at Harvard College in 1759; married, Jan. 1, 1765, Mary, daughter of Mitchell Sewall, granddaughter of Major Stephen Sewall, and Margaret, daughter of Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge. Mitchell Sewall was Clerk of the Courts, and inherited and occupied the Sewall Mansion, corner of Essex and Sewall Streets. Mr. Goodale was a teacher of youth at nineteen, and prominent in Church affairs before the Revolution. He belonged to the aristocratic party of the day, and at the breaking out of the rebellion inclined to Toryism. He was for years a merchant in Salem, of the highest respectability; passed some time as an exile in Nantucket, but finally swerved to the popular side, and was an agent for privateers. Upon the adoption of the Constitution he was appointed Clerk of the District Court at Boston, and died at Newton Corner on the 9th of August, 1806. He left two children: Frank Cabot, who died unmarried, and Mary. The latter married Edward Cushing. His second wife was Margaret, a sister of his daughter's husband. Mr. Goodale's grandfather's name was Abraham, who was the son of Zachariah, and he was the son of Robert Goodale who sailed from Ipswich, England, for Salem, Massachusetts, April 30, 1634, in the *Elizabeth*, Capt. Andrews.

It is recorded in "Felt's Annals" that "on the 21st Nov. 1779, Captain Nathan Goodale had come from New York on parole, and, about to return, has clothing allowed him by the State." The records of the House say that he has done singular service for his country, and from particular circumstances, it is apprehended the enemy will detain him as long as possible. Mr. Goodale was a Representative to the General Court in 1781, 1782, and 1784.

Goodhue, Hon. Benjamin, was born at Salem, Massachusetts, October 1, 1748, and graduated at Harvard College in 1766. He early embarked in commerce with credit and success; he was a Whig of the Revolution; represented the County of Essex in the Senate of his native State from 1784 to 1789, when he was elected a Representative to the first United States Congress under the new Constitution; and, with Mr. Fitzsimmons, of Philadelphia, formed our Code of Revenue Laws, a majority of which have remained in force to this day. In 1796, Mr. Goodhue was elected a Senator in Congress for Massachusetts, where he was distinguished as Chairman of the Committee

of Commerce, but resigned and retired from public life in 1800. His colleague in the Senate was Caleb Strong, for many successive years the popular Governor of Massachusetts. Mr. Goodhue's politics were of the Washington school; and that party is now generally admitted to have been the purest ever known in our country. He died July 28, 1814, leaving an irreproachable name to his then surviving son, Jonathan Goodhue, Esq., of New York; a merchant who, in character and credit, stood second to none in that commercial emporium during a long residence, and to the close of his blameless and valuable life. He married a daughter of Gen. M. Clarkson, of New York.

Mr. Benjamin Goodhue married Frances Richie, of Philadelphia, January 6, 1778, who died January 21, 1801. He married, secondly, Ann Willard, of Lancaster, November 5, 1804.

His father, Benjamin Goodhue, was the youngest child of William and Mary, and was born at Ipswich, July 11, 1707. In early life he removed to Salem, was a merchant during a long life, and died at Salem, January 20, 1783, having held some of the chief offices in town, and was a ruling Elder of the Third Church there.

He descended from William Goodhue, born in England in 1612, took the oath of a freeman, December, 1636, and probably came in that year. He settled in Ipswich, and was Deacon of the First Church for many years, Selectman, Representative in the General Court, &c.; he died in 1698 or 99.

Gorham, Hon. Nathaniel, born at Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1738, was often a member of the Legislature, and in 1784 was elected to Congress, of which body he was afterwards President. He was also a Judge of the Common Pleas for several years, and assisted in forming the Constitution of the United States, as a member of the Convention. His early advantages were only those of a common school, but possessing talents of a high order, he appeared to advantage in company with literary men. He at one time engaged in mercantile pursuits, but left them for public life. In debate he had independence enough to dissent from measures he disapproved, and therefore he did not escape the obloquy of the ignorant, who confounded all moderate men with those who were unfriendly to the cause of liberty. He died in 1796.

Gray, William, one of the most successful of American merchants, was born in Lynn, in the County of Essex, and Commonwealth of Massachussets, in the year 1751. He came, when quite a boy, to Salem, and was an apprentice, first to Samuel Gardner, Esq., an active

merchant, but left him and finished his apprenticeship with Mr. R. Derby, also a business man of that place. Young Gray was an enterprising and indefatigable apprentice, and had acquired the confidence of the principal merchants in Salem when he commenced business for himself, which in that careful and industrious town was a fine capital to begin upon.

Mr. Gray was early prosperous in his affairs, and in less than twenty-five years after he had commenced business was considered and taxed as the wealthiest man in the place, where there were several of the largest fortunes that could be found in the United States. He was all activity, and at times had more than sixty sail of square-rigged vessels. It was a fact that no moderate breeze could blow amiss for him, for every wind of heaven carried for him some vessel to port. For more than fifty years of his life he rose at the dawn of day, and was shaved and dressed before the common hour for others to rise. Being dressed, his letters and papers were spread before him, and every part of his correspondence brought up. He was, at the same moment that he put millions on the adventurous tracks for gain, with the boldest character, careful of the small concerns of expenditures. This he considered as belonging to the duty of business. He had married, in early life, Miss Chipman, of Marblehead, the daughter of a distinguished lawyer, and sister of the late Chief Justice Ward Chipman. They had five sons and one daughter. Mrs. Gray was a woman of great powers of mind, well cultivated, and for many years was the first in the social circle.

During the embargo, Mr. Gray took sides with Mr. Jefferson, notwithstanding his interest suffered greatly. His ships were rotting at the wharf. This course brought against him his old friends, and raised up a numerous host of new ones. He now removed to Boston, and was elected Lieut.-Governor of the State.

He had several times been elected to the State Senate, but politics were not his stronghold, and he sunk the great merchant in the commonplace politician. His immense wealth was used for the wants of the Government, with the liberality and confidence of one who believed that a Government should not be poor when individuals were rich. It is doubtful whether any capitalist in the United States did so much for the exigencies of Government as Mr. Gray. And while others were speculating on the depreciation of securities, no one will hesitate to say that his exertions were dictated by patriotism, with only the hopes of an honest remuneration. After the close of the war he launched again into commerce, but not with his former success.

Times had changed, but he had not changed with them, and what was a safe calculation once, was not so now; but still there can be no doubt but that he died a rich man, although no public inventory was ever taken of his estate, as his heirs gave bonds to pay debts and legacies, — which is all that the law requires.

Mrs. Gray died about two years before her husband, and his eldest son since his death. Mr. Gray was happy in his family, and was always a domestic man. He was worn out with the fatigues of business at the age of seventy-four, and departed this life November 4, 1825. His only daughter, long since deceased, was the wife of Col. Samuel Swett, A. M. and A. A. S., now of Boston. —*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, Vol. II. p. 409.

Greene, David. The "Columbian Centinel" for July 1, 1812, printed at Boston, states that on June 21st, died at Ballstown Springs, to which place he had gone for restoration of his health, David Greene, Esq., of this town, aged sixty-nine years. Very few persons have passed through life so much beloved and esteemed as Mr. Greene, by a numerous circle of friends and acquaintance. . . . His singular sweetness of temper, his undeviating politeness, his uncommon attention to strangers, and his extensive connection in business made him known and admired in every part of the Union; and he was justly considered, both at home and abroad, as one of the most accomplished gentlemen of New England. During the latter years of his life he was President of the Union Insurance Company in this town. . . . Like too many good men he did not grow gloomy as he grew aged, but maintained his social affection in full vigor to the last. . . . We may well believe that Mr. Greene was a true disciple of our Lord, and that he has now gone to inherit the mansions prepared for those who do good on earth.

He was born July 1, 1745; graduated at Harvard College, 1768; and married Rebecca Rose, of Antigua; was an Addresser of Governor Hutchinson; went to England; was proscribed and banished in 1778.

Green, Joseph, Esq., a wit and poet, born at Boston, 1706, received the rudiments of learning at the South Grammar-School, from Mr. Williams, and graduated at Harvard College, 1726. He was the author of many fugitive pieces, chiefly satirical, against the Governor or Assembly, as chance might direct. He was a fine classical scholar. He turned his attention to commerce, of which he obtained a comprehensive knowledge, and acquired a handsome property. To integrity and generosity were added in him politeness and elegance. His

humor, learning and taste might have connected him with the influential, and procured for him almost any distinction; but he would never accept public office. He signed an Address to Governor Hutchinson on his leaving the Government. In 1774, when an Act passed Parliament depriving Massachusetts of her charter, a number of councillors were appointed by mandamus; among them was Mr. Green, who declined the honor as soon as summoned, giving in his resignation to Governor Gage. Of his poetical pieces, the "Elegy on Mr. Old Tenor," and the satire on the processions of Freemasons, have passed through many editions. During the Whitfieldian controversy, there was a club of sentimentalists who wrote what they pleased, and, as the pamphlets were emitted from the press, it was easy to conjecture the parts he wrote, especially if a line of poetry was introduced. They also took a part in politics, and began by attacking the Administration of Governor Belcher, putting his speeches into rhyme. In the controversy with Great Britain, previous to the Revolution, most of these gentlemen joined the party of Loyalists. Mr. Green was included in the Act of Banishment of 1778, and having left Boston early in 1775, passed the remainder of his days in England, where he died in London, December 11, 1780, aged seventy-four.

Gridley, Benjamin, Esq., a son of Jeremiah Gridley, was born at Boston, January 28, 1731, and graduated at Harvard College in 1751. He was a barrister-at-law, discovered capacity and genius, real sentiment, fancy, wit, humor, judgment, and observation, yet he seems to be wholly lost to the world. He has no business, lies a bed till 10 o'clock, drinks, laughs and frolics, but neither studies nor practises his profession. He signed the Addresses to Hutchinson and Gage in 1774 and 1775, and was proscribed in 1778, and went to England. At the General Council, which was full, as the General Court was sitting, Hutchinson had the confidence to nominate for Justices of the Peace, Geo. Bethune, Nat. Taylor, Ned Lloyd, Benjamin Gridley and Sam. Burnett, and inform the Board that they had all promised to take the oath. The Council had the pusillanimity to consent, by their silence at least, to the nominations. — *John Adams's Works*, xi. pp. 222–333.

Gridley, General Richard, was born in Boston, 1711. After serving as an engineer at the reduction of Louisburg, in 1745, he entered the Army, as Colonel of infantry and Chief Engineer, in 1755. Under Winslow he was concerned in the expedition to Crown Point, 1756, and constructed the fortifications on Lake George. He served

under Amherst in 1758, and was with Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham the following year. At the commencement of the Revolution, he was appointed Chief Engineer, and skilfully laid out the works in fortification of Breed's Hill, the day before the battle of June 17, 1775, in which he was wounded. He died at Stoughton, June 20, 1796.

HARADEN, CAPTAIN. Among the naval exploits of the Revolution few could compare with those of Captain Jonathan Haraden, of Salem, commander of the *Pickering*, of one hundred tons, armed with sixteen six-pounders, and a crew of forty-five men and boys. He was born in Gloucester, Cape Ann, and came to Salem when a lad.

Major Garden, in his "Anecdotes of the Revolution," says that "while cruising near Sandy Hook, Captain Haraden fell in with a ship of fourteen guns, a brig of ten guns, and a sloop of eight guns, and after an action of an hour and a half captured the whole; and that during the same cruise he captured also the *Pomona*, of twelve guns, the sloop-of-war *Hope*, of fourteen guns, and the *Royal George*, cutter, of fourteen guns."

In the spring of 1780 he sailed in the *Pickering* from Salem for Bilboa, as a letter of marque, and laden with a cargo of sugar and molasses. When near the coast of Spain, Captain Haraden fell in with and captured a privateer of twenty-two nine-pounders, and sixty men, and put a prize-crew on board under Jonathan Carnes as master, also of Salem, thereby reducing his crew to less than forty. He was still further weakened and embarrassed by having to take care of nearly twice that number of prisoners. About a week afterwards an English ship, mounting forty-two guns, with one hundred and forty men, came up with and recaptured the prize. Notwithstanding the disparity of force, Captain Haraden gave her battle, and after a desperate contest compelled her to seek safety in flight, which her superior sailing enabled her to do, when he deliberately retook his prize and carried her safely into port. Mr. Robert Cowan, of Salem, one of the crew, says the *Pickering* looked like a long-boat by the side of the ship. An immense concourse assembled on the Spanish coast to witness the fight, and so great was the enthusiasm and admiration with which the victory had been witnessed, that when he landed he was surrounded by a vast throng of strangers, and carried by them in triumph to a populous city in the neighborhood, where he was welcomed with public honors. Another person who was with him in battle says that he fought with an energy and determination that seemed superhuman, and that although in the most exposed position, where the shot flew around him

in thousands, he was all the while as calm and steady as amidst a shower of snow.

The *Pickering* was afterwards fitted out as a privateer under the same commander. She mounted sixteen guns and was very successful. In one of her cruises she came up with three armed vessels in company, bound from Halifax to New York. They formed in a line and made a formidable appearance. Great as was the confidence of the officers and crew in the bravery and judgment of their captain, they evinced by their looks that they thought he was going to hazard too much; upon which he told them he had no doubt that if they would do their duty he would quickly capture the three vessels; and this he did with great ease, by going along-side of each of them, one after the other. The first was a sloop mounting twelve guns, the second a brig of fourteen, and the third a ship of sixteen guns.

On another occasion, while cruising near Bermuda, he was greatly annoyed by two sloops. They sailed very fast, and keeping near him, whenever he took a prize would retake her. But he was not to be foiled, and concluded to leave them by night, and when out of sight dropped his foretop-gallant-yard and mast, and otherwise disguised his vessel. He soon fell in with them again; they were soon in pursuit, and he put out drags. One overtook him and when so near as to prevent escape, opened his guns upon her and soon captured her. Then placing the British flag over the American on the *Pickering*, the sloop, with the British ensign flying, bore down upon her consort and captured her also.

Captain Haraden captured more than a thousand guns from the ships of the enemy during the war. While volunteers upon the land, who seldom met the foe, have been rewarded by pensions and grants of land, this volunteer upon the sea received no honors or rewards from Government.

Silver tankards and cans, with suitable emblems upon them, were presented to him by the owners of the *Pickering*, and are inscribed with the name of her invincible commander.

Captain Haraden was of middle size, and of symmetrical proportions, remarkable for personal beauty, as well as inflexible integrity. His temper was mild and manners gentle, but his firmness and energy were gloriously displayed in battle, and banished fear from the breasts of all under his command. At the close of the war Captain Haraden successfully embarked in commerce and the manufacture of cordage, and lived to witness the nuptials of two of his three children.

He died of protracted consumption in 1803, in his fifty-ninth year, and his fortitude and amiability were apparent to the last moment of his valuable life. He was endeared by many virtues to an extensive circle of friends.

Harrison, Gov. Benjamin, one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a native of Virginia, and graduated at the College of William and Mary. He commenced his political career as early as 1764, in the Legislature of his native Colony. The Royal Government offered him a seat at the Council Board, a tempting bait for young ambition, which he had the resolution to refuse, as the measures of the Ministry were already unfriendly to the liberty of the Provinces; and when the time came for active resistance to arbitrary power, he was ready for service. He was in the first General Congress of 1774, and the three succeeding ones, and was particularly useful as Chairman of the Board of War. After his resignation in 1777, he was for three terms elected Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia. He was elected Governor in 1782, and was twice reëlected. He retired to private life in 1785, but in 1788 he became a member of the Convention which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and died in 1791. He was father of General William H. Harrison, late President of the United States.

Hartshorne, Thomas, son of Thomas and Abiah Hartshorne, died in Salem, May 6, 1819. He married, first, Tamar Flint, and secondly, Abigail, daughter of Stephen Cleveland. No posterity. The following obituary notice is from the "Salem Gazette": — "He was a soldier in the old French war, and in the Revolution was a captain in the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment, commanded by Col. Michael Jackson, and was in commission until peace, having early entered the service. The bravery of this regiment is sufficiently known, at the time when Arnold was wounded, and was then under command of General Gates, when Arnold entered with it the enemy's works just before the surrender of Burgoyne. Captain Hartshorne was a native of Reading, Massachusetts, and came to Salem soon after the peace of 1783. He was an amiable and well-informed man; exemplary abroad and affectionate at home; faithful in his public trust at the Custom-House; punctual in his promises, and a Christian in the benevolence of his temper. As deacon of the First Church he was an ornament to his office, having talents to adorn it and firmness to perform all its duties. The restraints of office were easy to him, as they were imposed by his early habits, good manners, and sound understanding.

He had the confidence of his venerable pastor, Rev. Dr. Prince, and the esteem of his fellow-citizens." Captain Hartshorne was a member of the Society of Cincinnati.

Hatch, Nathaniel, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, born April 1, 1723; graduated at Harvard College in 1742; and married Elizabeth (Davenport) Lloyd. He was one of the Commissioners of the Land Bank in 1763, and succeeded Judge Wells upon the Bench of Common Pleas in 1771. He belonged to the Royalist party, and left the country at the breaking out of the Revolution. He died in England in 1780. He signed the Address to Governor Hutchinson in 1774; was included in the Conspiracy Act of 1779, and in the Banishment Act of 1778.

Hawley, Joseph, of Northampton, Massachusetts, was born in 1724, was graduated at Yale College, and possessed strong natural powers, improved by the study and practice of the law. He early embarked in political life, and retired from the Assembly in 1776, with an influence seldom equalled, obtained not less by his great talents than his unsullied and unimpeachable integrity. His opinions were followed almost implicitly, and the leaders in the Assembly despaired of carrying any measure to which he was opposed. At a time when the distresses of the war had produced disaffection, and a faction was organized in the western part of Massachusetts, in almost open resistance to the constituted authorities, he induced nearly all to sign a humble petition to Government, praying for an act of indemnity for the past, and promising future obedience.

Major Hawley declined all honors and employment when his popularity was at the highest, and thus formed an example of those public-spirited, generous citizens, (ready to share the peril and decline the reward,) who illustrate the idea of a commonwealth, and who, through the obstruction of human passions and infirmities, being of rare occurrence, will always be the most admired and noble ornaments of a free government.

He was certainly a great man, and a thoroughly upright one; a disinterested patriot, whose feelings and convictions were in behalf of freedom. He closed his earthly career at Northampton, in 1788, at the age of sixty-four.

The administration of civil affairs in the western counties during the early period of the Revolutionary struggle, presented some eccentricities which are noteworthy. The Convention of the Committees of Safety at Northampton, received a petition that one Mosely be released from jail. This petition underrates the power which the committees

of the time possessed. The recognition of those committees was practised by the courts themselves; a fact well illustrated by an occurrence in Greenfield. People in the vicinity of a thick forest on the east side of Fall River, in that town, had noticed a smoke rising above the trees. The Safety Committee of the town were notified of the fact, and repairing to the spot found a man named Harrington, who inhabited a kind of cave in which he had gathered all the tools necessary for counterfeiting. They conveyed him to Northampton, where they brought him before Judge Joseph Hawley. The Judge told the committee that the jail was so full of Tories that it would hold no more, and advised them to take him into the pine-woods north of the town, and give him as many lashes as they thought best, and let him go. The sentence was executed; three of the committee giving him light blows; but the fourth believed that, in whipping, the lashes should be well laid on, and brought blood at every stroke. They then bathed his wounds with spirits, gave him to drink of the same, and after exacting of him a promise not to be seen in those parts again, let him go. He thanked them for their lenity and kept his pledge.

Hewes, Joseph, of North Carolina, as a member of Congress early patronized the celebrated John Paul Jones, and was ever his confidential correspondent. It is to Mr. Hewes's discriminating judgment of character, in no small degree, that we owe the train of unsurpassed naval victories achieved by that hero; for there was great opposition to his preferment, on the score of foreign birth and want of influential connections, which latter consideration had great weight at that period. Jones relied implicitly on Mr. Hewes, and in a letter says, "I will cheerfully abide by whatever you think right;" and to him he referred the Hon. Robert Morris, respecting his claim for rank, who ever after was his friend.

Hill, Rev. Abraham, of Shutesbury, was among those who were opposed to the patriot cause. His sentiments on this subject alienated him from his people so far that his connection with them was finally broken up, his church having become reduced to a solitary member. While it does not appear that any considerable number of the clergy of Hampshire County served as chaplains in the Revolutionary Army, many of them warmly espoused the American cause. Mr. Hill was born at Cambridge, and graduated at Harvard College in 1737; he was the pastor at Shutesbury from 1762 to 1778, when he was dismissed. He died at Oxford, Massachusetts, June 8, 1788, aged sixty-nine.

Hiller, Major Joseph, was born in Boston, March 26, 1748,

He was a son of Joseph and Hannah (Welsh) Hiller, of Boston, whose gravestones yet remain in King's Chapel Cemetery. He married Margaret, daughter of Aaron Cleveland. He led an uniformed company, which marched from Salem on the day of the battle of Lexington, and was a Captain of Volunteers for the expedition against Rhode Island in 1778. He was Naval Officer of the port of Salem under the State Government in 1783, which office then comprised the duties of Collector of the Customs. His commission was signed by Governor Hancock; and in 1789, at the commencement of Washington's Administration, he was appointed Collector of the United States for the district of Salem and Beverly, which office he retained throughout that and the succeeding Administration with the highest credit and honor, and retired from it 12th August, 1802. He was an undeviating patriot in all the political vicissitudes of his country. He was distinguished in private life by an amiable, friendly, and benevolent disposition. He was elected Master of the Essex Lodge of Masons, March 30, 1780, and for several successive years. In 1791 he was reëlected Master, and E. H. Derby, Jr., and Rev. Wm. Bentley, Wardens. In December, 1781, he delivered an admirable charge to the Lodge, which was printed and published. Wm. W. Oliver, Esq., the veteran Deputy-Collector of thirty-six years, says: "Major Hiller came to Salem in 1770, and served as Major in the Revolution. I always understood he was a good officer, and I know from experience that he was an honest man and a complete gentleman; that he had a pleasant meeting with General Alexander Hamilton, at Newhall's Tavern, in Lynn, in the year 1800. As Secretary of the Treasury, he had to account to him for several years."

After his retirement from public life Major Hiller removed to Lancaster, Massachusetts, where he passed many years in the bosom of his family, mutually devoted to the happiness of each other, and there closed his blameless and useful life, February 9th, 1814, aged sixty-six years.

Major Hiller was the first American who received the doctrines enunciated by Emanuel Swedenborg. This fact was proved by an investigation pursued some ten years since by many of that persuasion, and the result of their labors was published in the "New Jerusalem Magazine." It had previously been supposed that a Mr. John Glen was the first receiver, but Mr. Glen was an Englishman who visited this country and openly advocated the doctrines. A full account of Mr. Glen and Major Hiller was embodied in the report published in the magazine referred to.

In pursuit of health, he accompanied his son-in-law, Captain Richard J. Cleveland, (whose "Voyages" have given him a world-wide renown,) in the brig *Star*, to Africa, in 1808. This voyage was performed during the embargo, and by permission of the Government, in order to obtain the proceeds of the cargo of the schooner *Hope*. Lovell, late master, had died there, and the mate, of course, in command, undertook to dispose of the remaining portion of the outward cargo. Captain Cleveland found the schooner at Goree, and transshipped the return cargo, consisting of ivory, woods, gums, wax, and hides, to the *Star*, and arrived safely with it, July 7th, 1808, after an absence of only ninety-two days. Major Hiller's health was established by the voyage. His only son died unmarried, and his only surviving daughter, widow of the late William Cleveland, Esq., still survives. Her writings in early life are still sought after, and continue to charm her numerous admirers. Other daughters were the wives of S. J. Prescott, Esq., and Edward S. Lang, Esq.

Hodges, Benjamin, son of John and Mary (Manning) Hodges, of Salem, was born April 26th, 1754, married to Hannah King, November 19th, 1778, and died at Salem, April 13th, 1806. Mr. Hodges was bred to the sea and early became a shipmaster. It was his good fortune to be a pioneer in the China trade, as we learn from Mr. Oliver, Deputy-Collector for thirty-six years. He was master and supercargo of the brig *William & Henry*, belonging to Wm. Gray and Wm. Orne, to Canton, in 1789, and returned to Salem, May 31st, 1790, with the first cargo of tea that paid duty from Canton. The brig was 166 tons burden; the duties amounted to $9,783.81. Two other tea ships, which belonged to Mr. E. H. Derby, the *Astrea* and *Light-Horse*, arrived the next month. The average of tea the three brought was 242,000 pounds, and the aggregate of duties paid was $53,205.27. From ten other vessels from China to these States that year, the average was 181,000 pounds. The whole quantity of tea imported into the United States that year was 3,018,014 pounds; whole duty, $317,925.76. The duty from 6 to 45 cents, — averaging 10. The balance of the tea came *viâ* Europe.

The following, from an obituary notice by his friend and pastor, the late Rev. Dr. Bentley, shows the high estimation in which he was held for his many virtues and public spirit.

"He was descended from the primitive settlers of New England and the first planters of Salem. The first ancestor was distinguished by his naval service in the early commerce of the country. The education of Capt. Hodges was in the habits of his ancestors, for the

sea service, and he soon attracted the notice which gave him the command of the *Grand Turk*, so well known in the early history of the enterprising commercial spirit of Salem.

"He was of fine person, of commanding aspect, and dignified manners. His success soon provided him the means of uniting uninterrupted domestic happiness with his mercantile employments; and he gave an uncommon example of all the virtues which can bless a family, and was rewarded with all the endearments which can enrich a friend, a husband, and a father.

"His characteristic benevolence directed the choice of him as an Overseer of the Poor, and the high esteem he held in that office has received the full consent of men in every condition. When the East India Marine Society was formed, he was chosen and has continued its President; and the reputation of that society will testify to the wisdom of the appointment. Other societies chose him as their head, and every charitable institution confesses its obligations to him. The Essex Lodge was formed to its high character under him, and the religious society to which he belonged derived the greatest advantages from his example, his services, and his fatherly preference in all its affairs. Appeals were frequently made to his judgment on private and commercial concerns, and no dissensions in Church or State rendered his benevolence questionable. His prosperity was never interrupted but by the frequent loss of his children; and he fell a victim to the same infirmity, which, in the fate of his children, had so often distressed him. His calmness of mind never forsook him, and the conference with his friends in his last hours was worthy of the character in which he had appeared to the world. His death is universally considered a public loss, and his memory will be dear to all who knew him."

Of his children, Miss Hannah Hodges alone survived him. Mary was the wife of the late William Silsbee, Esq.; from these there are many descendants.

Holyoke, Edward Augustus, M. D., LL. D., A. A. S., son of President Holyoke, of Harvard College, was born August 13, 1728, and graduated in 1746. In 1755 he married Judith, daughter of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, of Salem; and after her death, which occurred within the year, Mary, daughter of Nathaniel Viall, Esq., of Boston. "The period of the Revolution was a trying one to him, and he never loved to dwell upon the recollection of it; his feelings in the spring and summer of 1775 were intensely painful. In referring to that period, he said he thought he should have died with the sense of weight and

oppression at his heart; he had sent his family to Nantucket, and the loneliness of his home increased the feeling of desolation. Most of his intimate friends and near connections favored the Royal cause; and his own education had attached him to the established order of things, while his peaceful temper shrunk from the turmoil of a revolution. Although most distinguished men who had adopted the Royal cause found it expedient to leave the country, it does not appear that he was ever impeded in the prosecution of his professional business or studies for a single day. Once only he committed himself, by signing a complimentary Address to Governor Hutchinson, in common with a number of the most distinguished citizens of the town of Salem, when the Governor was about leaving the country. He afterwards felt himself obliged, as well as a number of his associates, to publish a sort of apology for this act; which '*Recantation*,' as it was called, contained nothing that was servile or disgraceful. He died March 31, 1829, at the great age of *one hundred years and seven months.*

"In deeds of piety and benevolence he was ever active, and his gifts were bestowed with the most scrupulous secrecy; and, from his intimacy in the families of all classes, seldom misapplied."

He had been a practising physician in Salem for seventy-nine years. On some days he made a hundred visits; and at one period there was not a dwelling-house in Salem which he had not visited professionally. About fifty medical gentlemen of Boston and Salem gave him a public dinner on his centennial anniversary. Dr. Holyoke was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and of the Salem Athenæum and Essex Historical Society. In his relation to these institutions, as well as in his philosophic taste and benevolent character, he was indeed the Franklin of Salem. No man perhaps ever lived so long in any community as he did here, the object of such constant and affectionate veneration. The lamented Judge White, in his Address at the Dedication of Plummer Hall, said, he was not less remarkable for true dignity than for his winning kindness and courteous manners. In his whole character he was genuine. I have known him in many different positions, but in none where he did not appear a model character; a model for imitation as a gentleman, a scholar, a Christian, a philanthropist. It is right and just that we should honor his memory, and important that young students, who aspire, as he did in his youth, to wisdom, learning, and all excellence, should know his character and the virtues and qualities which gave him his eminent success, — all which are within their reach.

Hooper, Hon. Robert, of Marblehead, was a stanch adherent of royalty, as his cognomen denoted. He rose from abject poverty to apparently inexhaustible wealth. He engrossed for years a large part of the fishing business, — very extensive previous to the Revolution. He exported the fish to Spanish ports, receiving specie in return. He became a Councillor by writ of Mandamus. At his splendid house in Danvers, afterwards Collins, he entertained Governor Gage for some time in 1774. He kept a princely chariot to ride in, and was generally known as "King Hooper." He seems not to have known the state of his affairs, and died insolvent in 1790.

His son Robert was born February 9, 1747, graduated at Harvard College in 1765, and died at Marblehead, April 23, 1784.

Of his son Joseph, we gave an account in former editions of this work.

Hovey,[1] Rev. Ivory, was born at Topsfield, near Salem, Massachusetts, on the 3d of July, O. S., 1714. He graduated at Harvard College in 1735, in the class of Mr. Curwen. He studied theology, and was settled at Mattapoiset, a parish of Rochester, Massachusetts, in 1740. He left that place in 1765, and was soon after resettled in a parish of Plymouth, where he passed the remainder of an unusually long and useful life. He married, in 1739, Olive, daughter of Captain Samuel Jordan, of Biddeford, Maine, who survived him a few months. Mr. Hovey was able to continue his ministerial labors till a few days before his death, which took place on the 4th of November, 1803, in the ninetieth year of his age. It is remarked by Dr. Alden, (from whose Collection these particulars are obtained,) that, for some time before his decease, Mr. Hovey "was but the *third* among the *living* of his Alma Mater." He probably outlived all of his classmates, although he survived Mr. Curwen by only eighteen months.

"For sixty-five years before his death," says Alden, "Mr. Hovey kept a journal, in which those things designed for his own particular use were penned in a short hand, as is said, of his own invention. This journal, closely written, amounts to the astonishing number of seven thousand octavo pages." The same author publishes an excellent letter of great length, addressed by Mr. Hovey to a young candidate for the ministry, written twelve days only before his death.

[1] See above, pp. 460, 461, where it is mentioned as uncertain whether this classmate of Mr. Curwen was living in 1795. The present notice of Mr. Hovey has been prepared since that part of the work was printed.

Howe, General Sir William, brother of Richard, Earl Howe, was the successor of General Gage in command of the British forces in America. He first arrived at Boston in May, 1775, with General Burgoyne, and commanded in the battle of Bunker Hill; he took possession of New York in September, 1776; and was one of the Commissioners to offer terms of peace. In July, 1777, Sir William sailed for the Chesapeake, and entered Philadelphia, September 27; he defeated the Americans on the 4th of October, same year, at Germantown. In May, 1778, he was succeeded by General Clinton. In the House of Commons, in December, same year, when assigning his reasons for quitting his command in America, he particularly blamed Lord Sackville, (formerly Lord George Germaine,) the Minister, for not sending reinforcements, nor coöperating in his plans; and in the January following, Lord Sackville, if he was the author of the letter to Admiral Howe, returned the invective. He published a second edition of his narrative relative to his command, in 1780; he died in 1814. General Charles Lee said: "Howe was the most indolent of mortals, and never took pains to examine the merits or demerits of the cause in which he was engaged. That the King and Parliament formed the supreme power; that supreme power is absolute and uncontrollable, and, consequently, all resistance *rebellion;* that he was a soldier, and bound to obey in all cases whatever: these were his notions, and this his logic. He was naturally good-natured, and as an executive soldier all fire and activity; brave as Cæsar. His understanding good, but confounded by the immensity of the task imposed upon him."

Howe, Lord Admiral Earl, was born in 1725, and on the death of his brother, the General, succeeded to his title and estate. He commanded the British fleet which arrived at Staten Island, July 12, 1776, and was named in the commission to offer proposals of peace. In July, 1777, he convoyed the two hundred and seventy transports in which the army sailed from New York to the Chesapeake. He repaired to Newport in the winter as a safe harbor; which place he relieved on the 30th August, 1778, when threatened by the Americans and French, by arriving from New York with a hundred sail of ships. In September he resigned the command to Admiral Gambier. On the 1st of June, 1794, he obtained a victory over the French, and died August 5, 1799. Lord Howe was the brother of General Howe who fell in the attack on Ticonderoga in 1758, "in whom," said Mante, "*the soul of the army seemed to expire;*" and to commemorate

whom the Province of Massachusetts Bay caused a monument to be erected in Westminster Abbey.

HUTCHINSON, GOVERNOR. Thomas, (son of Colonel Thomas Hutchinson, a member of the Council who seized the famous pirate Kidd when he resisted the officers sent to arrest him,) was graduated at Harvard College in 1727. He at first embarked in commercial pursuits, then studied the common law of England and the principles of her constitution. He was elected for ten consecutive years to the Assembly of Massachusetts, and for three years was Speaker. He succeeded his uncle, Edward Hutchinson, as Judge of Probate, in 1752. He was a member of the Council from 1749 to 1766; Lieut.-Governor from 1758 to 1771. On the death of Judge Sewall, in 1760, he was appointed Chief Justice; all which offices he filled with distinguished ability. "His oratory charmed beyond that of any man; there was equal fluency and pathos in his manner; he could be argumentative and smooth; he was active, diligent, and plausible; and, upon all occasions seemed to be influenced by public spirit more than selfish considerations. His respect to religious institutions, his sympathy with the distressed, his affability, integrity, industry, and talents, procured in a very high degree the public confidence." In 1767 he was appointed one of the Commissioners for settling the boundary with New York; and, amidst all the vituperations against him, Massachusetts has cause to remember with gratitude that his advice only prevented the other Commissioners, Hancock, Hanly, and Brattle, from abandoning the claim to the Western Territory of New York, which was retained and sold for a large sum.

On the departure of Governor Bernard in 1769, the administration devolved on Lieut.-Governor Hutchinson; and in March, 1771, he received his commission as Governor, just as he had concluded to advise the Government that it would be desirable for him to remain Chief Justice, and pass his days in peace. Unhappily for himself he accepted the appointment, and from this time till his departure, in 1774, he was constantly in dispute with the Council and Assembly. Among the subjects of controversy was the provision made for his support by the Crown. By his speech of Jan. 6, 1773, asserting the supreme authority of Parliament, he provoked a discussion by the Council and House which had better never been uttered; and the Minister recommended him not to renew the discussion. His views he at all times candidly and manfully explained to the Legislature, in many speeches and messages which display his learning, temper, and abilities.

The confidential letters written by him and others to Mr. Whately,

a former member of Parliament, in opposition to the Ministry, which caused so much excitement in 1772, were procured by Dr. Franklin, through Mr. Temple, (afterwards Consul-General to the United States,) from Mr. Whately's executor, and caused a duel between the two latter. Dr. Franklin sent them to Mr. Cooper, with an injunction that they should not be copied or published; of which restriction the Doctor remarked, that "*as distant objects seen only through a mist appear larger, the same may happen from the mystery in this case.*" In this state they remained six or eight months, and finally were communicated to the Legislature in secret session. In the letters was no sentiment the Governor had not avowed in his public addresses. All that was objected to, and for which the Council reproached him, was the following: — "I never think of the measures necessary for the peace and good order of the Colonies without pain; there must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties. I doubt whether it is possible to project a system of government, in which a Colony three thousand miles distant shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent State." For this the Council and Assembly voted an Address for his removal; and at a hearing before the Privy Council of his friends, Mr. Manduit and Mr. Wedderburne, on his behalf, the decision was in favor of "the honor, integrity, and conduct of the Governor."

In an unpublished letter of John Adams to Colonel Joseph Ward, dated Quincy, Oct. 24, 1809, he says: — "If I was the witch of Endor, I would wake the ghost of Hutchinson, and give him absolute power over the currency of the United States and every part of it; provided always, that he should meddle with nothing but currency. As little as I revere his memory, I will acknowledge that he understood the subject of coin and commerce better than any man I ever knew in this country. He was a merchant, and there can be no scientific merchant without a perfect knowledge of the theory of a medium of trade. It will be in vain to talk of public credit, until we return to a pure, unmixed circulation of standard gold and silver. There can never be a government of laws in money matters, without a fixed philosophical and mathematical standard. Contracts can never be inviolable without a stable standard."

Governor Hutchinson deserves great honor for his labors in regard to the "History of Massachusetts," which he published from its first settlement to the year 1760. In so high estimation was it held, that, at the expiration of more than half a century after its publication, successful efforts were made by the most influential persons there to obtain the unpublished part of this history, which they pronounced

"*a work of inestimable value, resting on the solid basis of utility and truth; the accuracy and fidelity of which was universally felt and acknowledged.*" These efforts of the government of Harvard College, the Historical Society, of Judge Davis, Governor Gore, Dr. Kirkland, Dr. Lowell, and the Hon. James Savage, who secured the private circulation of five hundred copies before publication, and whose sentiments on the leading subject are at variance with those of its author, are proud testimonials of the character of Governor Hutchinson in the field of his labors and sacrifices, and amidst the descendants of his political opponents.

Governor Hutchinson died at Brompton, near London, June 3, 1780, aged sixty-nine, and was buried at Croydon.

In the posthumous volume of Governor Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts,[1] he says: — "Mr. HANCOCK's name has been sounded through the world as a principal actor in this tragedy. He was a young man, whose father and grandfather were ministers in country parishes, of irreproachable characters, but, like country ministers in New England in general, of small estates. His father's brother, from a bookseller became one of the most opulent merchants in the Province; he had raised a great estate with such rapidity that it was commonly believed among the vulgar that he had purchased a valuable diamond for a small sum and sold it at its full price. But the secret lay in his importing from St. Eustatia great quantities of tea in molasses hogsheads, which sold at a very great advance; and by importing, at the same time, a few chests from England, he freed the rest from suspicion, and always had the reputation of a fair trader. He was also concerned in supplying the officers of the army, ordnance, and navy, and made easy and advantageous remittances; when he died, he left to his nephew more than fifty thousand pounds sterling, besides the reversion, after the death of his widow, of twenty thousand more. The uncle was always on the side of Government; the nephew's ruling passion was a fondness for popular applause. He changed the course of his uncle's business, and built and employed in trade a great number of ships; and in this way, and by building at the same time several houses, he found work for a great number of tradesmen, made himself popular, was chosen selectman, representative, moderator of town-meetings, etc. He associated with those who were called Friends of Liberty. His natural powers were moderate, and had been very little improved by study or application to any kind of science. His ruling

[1] Published in 1828.

passion kept him from ever losing sight of its object, but he was fickle and inconstant in the means of pursuing it; and though, for the most part, he was closely attached to Mr. Samuel Adams, he has repeatedly broken off from all connection with him for several months together. Partly by inattention to his private affairs, and partly from want of judgment, he became greatly involved and distressed; and the estate was lost with much greater rapidity than it had been acquired."

President Quincy, in his invaluable "History of Harvard University," has devoted a chapter to the wrongs which that institution suffered at the hands of Mr. Hancock as its Treasurer, and closes the detail, as follows: — "From respect to the high rank which John Hancock attained among the patriots of the American Revolution, it would have been grateful to have passed over in silence his long denial of the rights of the College, and withholding its property, had truth and fidelity of history permitted. But justice to a public institution which he essentially embarrassed during a period of nearly twenty years, and also to the memory of those whom he made to feel and to suffer, requires that these records of unquestionable facts, which, at the time when they occurred, were the cause of calumny and censure to honorable men, actuated in their measures solely by a sense of official fidelity, should not be omitted. In republics, popularity is the form of power most apt to corrupt its possessor, and to tempt him, for party ends or personal interest, to trample on right or set principle at defiance. History has no higher or more imperative duty to perform, than by an unyielding fidelity to impress this class of men with the apprehension that, although through fear or favor they may escape the animadversions of contemporaries, there awaits them in her impartial record the retribution of truth."

President Quincy also says of him: — "His manners were full of suavity and attraction; his love of place and popularity intense. He early joined the patriotic party, whose leaders perceived the advantage of placing him at their head, and giving him every distinction they could command. By the continued influence of these, possessions, manners, and circumstances, he acquired a popular power, which in this country has scarcely been exceeded."

"The style of living he adopted, and the openness of his hand to every object coinciding with his views or his interests, kept his ample resources in a perpetual state of exhaustion. It suited both his interest and policy to postpone debts and gratify friends."

Of another distinguished patriot of the Revolution, Governor Hutchinson, in the posthumous volume already quoted, says: — "Mr. Samuel

Adams's father had been one of the Directors of the Land Bank in 1741, which was dissolved by an Act of Parliament. After his decease his estate was put up for sale by public auction, under authority of an Act of the General Assembly. The son first made himself conspicuous on this occasion. He attended the sale, threatened the sheriff to bring an action against him and all who should attempt to enter upon the estate under pretence of a purchase; and by intimidating both the sheriff and those who intended to purchase, he prevented the sale, kept the estate in his possession, and the debt to the Land Company remains unsatisfied. He was afterwards Collector of Taxes for the town of Boston, and made a defalcation which caused an additional tax upon the inhabitants. These things were unfavorable to his character, but the determined spirit he showed in the cause of liberty would have covered a multitude of such faults. He was for near twenty years a writer against Government in the public newspapers, at first but an indifferent one; long practice caused him to arrive at great perfection, and to acquire a talent of artfully and fallaciously insinuating into the minds of his readers a prejudice against the characters of all whom he attacked, beyond any other man I ever knew. This talent he employed in the messages, remonstrances, and resolves of the House of Representatives, most of which were of his composition, and he made more converts to his cause by calumniating governors and other servants of the Crown than by strength of reasoning. The benefit to the town from his defence of their liberties, he supposed an equivalent to his arrears as their Collector; and the prevailing principle of his party, that the end justified the means, probably quieted the remorse he must have felt from robbing men of their characters, and injuring them more than if he had robbed them of their estates."

The same writer has the following notice of still another eminent leader of the Revolution: — "Mr. John Adams, a distant relation and acquaintance of Mr. Samuel Adams. After his education at the College, he applied himself to the study of the law, a short time before the troubles began. He is said to have been at a loss which side to take. Mr. Sewall, who was with the Government, would have persuaded him to be on the same side, and promised him to desire Governor Bernard to make him a Justice of the Peace. The Governor took time to consider of it, and having, as Mr. Adams conceived, not taken proper notice of him, or given him offence on some former occasion, he no longer deliberated, and ever after joined in opposition. As the troubles increased he increased in knowledge, and made a figure, not only in his own profession, but as a patriot, and was generally

esteemed as a person endowed with more knowledge than his kinsman, and equally zealous in the cause of liberty; but neither his business nor his health would admit of that constant application to it which distinguished the other from all the rest of the Province. In general, he may be said to be of stronger resentment upon any real or supposed personal neglect or injury than the other, but in their resentment against such as opposed them in the cause in which they were engaged, it is difficult to say which exceeded. His ambition was without bounds, and he has acknowledged to his acquaintance that he could not look with complacency upon any man who was in possession of more wealth, more honors, or more knowledge than himself."

Jones, Admiral John Paul. It has been the fate of many distinguished men to live unappreciated by their contemporaries, and to have their merits acknowledged only very tardily, even by the posterity whom their exertions have most largely benefited. Amongst these, and in a conspicuous niche, we would place Admiral John Paul Jones. Born in the peaceful ranks of an agriculturist, he raised himself at an early age to the highest grade of his adopted profession, and as a Captain in the infant Navy of the United States, performed such deeds of valor as to draw from the immortal Washington the singularly strong compliment that "his achievements had commanded the admiration of the world."

From peculiar circumstances his enemies were enabled to place his character in a very false position before the public, and to deprive him during his lifetime of that high appreciation which his conduct and services so justly merited. The following short sketch of his life is derived from the most authentic sources, and will, we trust, have some effect in clearing away the clouds of calumny which have so long hung over his memory.

About twenty years ago, accident placed in our possession a large collection of original papers, consisting of letters and other documents, both of a public and private character, that had belonged to this celebrated man. On perceiving their importance in an historical point of view, we did not hesitate to put them into the hands of a popular writer,[1] in the full expectation, not however destined to be realized, that he would use them in vindication of the memory of our hero in his then forthcoming work, "The Naval History of the United States." This opportunity having been neglected, it falls to our lot now to repair, in as far as lies in our power, the mistake we committed in our original disposition of these valuable papers.

[1] J. Fennimore Cooper.

Admiral John Paul Jones was the son of John Paul, a respectable farmer in the parish of Kirkbean, in the south of Scotland. He was born in the year 1747, and being of an enterprising disposition, he went to sea at a very early age. His character for talent, integrity, and good conduct was such that we find him, before he was eighteen years old, in command of a vessel to the West Indies.

In this employ he continued for some years, until, in suppressing a mutiny, he so wounded one of his seamen as to cause his death. For this he was tried and honorably acquitted in the port in the West Indies where it occurred; but on his return to England he experienced so much persecution on account of it as to induce him to leave that country forever, and to seek refuge in Virginia, which he had previously visited, and where he had a brother already permanently settled. In the year 1774 this brother died and bequeathed him considerable property. Having thus become a landed proprietor, he felt entirely attached to Virginia as his country and his home, — and when the difficulties commenced with England, he did not hesitate to attach himself to the side of the Colonies, and to make them an offer of his services.

His friends, Mr. Robert Morris and Mr. Hughes, members of Congress, and General Jones, of North Carolina, knowing his value, recommended him strongly, and he was immediately appointed a senior First Lieutenant of the Navy. Feeling himself under particular obligations to General Jones for his kindness, he assumed that gentleman's name, and ever afterwards called and signed himself John Paul Jones.

After a cruise in the *Alfred*, of twenty-eight guns, he was, in February, 1776, placed in command of the *Providence*, of twelve guns. With this vessel, in the short space of six weeks, he captured no less than sixteen merchantmen, and completely destroyed the fishing establishment at Isle Madame. He fought the *Solebay*, of twenty-eight guns, for several hours, and on two separate occasions encountered the *Milford* of thirty-two guns.

On the 10th of October, 1776, he received his commission as a Captain, and was appointed to command the *Alfred*, in which he destroyed the fisheries at Port Royal, and captured all the vessels there, with their freights on board, bound to Europe.

Next year he was appointed to the *Ranger*, of eighteen guns, with which he proceeded to Europe, and on the 2d of February, 1778, at Brest, received from Count D'Orvilliers the first salute ever paid to the American flag by a foreign man-of-war. In April, of the same

year, he sailed against Whitehaven, scaled the walls of the fort, and spiked the cannon, thirty-eight in number. Shortly afterwards he landed at St. Mary's Isle, the seat of the Earl of Selkirk, and the crew having plundered the house of the plate, Jones bought it from them and returned it. A pleasing correspondence took place in consequence between the parties, in which the Earl and the Countess both expressed their high sense of his honorable conduct on the occasion. Their letters ought to have been sufficient to refute all the calumnies of which the malicious and distorted accounts of this transaction were the fruitful source, and which were eagerly seized on by his enemies to do him injury.

While on the English coast, the *Drake*, of twenty guns, was sent out against him. This vessel, though of superior force, he promptly engaged and captured, in the sight of an immense concourse of people assembled on the shore to see him taken, as the commander of the *Drake* had promised, before he went out, would soon be the case. He carried his prize into Brest, where he became involved in a variety of difficulties for want of money to pay his crew and support his prisoners. In addition, he had the mortification to find that the *Indien* frigate, which had been destined for him, was made over to France, because the American Commissioners had not the means for her completion.

The *Ranger* was sent back to America under the command of a lieutenant; and Jones himself was detained in France to take command of a squadron, which, it was promised, would soon be ready for him. The vacillating policy of the French Ministry and the jealousy of their naval officers caused the delay of a year, during which Jones employed himself in planning expeditions and urging them on the attention of the Government. In one of these the Marquis Lafayette proposed to accompany him with a large body of troops, but none were adopted,— the French Ministry being probably too much occupied with other matters to attend to them, or perhaps thinking them too bold and daring in their conception, to be likely to be attended with success in execution.

While at Brest, brooding over the dilatoriness of the French Government, chance threw in his way a copy of "Poor Richard's Maxims," by Dr. Franklin. The first sentence that caught his eye on opening the book was one saying, "If you wish your business faithfully and expeditiously executed, go and do it yourself; if otherwise, send." This struck him as so peculiarly applicable to himself that he immediately set out for Paris, where he found that his personal attendance

was alone wanting to carry the instructions of the Government into effect, and to complete the equipment of a squadron of five vessels of war to be placed under his command.

These were the *Alliance*, thirty-six, *Pallas*, thirty, *Ceres*, eighteen, *Vengeance*, eighteen, and his own ship, the *Duras*, of forty guns. This last he called the *Bon Homme Richard*, in honor of the author of the "Maxims," by which he had on this occasion been so much benefited. She was an old East Indiaman, nearly unfit for service, as is evident from the following extract of a letter from Jones to Dr. Franklin: "We have inspected the *Bon Homme Richard*, and it is the constructor's opinion that she is too old to admit of the necessary alterations. Thus circumstanced, I wish for an opportunity of attempting an essential service to render myself worthy of a better and a faster-sailing ship."

On the 14th of August, 1779, Jones left L'Orient with his squadron and a heterogeneous crew, to intercept the Baltic fleet. Owing to the desertion of part of the squadron, and the bad conduct of the *Alliance*, he could only capture the convoy, consisting of the *Serapis*, of fifty guns, and the *Countess of Scarborough*, of twenty. He himself, in the *Bon Homme Richard*, encountered the *Serapis*, and took her after one of the most severe and proportionably sanguinary fights ever recorded. The English Commodore, Pearson, who commanded the *Serapis*, gives the following account of the situation of the *Bon Homme Richard* after the action, in his official despatches: "Her counters were entirely driven in, and the lower deck guns all dismounted; she was on fire in two places, with seven feet of water in the hold, and 306 men killed and wounded, out of a crew of 380." The *Bon Homme Richard* sunk soon after the crew abandoned her.

Commodore Jones carried his prizes into the Texel, and when he appeared on the Amsterdam Exchange he was styled the "Terror of England," — rather a high sounding title, it must be confessed, but sufficiently indicative of the admiration which his conduct and bravery had elicited even from the phlegmatic Dutchmen.

While in Holland, he succeeded, in despite of the diplomatic exertion of Sir Joseph Yorke, the British Ambassador, in engaging the States General in the war with England.

On his return to France his reception was most enthusiastic, and Louis XVI. invested him with the order of military merit, and presented him with a sword of honor.

On his return to America, a gold medal was ordered by Congress to

be struck in honor of his achievements, and by a unanimous vote of that august body he was appointed to the command of the *America*, a line-of-battle ship of seventy-four guns, then being built at Portsmouth, N. H., and the only vessel of her class at that time in our infant navy. The fates, however, again interfered to prevent him from having the command of a ship suited to his merits; for after he had superintended her construction, and made her, as he states in his correspondence, the most perfect vessel of her class in the world, Congress deemed themselves called on to present the *America* to France, in lieu of the *Magnifique*, lost in our waters.

Thus disappointed, and in pursuance of the recommendation of Congress, he joined the fleets of D'Estaing and D'Orvilliers.

In the year 1786 he was appointed by Congress its Agent to Denmark and Sweden, to obtain an indemnity for the prizes taken under his command into their ports, and delivered over by them to the enemy.

Soon after this he was induced, by the advice of Mr. Jefferson, then our Minister at Paris, to enter the Russian naval service. The negotiations which had been very ably opened by him at Copenhagen and Stockholm were transferred to Paris, and finally brought to a satisfactory conclusion. He entered the service of her Imperial Majesty with the rank of Rear-Admiral, and in an action against the Turks in the Liman Sea, on the 7th of June, 1788, he so distinguished himself as to be immediately promoted to the rank of Vice-Admiral, and to receive from the hands of the Empress the decoration of the illustrious order of St. Ann.

Notwithstanding his success, the slanderous calumnies of his enemies reached him even here, and acting on a mind of acute sensibility, so embittered his days, as to induce him to resign his command and return to Paris, where his varied and eventful career was brought to a final close by his death, at the early age forty-five years, on the 12th September, 1792.

The National Assembly of France decreed a public funeral and mourning on the melancholy occasion. A deputation from that body attended, and M. Maroon, an eloquent orator, was appointed to pronounce his funeral oration, which closes in the following words: —

"Imitate him in his contempt of danger, in his devotedness to his adopted country, in his noble heroism, which, after having been the astonishment of the present generation, must continue to be the imperishable object of the veneration of future ages."

His remains were deposited in a leaden coffin, the more easily to be removed in case they should be claimed by our Government. This, however, was never done, and, more ungrateful still, Congress have never liquidated the just claim put forward by his present representative, George L. Lowden, Esq., a grandnephew of Admiral Jones, for disbursements actually made by him, which, with interest, amount to about $60,000. This appears the more unjust, as his services to the country were gratuitous.[1]

A short time before his death, he was appointed by President Washington, Mr. Jefferson being then Secretary of State, Commissioner to Algiers, for the purpose of redeeming from captivity the American citizens who were confined in the dungeons of that barbarous power. It is not known whether the news of this appointment reached Paris in time to relieve, in some degree, the gloom which hung over the latter days of his life; but that it was made is sufficient evidence of the high estimate which our eminent patriots and statesmen had formed of his character and abilities.

We have thus brought to a close our imperfect sketch of the history of this extraordinary man. In his character were found all the tenderness and sensibility of a woman united to the courage and daring of a hero. To the latter may be attributed the many victories he achieved; while in the former we recognize the source of that exquisite sensitiveness, which enabled the calumnies of his enemies to inflict such rankling wounds on his happiness as embittered his whole existence, and finally brought him to an early grave.

In the account between him and the United States, there is, we are sorry to say, a fearful balance against our country. To our cause he freely devoted his talents, his fortune, and his life. With his own hands he hoisted the Star-Spangled Banner on board of the *Alfred*, in the Delaware, the first time it ever floated to the breeze. At the mast-head of a ship under his command, it received its first national salute from a foreign power. Fighting under its folds he was the first to cause the meteor flag of England to strike before it; and on the very coasts of Britain, in defiance of the proudest navy in the world, he caused the astonished enemies of America to quail beneath his prowess. And what was his reward? Neglect while living, and forgetfulness when dead. "*Done to death by tongues of envious men*," no one of all those in whose cause he fought and bled have, as yet, thought fit to do public justice to his memory. And his heir is even obliged

[1] The claim was liquidated and paid by Congress the next year.

to sustain a heavy pecuniary loss in consequence of his actual disbursements on account of the United States.

[The above is taken from a "Lecture upon the Life and Exploits of Admiral Jones," delivered by the editor before the Mercantile Library Association, Clinton Hall, New York, January 2, 1844.]

Knyphausen, Lieutenant-General, the Baron, commander of the Hessian troops in the British service during the Revolution. For a while he was stationed on Staten Island where he erected a fort which bears his name. In June, 1780, he made an incursion into New Jersey with five thousand men; landing at Elizabethtown he proceeded to Connecticut Farms, where he burned thirteen houses and the church. Being reinforced, he repulsed the Americans near Springfield, and burned the town, consisting of thirty houses. Brilliant exploits for a Lieutenant-General and Baron. He died at Berlin, Prussia, in June, 1789, aged fifty-nine. — *Allen's Biographical Dictionary.*

Lee, Charles, a Major-General in the American Army, was born in Dunhall, Cheshire, England, in 1731. He was youngest son of John Lee, Colonel of the Forty-Fourth Regiment in the British service.

He was, on June 17, 1775, appointed 2d Major-General, ranking after Artemas Ward; in company with Washington, he arrived at the camp at Cambridge, and formally entered the service. "A soldier of fortune," says Irving, "indifferent to the ties of home and country, drawing his sword without enthusiasm, more through resentment against a government which had disappointed him, than zeal for liberty or for colonial rights."

He seems to have been governed by one purpose, and animated by one spirit, — a spirit of anything but patriotism, — a purpose to gratify his own ambition at any cost.

From a recently discovered document in Lee's handwriting, indorsed by Henry Strachy, Secretary to the Royal Commissioners, Lord and Sir William Howe, as "Mr. Lee's Plan," it appears that on March 29, 1777, he submitted to the British commander a project for the conquest of America.

For the disparaging manner in which he spoke of Washington, he was challenged by Col. Laurens, one of the latter's aides, and was wounded in the side by a pistol ball in the duel which ensued.

At Monmouth, by his wilful conduct in ordering a retreat against the express command of Washington, the day was nearly lost. The verdict of the court-martial, convened to examine into his conduct at

Monmouth, found him guilty of writing disrespectful letters to Washington, and sentenced him to suspension from any command in the army for one year.

The term of his suspension had just expired, when a rumor reached him that Congress designed to deprive him of his commission; in a sudden fit of anger he despatched to the President of that body an insulting note, the result of which was his immediate dismissal from the service.

He directed in his will that his body should not be interred in any church or church-yard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or Anabaptist meeting-house; "for since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company while living, that I do not choose to continue in it when dead." — *Irving's Washington*, Vol. III. p. 447.

He was called by the British the "American Palladium." He died 2d Oct., 1782, aged fifty-one years.

"The evil that men do lives after them."

It is understood that Lee, Gates, and Conway entered into a conspiracy to supplant Washington as Commander-in-Chief. Conway challenged the *pater-patriæ* to a duel; Cadwallader, an aide to Washington, accepted the challenge, and severely wounded Conway. The conduct of these men shows that it is unsafe to trust foreigners to battle against their own countrymen.

Lee, William R. Col. Lee was born in Manchester, Massachusetts, where he passed his early days, and came with his uncle, Jeremiah Lee, to Marblehead, where they became largely engaged in trade. The nephew passed much time at Nantucket, New Bedford, &c., in purchasing oil for the European markets.

Distinguished for zeal in the cause of liberty, at the breaking out of the war of the Revolution he obtained the appointment of Major in Col. Glover's regiment, and afterwards became a Lieutenant-Colonel.

Col. Lee was offered the Adjutant-Generalship of the Army by General Washington, after Col. Pickering felt obliged to decline it, being at the time Judge of Admiralty; but Col. Lee was distrustful of his abilities for the station, and finding that Col. Pickering could make arrangements soon to take the post, declined in his favor. An interesting account of this affair, with Washington's remarks upon the subject, may be found in these pages under the title of Col. Pickering. Washington then praised Col. Lee as having acquired the reputation of a good officer, and as being well pleased with his command. That

he was a brave and skilful officer there is no doubt. August 13, 1802, he was appointed Collector of the Customs for the District of Salem and Beverly, which office he sustained with great dignity and fidelity throughout the remainder of his life, which closed October, 1824. Col. Lee was universally respected and honored as the gallant soldier, the patriot citizen, and accomplished gentleman. His daughter, now deceased, was the wife of the late General Henry A. S. Dearborn. His grandson, Col. Wm. R. Lee, has been distinguished throughout the present rebellion, and is a highly esteemed officer and man.

McGilchrist, William. The Rev. William McGilchrist was the second Rector of the Episcopal Church in Salem, Massachusetts, and succeeded the Rev. Mr. Brockwell in that office. He was appointed in 1746 by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in accordance with an urgent request of the Society here. He was a native of Glasgow, Scotland; born in 1703, graduated at Baliol College, Oxford, 1731, ordained a deacon by the Bishop of London in 1733, and a priest by Martin, Bishop of Gloucester, in 1735. His first ministerial service was rendered at St. Philip's, in Charleston, S. C., from 1741 to 1744, as a missionary of the Society, &c. He resigned the charge on account of ill health, and returned to England with testimonials of his usefulness and high character.

The Society above mentioned had contributed to the support of the Church here from the beginning. Mr. McGilchrist served its interests with great success. The congregation grew rapidly under his charge, so that in 1771 it was necessary to enlarge the house and engage an assistant minister. But when the Revolution came on, the prosperity of the Church received a disastrous check. The Episcopal clergymen throughout the country were suspected of Toryism, because they declined to omit prayers for the "royal" authorities. Dr. Parker, of Boston, and Mr. McGilchrist were the only two who did not fly from their parishes to England, or to the other Colonies, when the war broke out. The church in Salem dwindled away. Mr. McGilchrist was exposed to various trials and troubles during the war, so excited was the popular feeling. The church edifice itself was assailed. Stones were sometimes thrown into the windows while the worshippers were assembled, and at others, the boys would "go and rock the Tory church" as a diversion. Public worship was finally suspended.

Mr. McGilchrist died in Salem during the war, April 19, 1780, when in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his ministry here. He was never married. Judge Curwen, who knew him well, speaks of him in his "Journal" as a person of "singular in-

tegrity of character, undissembled virtue, and a friendly heart." Dr. Holyoke, his intimate friend and executor, wrote an obituary notice of him, in which he says "that he was esteemed by all who were really acquainted with his character, as a gentleman of learning, integrity, charity, virtue, and purity."

By will he bequeathed the amount of salary due him from the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and his share of "the contribution for the unhappy sufferers in America, unto the worthy society." He gave his books to his successors in the ministry, manumitted his negro servant, and the remainder of his estate he bequeathed to Dr. Holyoke.

The following letters show the estimation in which he was held by his friends and family. The reason why he did not accept the offers made in them is unknown. The opportunities of communication were infrequent during the war, and travel extra-hazardous.

DANIEL McGILCHRIST TO REV. WM. McGILCHRIST.

LONDON, *Nov.* 4, 1771.

DEAR BROTHER:

In May, 1769, I was seized with severe rheumatism in Jamaica, which deprived me of the use of my limbs until July, 1770, when I arrived in Bristol. Since that time I have grown better daily, and am now pretty well, and just going out to Jamaica to settle my affairs, then to return to Britain for good, I hope. I have at two different times been about seven months in Scotland since my return; I shall say nothing of the country, but tell you of your friends there living.

Our sister Margaret old and infirm; James infirm, and palsied on one side; Elizabeth lame by a fall from an horse, but otherwise stout and hearty; Janet healthy and active: the four live in great friendship, and are respected by their neighbors, at house on hill, called North Bars, since the other house was sold; it is a tolerably good house. Archibald married about thirty years ago, and has five children, — two sons and three daughters. Mrs. Farquharson is eighty, and looks well. Charlotte Ballentine, now Lundie, is well, and has four fine children: one a merchant in Virginia; another a surgeon, going out with me; and two well-bred, clever girls. I shall leave Jamaica the beginning of May next, and will be glad to hear if you intend to finish your days on that side of the water. For if you had any intention to come home, you would make me very happy to assist your inclinations, should there be occasion; my fortune is now independent. I intend taking a house in London, and if you still choose to officiate

in your profession, I dare say a living might be had. Pray let me hear from you, after the beginning of May. You will please direct for me to the care of Messrs. Long, Drake & Long, merchants in London. Dear Brother,

Yours most affectionately.

DANIEL MCGILCHRIST.

REV. MR. WM. MCGILCHRIST, *at Salem, New England.*

GID. MURRAY TO DR. WM. MCGILCHRIST.

DURHAM, *Sept.* 12, 1776.

MY WORTHY OLD FRIEND:

Some years ago I wrote a friendly letter to you at Salem, and trusted it to the care of a friend who forwarded it; so I hoped it would be received by you, and have long wondered at your silence, so I fear it never reached you. I trust this will be attended with better fortune, go safe, and be acknowledged soon.

By consulting your benevolent heart, you will readily guess how much uneasiness I have suffered for the present ruinous state of our Colonies and this country, and in particular how much I have been grievously affected for you, who must be unhappily situated in your mission at Salem during these horrid commotions and cruel civil war. Often have I thought, wished, and endeavored to befriend you, and relieve you from your distress, and get you more comfortably settled here by obtaining a moderate living for you. We have pretty good livings in our Church, in the gift of the Dean and Chapter. I have twice exerted myself strenuously to obtain a vacant living for you, but have been deceived and disappointed and jockeyed by a minor Canon or Member of Parliament, who had better interest in Chapter than I, and preferred their selfish ends to your intrinsic merit.

Our Dean and a majority of our Prebendaries have promised to vote for and present you to the first vacant living in our gift, that is not engaged; so I hope we shall soon be able to provide you with a tolerably good benefice. I shall also apply to our honorable, sincere old friend Henry, now Lord Bathurst, Lord Chancellor, who I doubt not will be glad to confer one of his many livings on you. Considering your merit and miserable situation, I am persuaded he will readily grant my request, for we are, and ever have been, upon a very friendly footing, and he never neglects his old acquaintances and fellow-collegians.

Now considering these prospects I wish and would advise you to come home, where you shall not want bread, but live with me until I

can provide properly for you. So quit America without loss of time; you cannot regret it, nor be worse situated in this island than you must be, and long have been, and still may be at Salem, or anywhere on the Continent of America.

Come home, then, as soon as you possibly can. Be not a Stoic philosopher, nor affect to be like a primitive Christian; but fly from persecution, and endeavor to spend your latter days in ease, quiet, and peace, which God grant.

When you come to London you will get intelligence of me and my family at Mr. Lehcup's, in Albemarle Street, St. James's. I shall probably be at Carlton, my Rectory, in Nottinghamshire, near Worksop, for we do not intend to be in London till after Christmas or Candlemas; but you will write me as Mr. Lehcup will direct you at your arrival. You will, of course, wait on Dr. Hind, our Secretary, who I am sure will show you all civility, and be your friend as far as he can. Be sure also to wait on Dr. Douglas, Canon of Windsor, who is a most worthy good man, and sincerely your friend. His house is in Half-moon Street, Piccadilly, and if not there he will be at Windsor.

Adieu. God grant you a safe voyage, and happy meeting with

My dear man,

Your most sincere friend,

GID. MURRAY.

To REV. MR. MCGILCHRIST, *Missionary at Salem, America.*

REV. L. WALTER TO REV. WM. McGILCHRIST.

NEW YORK, *May 5*, 1779.

DEAR SIR:

By Capt. Ives, I have the pleasure to hear that you were well when he left Salem. Did you receive a letter last summer from a friend of yours, a clergyman in Ireland? There was one which came to my hand, and was forwarded to you by the way of Newport; the name of the writer I forget, but the purport was that it was in his power and inclination to serve you, if you would visit him in Ireland.

Capt. Ives likewise acquaints me that he apprehends you have not drawn for your Society money, through fear or doubt of your bills being accepted; if so, let me assure you that the Society admit the drafts of all their missionaries, and that yours are just as good as ever, *i. e.* equal to gold or silver. As also, by drawing on Messrs. Hoar & Co., bankers, in Fleet Street, London, you will receive as one of the suffering clergymen in America, fifty pounds. I know not

but I am giving you the trouble of reading what you already know; if so, excuse me from the good intention; and if in any matters I can be of service to you please command me. Mr. Weeks was well in London.

I am, with great respect,
Your most obedient servant and brother,
L. WALTER.

To REV. MR. MCGILCHRIST, *in Salem.*

MAUDUIT, JASPER, Esq., of London, the friend of Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, successfully vindicated their characters respecting their letters to the Privy Council, assisted by Mr. Wedderburne. He was for a long time Treasurer of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians of New England, and Agent for the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay in London. His zeal was greater for the conversion of Indians than for the important concerns of the Province.

MAUDUIT, ISRAEL, Esq., Secretary of Lord George Germaine, was distinguished as the writer of several pamphlets, in which the character of General Howe was severely attacked.

MIFFLIN, THOMAS, of Pennsylvania, was actively engaged in opposition to the measures of the British Parliament. He was a member of the first Congress in 1774, and was among the first commissioned at the organization of the Continental Army, having been appointed Quartermaster-General. In October, 1788, he succeeded Dr. Franklin as President of the Supreme Executive Council. In September, 1790, the Constitution for Pennsylvania was formed by a Convention, over which he was chosen the first Governor. He possessed extraordinary powers of elocution, which he exercised with success during the insurrection in Pennsylvania in 1794. He retired from the gubernatorial chair at the close of the year 1799, and on the 20th January, 1809, died at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the fifty-seventh year of his age.

MOULTON, COLONEL JEREMIAH, was born in York, Maine, in 1688, and was taken prisoner by the Indians, January 22, 1692, old style, when York was destroyed by the Indians. He was released, with other children, in gratitude for the humanity of Colonel Church, who in one of his expeditions had released several Indian prisoners, old women and children. The savages were not ungrateful for acts of kindness. In August, 1724, he and Captain Harmon, with two hundred and eight men and three Mohawk Indians, marched against the Indian settlement at Norridgewock, in consequence of attacks upon

the frontiers. There being four companies, the other commanders were Captain Bourne and Lieutenant Bean. They left Richmond Fort, August 8, old style, or August 19; the next day arrived at Taconic Falls on the Kennebec, where they left their boats and a guard of forty men. August 21, they marched by land, and in the evening fired upon two Indians, who proved to be the daughter and wife of Bomaseen; the former was killed, the latter taken prisoner. August 23, they approached the village; Harmon with eighty men marching circuitously by the fields, and Moulton with eighty men directly upon Norridgewock, which he surprised. The Indians, consisting of about sixty warriors, were defeated, and the chapel and village destroyed. Father Ralle was killed in a wigwam, and twenty-six Indians, among whom were Bomaseen, and his son-in-law Mog, also Job, Canabesett, and Wissememet, all noted warriors. One of the Mohawks was killed, but none of the whites. Harmon carried the scalps to Boston, and having been chief in command, was made a Lieutenant-Colonel for the exploit of Moulton, who obtained no reward. At the reduction of Louisburg in 1745, he commanded a regiment, and was afterwards Sheriff of the County, Councillor, and Judge of the Common Pleas and of Probate. He died at York, July 20, 1765, aged seventy-seven. His son and grandson were Sheriffs of York County.

Newton, Rev. Roger, D. D., of Greenfield, Mass. With all his leanings to Toryism, he managed to keep a judicious seat upon the fence. He once asked of an official, what was to be done with the Tories, and was answered, we intend to hang the devils. Mr. Newton probably did not indulge in any greater freedom of expression after this than he had done before. Rev. Dr. Newton was born in Durham, Connecticut, May 23, 1737, and graduated at Yale College in 1758; was ordained pastor of Greenfield, November 18, 1761, and after having been assisted by the Rev. Gamaliel S. Olds as colleague for a few years, died on the 10th of December, 1816, aged seventy-nine.

His son Roger, educated at Yale, and a tutor, died December 10, 1816. His father was a faithful and useful minister. He was prudent, courteous, and amiable in all the relations of life.

Oliver, Hon. Andrew, son of Lieutenant-Governor Andrew Oliver, and nephew of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, graduated at Harvard College in 1749; studied law; was often a Representative to the Assembly, and a Judge of the Common Pleas for Essex previous to the Revolution. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and a member of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; he was reckoned among the best

scholars of his day, and possessed fine talents. Judge Oliver was never fond of public life, but ardently attached to his books and his friends. Besides an "Essay on Comets," which was published in 1772, several valuable communications of his are contained in the first volume of the "Transactions of the American Academy." He was honored with a commission of Mandamus Councillor, which he declined; he married Mary, daughter of Chief Justice Lynde, and several descendants remain of the second and third generations; he died in December, 1799, aged sixty-eight. Judge Oliver was a Loyalist, and the only member of his family who did not renounce his country in consequence of the Revolution. He gave to the town of Salem his compensation for being a Representative to the General Court for five years. He was more eminent in private life as a scholar and man of science than as a politician. He remained on the Bench of the Court of Common Pleas until the Revolution, and ceased to take part in any public affairs after the overthrow of the Royal Government. He died in Salem, Massachusetts, December 6, 1799, aged sixty-two.

Paine, Robert Treat, LL. D., one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Boston, 1731; graduated at Harvard College in 1749; studied law; and conducted the prosecution on the part of the Crown with great reputation, in the absence of the Attorney-General, in the trial of Captain Preston and his men of "*Boston Massacre*" memory, in 1770. In 1773 he was elected a member of the General Assembly, and afterwards was chosen a member of the Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia in 1774. The following four years he was reëlected, and rendered important services in introducing the manufacture of saltpetre, then imperfectly understood, while the Colonies were suffering for the want of gunpowder. He was also of the committee for the encouragement of the manufacture of cannon, and other implements of war. In a letter to the Hon. Joseph Palmer, as President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress at Watertown, he complains of an intrigue to supplant him in the good opinion of his constituents, and says he "*has just discovered a malicious and slanderous correspondence between John Adams and Thomas Cushing.*" On the organization of the Supreme Court in Massachusetts, in 1776, he was named for one of the Judges, which he declined at first, as John Adams, many years his junior, had obtained the appointment of Chief Justice; but upon the resignation of the latter, Mr. Paine took his seat on that Bench. His son, who afterwards bore his name, was a distinguished writer of national and patriotic poetry.

Paine, William, M. D., son of Timothy Paine, Esq., of Worcester, Mass., graduated at Harvard College in 1768. He was practising professionally at Worcester at the commencement of the Revolution; was a Refugee, and proscribed in 1778. Became an apothecary to the British forces in Rhode Island and New York. At the peace he settled at New Brunswick, and was a Representative for Charlotte County. He removed to Salem, Mass., where he practised from 1787 to 1793, with success in his profession. The death of his father caused him to return to Worcester, where he closed his checkered life on the 18th April, 1833, at the age of eighty-three.

Palmer, Thomas, A. M., was born at Boston, August 18, 1743; graduated at Harvard College 1761. He was in England when the Revolution commenced, which induced him to remain there. He sent home many costly donations to the library of his Alma Mater, and at his death, in 1820, bequeathed to it his whole collection. A lot of land on the range of what is now Pearl Street, then unoccupied, called Palmer's Pasture, belonged to him, as did a portion of Mount Hope, in Rhode Island. Mr. Palmer married a daughter of the Hon. Isaac Royall, of Medford, with whose sisters, George Erving and Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., made similar alliances..

Peabody, Joseph. The example of the wise and good has ever exercised a favorable influence upon civilized man, and will never cease to be a valuable item in the wealth of nations. In all ages have historians considered it a grateful duty to trace the course of their philosophers, explain the policy of their statesmen, and emblazon the renown of their heroes. For this they have been welcomed to the republic of letters, and we see no reason why a similar greeting should not be extended to such as endeavor to portray the less striking, although, oftentimes more useful, examples of enterprise and moral worth.

Amongst our eminent merchants (during the European wars which gave us the carrying trade of the world) none exerted a wider influence for good, or were more conspicuous for probity and honor than William Gray, Archibald Gracie, and the respected individual whose name is at the head of this article. Their credit, at times, surpassed that of Government itself, and their operations were more varied and extensive than any ever conducted by individual enterprise in our country.

The biography of such men must necessarily afford interesting instruction to a mercantile community, from its bearing upon our commercial history, while, at the same time, it gives an opportunity of pay-

ing a becoming tribute of respect to uncommon worth, as well as tends to relieve the *ennui* produced by the succession of political, juridical, and heroic sketches, which are constantly pressed upon the public eye.

The immediate subject of this memoir, when but a youth, took arms in his country's cause, performed in early manhood a naval exploit of thrilling interest during our Revolutionary struggle, and exhibited great energy, perseverance, and foresight, in a long continued series of mercantile enterprises, embracing the entire period of our national existence; and we hope that, by recounting some of the incidents of his life, we shall inspire patriotism and stimulate laudable ambition in those to whom is destined the political sway, or guidance of the future commerce of our country.

Joseph Peabody was born at Middleton, on the 9th of December, 1757. His father was a deacon of the church, and descended from Francis Peabody, who came from St. Alban's, Hertfordshire, England, in 1635, and was one of the first settlers of Topsfield,— a part of which, together with portions of the adjacent towns, was incorporated in 1728 by the name of Middleton. These towns had previously been set off from Salem, the most ancient township of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

This ancestor, with his associates of indomitable courage and untiring perseverance, under prospects the most adverse and discouraging, still felt themselves gainers in the exchange of "a paradise of plenty," in the Old World, for "a wilderness of want" in the New; where, although surrounded by hostile bands of savages, they could worship the God of their fathers according to the dictates of their consciences. This puritanic family continued through several successive generations in the peaceful rank of agriculturalists, in which were passed also the first eighteen years of him, some traces of whose life it is our present purpose to record; and he would probably have remained contented in it, free from internal restlessness and ignorant of the energetic qualities he after displayed, but for the desire for freedom which now pervaded the continent.

The Rev. Elias Smith, pastor at Middleton, in common with the New England clergy generally, guided the people of his charge, not only in the precepts of religion, but enlightened them also on the political events of the day, seeking by constant efforts to imbue them with the true spirit of liberty and resistance. And probably no circumstance contributed more to the successful termination of the Revolution, than the zeal of the clergy in diffusing from the pulpit the true principles on which that great event was founded, and lending to

their appeals the sacred influence of their office. A war was now to be waged in behalf of civil liberty; the pride, valor, ambition, and self-love of our youth were aroused; the forms of departed heroes flitted before them, and many were dazzled by their exploits, and panted for an opportunity to inscribe their names upon the escutcheon of a rising empire.

Aware that persecution had driven his forefathers from their native land, and that Andros had failed in his attempt to impose a yoke upon the necks of a succeeding generation, Mr. Peabody did not long deliberate as to the part he should take in the pending contest. It is a trite saying, that extraordinary circumstances bring into action latent talents. This our struggle for freedom fully verified, and its history is embellished with such thoughts and deeds of the common, as well as more exalted classes of man, as well may vie with those called forth during the most eventful periods of the Old World.

At the time when the battle of Lexington took place, Mr. Peabody, too young to be enrolled in the militia, joined the Boxford company as a volunteer, but they did not reach the scene of action until the British troops had passed down, much to his disappointment, as he prided himself on his skill as a marksman. His brother-in-law being drafted to join the army, Mr. Peabody was obliged to remain and oversee the cultivation of the farm, until the return of the former, at the close of the campaign, when he gladly relinquished a life too passive and uncongenial to an active mind at so exciting a period. He now determined to acquire knowledge, and court fortune on the treacherous element which afforded the greatest opportunity for enterprise, as well as distinction, in the cause he espoused.

Our infant navy, unworthy the name, (since it comprised but some half-a-dozen ill-equipped and ill-officered vessels,) offered but little chance even to the best qualified, as all the higher offices were filled by such as had wealth to loan for its equipment. And John Paul Jones himself, whose career fills so large a page in our naval history, in order to secure the berth of Senior First Lieutenant, had to dispose of a plantation in Virginia, bequeathed to him by his brother, and loan the proceeds to the Marine Committee.

Our private armed marine, not only reputable but highly patriotic, offering every inducement to the brave and enterprising, was at once embraced by Mr. Peabody, whose achievement in the *Ranger*, the particulars of which we shall introduce in its proper place, is worthy to rank with those of Haraden in the *Pickering*, and Fisk in the *Tyrannicide*, also of Salem. The private marine reflected as much

glory on our arms, and was decidedly more effective than the navy. We believe no officer of the latter attained distinction, with the exception of Commodore John Paul Jones, "whose achievements," in the language of the immortal Washington, "commanded the admiration of the world."

Mr. Peabody's first cruise was in Mr. E. H. Derby's privateer, *Bunker Hill*, which terminated unsuccessfully. On his return to Salem he was seized with a fever, which detained him there several months. During his convalescence, his mind, weakened by disease, was filled with hopes which assumed the guise of realities, persuading him that he was the actual owner of ships and wealth; and thus enabled him to enjoy, by anticipation, what the efforts of after years failed not to realize.

His second cruise was in the *Pilgrim*, Capt. Hill, belonging to Messrs. G. and A. Cabot. They had the good fortune to fall in with a British merchantman, deeply laden, but strongly armed. On nearing the enemy, Captain Hill ordered him to strike, to which he was answered, "No! you must fight." "Very well," responded Hill, "say when you are ready;" and after waiting a considerable time, which was improved to the utmost by the enemy in clearing for action, loading, &c., Hill becoming impatient, asked if he was ready, and on receiving an affirmative reply, said to his crew, "Then, my boys, let them have it." After a short action, and the loss of their captain, the enemy surrendered, and Mr. Peabody, as prize-master, took the vessel safe into Thomaston, Maine. He commenced a second cruise in the *Pilgrim*, but the privateer being dismasted, and obliged to return to Salem, he resolved to abandon, for a time, the ocean, having seen enough of seafaring life to judge of his ability to prosecute it with success. Feeling that the want of instruction, denied by the circumstances of his early life, was a serious barrier to his advancement, he applied himself for a year with the greatest assiduity and diligence to the acquisition of the knowledge indispensable to the attainment of rank in his profession.

For the above purpose, Mr. Peabody retired to the place of his nativity, and pursued his studies under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Smith, whose varied attainments enabled him to impart the requisite information, and whose friendly counsels, so important to one entering upon an active career, at such a period, might be depended on as the dictates of a high moral sense, a sound judgment, and a benevolent heart.

While thus engaged in his studies, Mr. Peabody met with a manuscript collection of maxims, containing, not only sound moral rules, but those of courtesy and good breeding, as well as the results of experience in the management of worldly affairs. He was struck with their value, and copied them into a small book which he entitled his "Guide through Life," and it was ever his custom to apply them, when occasion offered, in advice to his children, as well as in reference to his own conduct.

The month of August, 1778, was ushered in with a summons for the militia generally to join the army under General Sullivan, at Rhode Island, with a view to the surprise and capture of Newport, then in possession of the British Army. Mr. Peabody accompanied the Middleton corps as an officer. Soon after their arrival, disappointed of the expected coöperation of their French allies, the militia immediately disbanded, and the besieging army, reduced to five thousand men, abandoned the enterprise, as the number of the enemy entrenched was six thousand. William Orne, of Salem, who was afterwards one of our most eminent, upright, and opulent merchants, also served in this campaign.

Mr. Peabody, having completed the necessary studies which he had marked out for himself, made a voyage to Gottenburg, in the letter-of-marque *Rambler*. He next sailed as prize-master in the privateer *Fishhawk*, Capt. Foster, who, after being out a few days, laid his vessel alongside of a large ship, which proved to be a British man-of-war, and was taken. The crew was sent into St. Johns, Newfoundland, where, on board a prison-ship, they were well treated. They established a school among themselves, and all went on harmoniously, until the crew of another privateer, belonging to Salem, was crowded in with them, which caused the mass to become turbulent. Fortunately, however, they were soon relieved by exchange, and the Americans were landed at Boston.

The termination of this cruise so disgusted Mr. Peabody with privateering, that he decided to pursue it no further. He next embarked in the letter-of-marque *Ranger* owned by Messrs. Henry Sargent, of Boston, Henry Gardner, and Ward and Chipman, of Salem. Thomas Simmons was commander, Thomas Perkins, first officer, and Mr. Peabody, second. They left Salem in the winter of 1781–2, with a cargo of salt, which they disposed of at Richmond, Virginia, and proceeded to Alexandria, where they loaded with flour for Havana, and arrived safe. A part of the cargo being from the plantation of General Wash-

ington, was preferred by the Spaniards, and what was unusual, they received it at the marked weight, thus showing their confidence in the brand. The *Ranger* returned to Alexandria, and after receiving on board another cargo of flour, on the 5th July, 1782, dropped down the Potomac, to near its mouth, where, encountering head winds, she was obliged to anchor, and after making the ordinary arrangements for the night, the officers and crew retired to their berths.

About eleven o'clock the watch ran aft for a speaking-trumpet, and announced to the officers the unwelcome news that boats were making for the ship. Capt. Simmons directed Mr. Peabody not to let them come alongside; but they both rushed up the companion-way, and as they reached the deck, received a discharge of musketry, by which Captain Simmons fell, badly wounded, and entirely disabled from further action. Mr. Peabody, having no time to dress himself, ran forward in his night-clothes, calling on the crew to seize the boarding-pikes, and grasping one himself, accompanied by a man named Kent, armed in the like manner, sprang to the bows, where they had a fierce encounter with several of the enemy already on the gunwale. The crew, having armed themselves, a desperate conflict ensued, in the midst of which another boat came alongside and began a heavy fire on the other quarter. The first officer being employed at the magazine in procuring ammunition for those who were armed with muskets, the command of the deck devolved on Mr. Peabody, who, wearing a white shirt, was a conspicuous mark, even in a dark night. He now ordered cold shot to be thrown into the boats, and it was done with such effect that one of them gave way; both had been grappled to the *Ranger* before receiving any damage. Perceiving the advantage thus obtained, he applied his entire force to the other boat — cheering his men with the cry of "We have sunk one, my boys; now let us sink the other." The responding cheers of the crew so alarmed the assailants that they dropped astern, and both were soon lost in the darkness of the night. When the confusion was over, one of the crew only was found to be dead, and three wounded. Captain Simmons's wound was severe, and disabled him for a long time. Mr. Peabody was not aware, during the action, that he had received any wounds; but, when the excitement subsided, he found his arms stiff, and a ball lodged in his left wrist; that the bone of his right elbow was laid bare, and a ball had grazed his left shoulder. At daylight a club of hair was discovered on deck which proved to be his, it having been shot off close to his head, as if clipped by a barber. We well remember one of the crew who had cut off the hand of an assailant, which was

raised over the bulwark, armed with a pistol, and aimed at Mr. Peabody; it is unnecessary to say he continued for life a pensioner on the bounty of the latter. Mr. Peabody's escape from death in this action appears to have been almost miraculous.

The *Ranger* was armed with seven guns, and the crew comprised but twenty, while the barges of the enemy contained sixty men. From information obtained, the latter lost fifteen killed, and had thirty-eight wounded. The assailants proved to be a band of Tories, with which the bay had for some time been infested, commanded by two of their noted characters, Barret and Anderson, who had a rendezvous at St. George's Island, near the anchorage of the *Ranger*. They had a few days before succeeded in capturing a brig of ten guns and thirty men.

It was found necessary to return with the vessel to Alexandria for the purpose of refitting, where the action was pronounced as desperate as any upon the records of naval warfare. In admiration of the valor displayed on this occasion, a boarding-pike, richly mounted with silver, and bearing a suitable inscription, was presented by the merchants of that borough. This happy memorial of gallant conduct remains a treasured relic with Mr. Peabody's heirs.

Mr. Perkins now took command of the *Ranger*, and Mr. Peabody became first officer. Capt. Simmons was sufficiently recovered from his wound to resume his post on the succeeding voyage, and Mr. Peabody was retained as first officer. On their return from Curaçoa they were chased for thirty-six hours by a man-of-war, and finally escaped into Havana, whence they returned to Salem.

Peace having now taken place, commercial activity greatly increased. Mr. Peabody was promoted to a command, in the employ of Messrs. Gardner, of Salem, and Mr. Perkins accompanied him as chief mate. This companion in war was afterwards long his associate in business at Salem, and amassed also a very large fortune, which has been transmitted to his nephews, the Messrs. Pingree, who rank among our most enterprising and successful merchants.

His next voyage was to St. Martin's, thence to Alexandria, where he was severely attacked by small-pox and his life despaired of. He suffered great agony and was so swollen as to be unable to see, but retaining his faculties, heard the discouraging remarks of those around. He attributed his recovery to a sea-captain, who administered on his own responsibility.

Mr. Peabody having now realized a sufficient sum to enable him to purchase a vessel, selected the schooner *Three Friends*, and com-

manded her himself. His voyages were to the West Indies and Europe; he was almost constantly at sea for several years, and never failed to note whatever information he obtained that might prove useful in the more extensive future operations towards which he pressed with a laudable zeal.

We have before mentioned that the peace of '83 imparted a new impulse to trade, which, however, was soon after jeoparded by the petty jealousies of the States on the sea-board, whose contending efforts paralyzed for a time its successful prosecution. Rhode Island, for instance, desirous of monopoly, and affecting to fear that the capital of her neighbors would deprive her of a fair proportion of trade, permitted the importation of all goods free of duty. This measure, so injurious in its bearing on the larger States, which relied upon impost for the support of their governments, was met by retaliation. Massachusetts passed a Navigation Act, requiring duties to be paid only on goods imported on foreign account, and tonnage only on foreign vessels.

Our Union, which had barely been maintained by the stimulus of war, now became as a rope of sand. The limited powers of the Old Confederation, together with its tardiness of action, rendered it utterly inefficient as a government; and the conflicting measures of some of the parties to it now threatened its speedy dissolution.

These gloomy forebodings impelled extraordinary exertions for the preservation of blessings achieved at no common cost. Correspondences were entered into by George Cabot [1] and others with our patriot fathers respecting the establishment of a national government upon a more energetic and stable footing, under which the interests of commerce might receive a proper care; and Benjamin Goodhue (another educated Salem merchant, who afterwards filled with credit seats in both of the legislative halls of the nation) obtained from Mr. Adams, then our Minister at the Court of St. James, and other sources, the best available light on the commercial policy of Europe, thereby becoming qualified for a task which himself and others were soon called upon to perform.

After two [2] ineffectual attempts a Convention was formed, which, in 1788, framed the Federal Constitution.

The first duty which presented itself upon the organization of the

[1] For a biographical notice of this eminent merchant see elsewhere in this work.

[2] As a delegate to the first, Mr. Goodhue was appointed by a Resolution of the General Court of Massachusetts, July 4th, 1784. And also as delegate to the second, in company with Caleb Davis, Tristram Dalton, and John Coffin, by a like Resolution passed by the same body, in accordance with similar action on the part of the Legislature of Virginia, March 21, 1786.

new Government in New York, was the creation of a revenue for its support; and a tariff on imports being by all considered the least onerous mode of taxation, a commercial code was framed, under the guidance of Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, by Mr. Goodhue,[1] Mr. Fitzsimmons, (a merchant member from Philadelphia,) and others, which, with some modification, still remains the law of the land; a proud testimonial of the sagacity and foresight of its authors.

The advantages derived from the new order of things were in no point of view so apparent as in a commercial one. Chaos gave place to order; clouds which had overshadowed us were succeeded by the most cheering prospects; internal and foreign trade, so long paralyzed, now received an impetus before unknown; and enterprise everywhere, for a long series of years, was crowned with success unexampled at any period of commercial history.

Mr. Peabody having personally retired from the ocean in 1791, except for a single trip as passenger to the West Indies, was now married to Miss Catharine Smith, of Middleton, a daughter of the reverend friend to whom he was so much indebted for his mental and moral training in youth, and for the moulding of his religious and political principles in manhood, and whose name he ever mentioned with the warmest expressions of gratitude. He represented him as exercising unbounded influence in his sphere of action, and as possessing the love and veneration of all with whom he associated. This blessing he was not destined long to enjoy; death separated them in the short space of two years. In 1795 he formed a matrimonial connection with Elizabeth, sister of his first wife, and it was their happiness to pass nearly half a century together in almost unalloyed prosperity.

Mr. Peabody did not fail to derive every advantage which commerce yielded under the fostering hand of Government, at that time so liberally extended, and, by honorable competition, soon rose to wealth and influence. He continued gradually to increase the number of his ships with his accruing means, until they floated in every sea. To particularize his very numerous enterprises during the threescore years he was a ship-owner, would be monotonous; and the classifying and illustrating of the different branches of trade which he successively embraced, commencing with that of our own coast and ending only with

[1] Extract of a letter from Alexander Hamilton to Benjamin Goodhue, dated June 30, 1791: — "It must have given you pleasure to learn how much the Constitution of the United States, and the measures under it, in which you have had so considerable an agency, have contributed to raise this country in the estimation of Europe. The change which has been wrought in the opinion of that part of the world respecting the United States is almost wonderful."

the farthest Indies, would occupy a space far beyond the limits of an article for a periodical journal, without affording matter of interest to any but the most curious admirer of detail. Let it suffice, therefore, to enumerate important statistics relating to a business, the magnitude of which has seldom for so long a period been conducted by the enterprise and industry of an individual.

Mr. Peabody built and owned eighty-three ships, which, in every instance, he freighted himself, and for the navigation of them he shipped, at different times, upwards of seven thousand seamen. Since the year 1811, he has advanced thirty-five to the rank of ship-master, who entered his employ as boys. He had performed by these vessels the following voyages, viz :—To Calcutta, thirty-eight; Canton, seventeen; Sumatra, thirty-two; St. Petersburg, forty-seven; other ports in the North of Europe, ten; the Mediterranean, twenty,[1] before the war of 1812.

[1] FITCHVILLE, Conn., 3d July, 1845.

MR. GEORGE A. WARD:

Dear Sir, — Absence has prevented my earlier coming into possession and acknowledging the receipt of your esteemed favor of the 20th ultimo, by which I am most happy to learn you are engaged in preparing for the press a memoir of our late venerated friend, Joseph Peabody. You ask me to enlighten you on the subject of his business with the Mediterranean, most of which, you think, was placed under the direction of my house at Marseilles. I believe, with a few exceptions in occasional consignments to other ports, this was the case, from the first opening of our trade with that sea, after the peace of 1814, up to the period of his death.

It is impossible for me, at this remote period, without any documents or memoranda whatever from the books of Fitch, Brothers & Co., to give you anything bordering on a correct or detailed statement of his immense business transactions with the port of Marseilles alone during this long interval. The estimate would probably far surpass any amount I would venture to name; for his business not only consisted in inward cargoes of great value, but most of his ships took full return cargoes, destined principally to other foreign ports, thus doubling the amount, and further extending his services and usefulness, I might almost say, throughout the whole commercial world; for I venture the assertion there are few, if any, of the most important ports in either hemisphere where his name and the signal of his ships were not as well known as they were at home.

You are well aware of his laconic instructions in relation to business affairs. Those to my house were always condensed in a few lines, giving *carte blanche* to use our best judgment in the promotion of his interest; and although the amount of many millions passed through our hands, not a single dollar was ever drawn for in anticipation, although, of course, tendered on all occasions. He always appeared to show the most anxious desire to impress upon my mind that he alone had been the recipient of favors.

His friendship and confidence I prized above everything. His superior as a merchant, or equal as a man, I have never known, and am satisfied that mine is not an over-estimate of his character; for in conversation with his townsman, the Hon. Dudley L. Pickman, whom I consider one of the first merchants of the age, he said, from an acquaintance of more than half a century, he had not known one of more inflexible integrity or unerring judgment.

Respectfully and truly yours, A. FITCH.

To the West Indies, Spanish Main, and along our wide extended coast, they are unnumbered. He had also, for several years, a large interest in a northwest coast trading and navigation company.

The manner in which he conducted these extensive concerns contributed essentially to the prosperity of Salem, which he made the home of all his operations, and where the aggregate of his annual state, county, and city taxes paid into the treasury, amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars. He built and equipped his ships there, and it was there they always returned with their cargoes, to be distributed by the coasting vessels amongst the greater markets. Outward cargoes were procured in these markets and transported coastwise for transshipment at Salem. This course, while it gave constant employment to a very great number of his townsmen, was not at all times conducive to his pecuniary interest, and therefore could only have been prompted by the benevolent desire of affording them a remunerating occupation.

From his energy in the prosecution of commercial schemes many supposed he had one of those iron wills which naturally impelled him to push forward in spite of obstacles, and regardless of consequences, whereas he was, in truth, uncommonly cautious, seldom yielding to his first impressions, or, at least, not until they were duly considered; but having once decided upon his course, he made it a duty never to swerve but for the strongest reasons.

After his dissolution of copartnership with Mr. Perkins, Mr. Peabody associated with him Mr. Gideon Tucker, upon whose ample qualifications he relied for a long term of years for conducting the correspondence and otherwise supervising the business which was becoming more and more extended; and it was the good fortune of the writer, amongst others, to be within the scope of his example, and of the advice and counsel it was his happiness to impart.

The complicated concerns of these varied enterprises were conducted without effort, as system pervaded every department; and by such prudence and foresight were his arrangements characterized, that there never was a time when Mr. Peabody could not, at a day's notice, by the disposition of stocks and merchandize on hand, liquidate all his indebtedness.

Although engaged in active business for more than threescore years, to the extent of millions of dollars, and connected with thousands of agents of all descriptions, yet so maturely were his contracts considered, so respectful was he of the rights of others, and so much more

did he prefer to submit to slight pecuniary sacrifices than to hazard his peace of mind, that he was never involved in litigation or controversies.

Conscious of the force of his own natural powers, and of the correctness of his judgment in what concerned the business of his life, Mr. Peabody manifested a diffidence rarely observed in one so preëminently successful, and scrupulously avoided delivering his thoughts upon subjects to which he had not particularly directed his attention.

Public station offered no charms for him; although often urged, he never but once could be induced to serve even in the Legislature of the State, and that was at a time when his popularity insured the election of the whole ticket, thereby securing the passage of a conservative measure of some moment.

From the beginning Mr. Peabody adhered to the policy, and yielded a hearty coöperation to all the measures of the Administration of Washington. He was fully persuaded that any deviation from the course pursued, (from which so great good had resulted,) and which was so forcibly traced on the chart which that preëminent statesman and patriot left for the guidance of the ship of State on leaving the command, would inevitably lead to ruin.

He never listened to the professions nor was lured by the sophistry of the Democratic clubs, whose labors, in the language of Washington, "gave the first rude shock to the best fabric of human government and happiness ever presented to the acceptance of mankind"; nor did he favor the policy of non-importation, non-intercourse, or embargo.

He felt, in common with many among the most exalted class of his fellow-citizens, that the "decrees" of France and the "orders" of England should have been resisted at the outset, or, after protesting, we should have waited until peace, when we might, as in other instances we have, obtained a just remuneration for all losses sustained.

Enjoying, as our merchants then did, the carrying trade of the world, their profits could well afford the increased rates of premium demanded by the underwriter. By abandoning the ocean, millions otherwise within their reach were forever lost to the country.

The throwing of our weight into the scale of "the destroyer of human liberty" met with his utter and unqualified reprobation.

No one ever discovered greater discernment in the selection of agents than Mr. Peabody, and as his business was an object of consequence, it imparted character to such as obtained it. Among the most prominent of these were Fitch, Brothers & Co., who also long and

honorably served the United States as Navy Agents for the Mediterranean; and although slandered and superseded by the late Administration, tardy justice has been rendered them by the present.

To a letter of condolence addressed by the head of that house to the family of Mr. Peabody, on his decease, a son of the latter thus replied: "For you my father felt the highest regard, and there was no man in the circle of his acquaintance, during his long life, for whom I have heard him express a deeper interest. In the course of his business he was enabled to give such a direction to a portion of it as to place the same under your care, and he has often said that your unceasing attention and admirable management placed him under the greatest obligation."

Mr. Peabody's transactions were also very extensive with Mr. Williams, the American banker of London, by whose failure he lost between one and two hundred thousand dollars. Yet, so far from bearing him ill-will, when that gentleman returned to Salem, after an absence of forty years, Mr. Peabody, then at a very advanced age, crossed the street, and, with an extended hand, welcomed him to his native city.

On the return of Joseph Augustus, Mr. Peabody's eldest son, from foreign travel, a quarter of a century ago, he with alacrity engaged in commerce as a partner of his father, and was actuated in no small degree by his spirit. His father soon leaned upon him, not the less as a prop of his declining years, than as the future support of the business, which, under these favorable auspices, he trusted would continue to shed its blessings upon the community long after he should cease to direct it. The realization of these pleasing anticipations was not permitted. After a few short years, by an inscrutible decree of divine wisdom, in the midst of life and usefulness, the high and honorable course of this estimable son was closed forever. He married Louisa, daughter of the late Hon. Samuel Putnam, Judge of the Supreme Court.

He had graduated with honor at Harvard University, in 1816, and was endeared by many virtues (which ever recur in the recollection of him) to a numerous circle of bereaved friends.

Buoyed up by that religious principle which strongly marked his character, Mr. Peabody submitted, without a murmur, to the sad decree. He continued his enterprises to the close of his life, with various success, though not to the same extent, and solely with the desire of affording employment to such as relied upon his operations for their support.

His life may be considered of much more advantage to the community than that of many whose names are emblazoned in our annals merely from their connection with public events; for very few, at the end of their career, can point to so much positive good effected by unaided personal efforts.

Mr. Peabody closed his invaluable life, after a short illness, on the 5th of January, 1844, at the advanced age of eighty-six years. Two sons and a daughter have survived him.[1] In person, he was tall and commanding, with a carriage dignified, yet blended with singular modesty. From his reserve, few had an opportunity justly to estimate the strength of his intellect, or the refinement and delicacy of his sentiments. The lofty tone of the latter, and his dignified character, could only be appreciated by those who, for a long period, were in constant intercourse with him. We have never known an individual who, in daily life, so uniformly preserved an entire self-respect, and at the same time was so courteous and yielding to his friends.

His temper was hasty, but he was never known to utter a word in anger which he was obliged, in the cool moments of reflection, to recall with regret; or to compromise himself, at such moments, in any way to lessen his own self-respect or that of others.

Possessing naturally the keenest sensibility, great moral efforts alone sustained him on various occasions, when others, whose habits of self-control were less firmly fixed, would have succumbed.

Decision, firmness, prudence, and perseverance, were fully exemplified in his character. To great discernment in matters of business, (in which he was seldom deceived by appearances,) to him was given, also, an almost intuitive foresight. No General ever possessed a more ready eye, could better plan his enterprises, or calculate the chances of success or defeat.

Mr. Peabody was, for many years, a communicant of the Unitarian Church, and no one more implicitly obeyed its injunctions, or paid a more becoming deference to its ordinances. His religious sentiment was deep and practical; he left, however, to others the discussion of doctrines, and was firm in the belief that

"He can't be wrong whose life is in the right."

He was a generous contributor to all worthy objects, yet shrunk from any ostentatious display of his charities. His chief aim in assisting others appeared to be that of placing them in situations, where, by personal exertion, they could advance their own interests. Well

[1] Francis and George, who married Martha and Clara, daughters of the late Samuel Endicott, Esq., an honored descendant, in the fifth generation, from John Endicott, the first Governor of Massachusetts.

knowing that obligation is frequently so onerous as to neutralize the gratitude which ought to be felt for benefits received — his charities were often indirect. His habit of early rising, in connection with the order which prevailed over all his affairs, afforded him much leisure, which was entirely devoted to his family, in the seclusion of which his own affectionate kindness was reciprocated by love and veneration.

To a generous hospitality, which he at all times extended, Mr. Peabody added liberal entertainments on all suitable occasions. His associates were of the highest character. An unbroken intimacy of many years existed between him and William Prescott, whose long, distinguished, and useful life, soon after his own, was also closed without a reproach. Another much valued friend was the late Timothy Flint, the early and elegant historian of the West, who inscribed his last work to Mr. Peabody; and as this grateful tribute to a benefactor is so expressive of their long-cherished intimacy, we trust it will not be considered out of place to close our article with a transcript of it: —

"I have ventured to inscribe this book with your name, because I wished to prove, that, much as I have wandered, my heart and affections have still had their stationary points. It is my pride to hope, amidst all the vicissitudes through which I have passed, that the friends of my youth will be those of my age. Years, in their flight, will never shed the mildew of oblivion over kindnesses which have marked every period of my intercourse with you. Those kindnesses are alike associated with the remembrances of scenes that have passed in the land of my birth, and in distant regions west of the Mississippi. To you it is owing that I ever appeared before the public. I know not if the public will thank you, or if it ought. I feel that I, at least, ought never to forget the kindness and munificence of the motive. While your keels plough every sea, bringing home rich harvests of commerce, I have always known you the earnest and consistent friend of the sacred soil and the plough. This acquaintance with your predilections, apparently so foreign from those which have governed your pursuits in life, has added an inducement to inscribe to you a book which treats upon a country almost solely agricultural, and naturally richer in resources of that class, as I deem, than any other. In doing this, I beg to be allowed to express my affectionate prayers that the repose of your age, in the midst of your children, may be as long and as happy as your past life has been honorable and useful."

Had Mr. Flint survived, and become the biographer of his friend,

so happily would he have illustrated his life as to have rendered superfluous this brief and imperfect sketch.

> "Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
> Multi: sed omnes illacrimabiles
> Urguentur ignotique longa
> Nocte, carent quia vate sacro." — Hor.

[The foregoing article, by the editor, was published in "Hunt's Merchants Magazine," New York, August, 1845.]

Pepperrell, Lieutenant-General Sir William, Baronet; and his grandson, Sir W. Pepperrell, Baronet, a Loyalist Refugee in 1775. It is a remarkable feature in our country's story that the men whose acts have contributed most to the illustration of its pages were self-made; and perhaps in no instance has it been so signally exemplified as in the life of the Christian Merchant and Hero whose name stands at the head of this article. The son of a fisherman, he became the most opulent and distinguished merchant ever raised in New England, and the principal actor in the greatest martial achievement that graces our Colonial history. Not less extraordinary is the fact that a name so honored and ennobled should have become extinct on this Continent at the third generation, and would have passed into oblivion but for our recorded annals. Nor are these more surprising than that Kittery Point, which was populous for a century, and the focus from which emanated all the commercial expeditions of this enterprising family, should have risen with its first and fallen with its last generation; its inhabitants being now reduced to the state it commenced with, a few poor fishermen.

For more than a hundred years, beginning at the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Kittery was assessed, and paid about half the amount of taxes of the whole Province of Maine. Kittery Point was selected by Mr. John Bray, grandfather of our hero, as a good location for the fishing business and the building of vessels for the fisheries and coasting trade. In time, ship-building was prosecuted by him, and subsequently by the Pepperrells, till its commerce was extended along the coast, throughout the British West Indies, and with such European ports as the narrow policy of the mother Government permitted.

Sir William Pepperrell, Bart, was born at Kittery Point, on the 22d of June, 1696, where his father, also named William, had long been actively engaged in business. The last mentioned was born at Tavistock, in Wales, commencing life as a fisherman, and upon coming of age removed first to the Isle of Shoals, and subsequently to Kittery

Point, where he became connected with, and married a daughter of Mr. John Bray, and here he passed with uprightness and success the remainder of his days, which were closed in 1734, when in his eighty-tieth year.

Ship-building was amongst the most profitable branches of business in which the Colonists engaged,—the Home Government having refused to listen to the complaints of the shipwrights on the Thames against their brethren in New England, who were their successful competitors.

Parliament had prohibited the manufacture of woollens in the Colonies for transportation from one colony to another, and the hatters of London were favored with a law prohibiting those of the Colonies from employing more than one apprentice each; but the Board of Trade decided that it would not do to prohibit ship-building in the Colonies, so this branch flourished. Notwithstanding the very circumscribed field which the Government left untrammelled, and the thousands of obstacles with which the commerce of a new country has usually to grapple with, Mr. Pepperrell succeeded in almost every enterprise in which he embarked. He, as well as all the other early settlers, had to qualify themselves for savage warfare, and their foresight soon rendered the settlement more secure than others against attacks from their Indian foes.

The military services of Sir William's father during the first few years of his residence here were performed at the fort on Great Island. A garrison-house was first maintained near his house at Kittery Point, to which families might resort when threatened by sudden assaults from Indians, and as early as 1700 a fort was erected which bore his name. Williamson says: — "The celebrated warrior, Colonel Church, in his Eastern expedition in 1704, with 500 men, had orders to send his sick and wounded to Casco, (now Portland,) or to Pepperrell's fort at Kittery Point. A breastwork was erected northerly of the point, and a platform laid for six guns, of which Captain Pepperrell had command. He finally rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel."

The son, our future hero, at sixteen bore arms and was on patrol duty. Savage warfare was rife in those days; neighbors had been captured and killed; the Lady Ursula Cutts, after providing hospitably for her friends, the Waldron family, was attacked by lurking Indians and slain, together with her laboring men; more than a score had been killed at Rye, some three miles distant, and another party came there and killed fourteen, captured four, burnt the village, and

fied. Besides these there were massacres at Salmon Falls, Cocheco, and Oyster River.

In this school was fostered the martial spirit of the younger Pepperrell, which, at a subsequent period, shed such lustre upon the arms of the Colonists, and prompted exertions which resulted in transcendent advantage to New England and our mother country.

During the entire period of youth he was attached to his father's counting-house, and therefore his education was exclusively practical. Upon becoming of age he was taken into copartnership by his father. At times they had hundreds of fishing vessels on the Banks and at the Shoals. Timber was rafted down the rivers for their ship-building, which was their greatest source of wealth. The proceeds of vessels and cargoes sent abroad were remitted to their bankers in England, who accepted their bills for merchandise required at home. Naval stores and provisions were received from the Southern Colonies in exchange for fish.

The value of their estates was greatly enhanced by the purchase of extensive tracts of land. The towns of Saco and Scarborough were included in one of these purchases, upon which improvements were at once commenced. Mills were erected, and contracts made for building vessels on the Piscataqua and Saco rivers.

In 1715, the elder Pepperrell was appointed a Judge of the Common Pleas, and continued on the bench for many years: his son served as Clerk of the Court during the latter part of his minority.

A Congregational church was organized at Kittery in 1714, over which the Rev. John Newmarch was pastor, and in later life was assisted by the Rev. Benjamin Stevens. Colonel Pepperrell and wife were members of it from the beginning, and their son was admitted to communion on the decease of his father in 1734, at which period he seems to have received strong religious impressions, which happily influenced all his after life.

To this church the father bequeathed sixty pounds for church plate, and one hundred and ten pounds for the poor of the parish.

The ascendency which the Pepperrell firm enjoyed over every other mercantile house in New England gave it a large agency in the transactions of the pecuniary affairs of the Provinces with the mother country. This branch of the business was conducted by the junior partner, and as it brought him in contact with the public men at Boston, it tended to render his manners courtly, and favored his advancement in political and military life. He had no sooner passed through his minority than he was commissioned a Justice of the Peace

and Captain of a company of cavalry. Soon promoted, he was at the age of thirty a Colonel, and commanded all the militia of Maine.

On the 16th of March, 1723, he led to the altar Mary Hirst, a daughter of Grove Hirst, and granddaughter of Chief Justice Sewall, of Massachusetts. This happy union was dissolved only by the death of Sir William at the end of thirty-six years. Two of their children only survived childhood; Elizabeth, born December 29, 1723, who married the Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk, and Andrew, born January 4, 1726, who died unmarried. Sir William remained at the homestead of his father after his marriage, large additions having been made for his accommodation. In 1726 he was elected a Representative to the General Court, and the next year was appointed a member of the Council of Massachusetts, which commission was annually renewed to the close of his life, eighteen years of which he was its President.

He was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1730, in which office he also continued through life. He had imported a law library in order to qualify himself by study for the performance of the duties of the office. Dr. Stevens says: — "Here it was, that, being intrusted with the execution of the laws, he distributed justice with equity and impartiality; and although he was not insensible to the necessity of discountenancing vice by proper punishments, yet the humanity of his temper disposed him to make all those allowances which might be alleged in extenuation of the fault."

In 1727, a new tier of towns in the rear of those on the seaboard, extending from Salmon Falls to Androscoggin River, was surveyed, and offered to settlers on the most favorable terms. This was done to protect the old towns that had suffered so much by Indian depredations, and also to provide farms for those who fought in the Indian wars, or who had suffered heavy losses by fire and the tomahawk. Agents were appointed by the General Court to convey these lands to such claimants and to other settlers. Phillipstown (now Sandford) was assigned to the agency of Colonel Pepperrell, who signed the deeds of conveyance.

Colonel Pepperrell never refused any public service he was called upon to perform, and by early rising, economy of time, and punctuality to engagements, (in which he was also scrupulously exacting of others,) he was ready to embark in all new enterprises, both public and private, that promised a favorable result. A war was now approaching between Great Britain and France. These rival nations could hardly over-estimate the importance to their American possessions of the Islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland, as between

these two sentinels all supplies and intercourse must pass (through the St. Lawrence) between France and the Canadas. Both were engaged in the fisheries on the Banks near Louisburg. The trade of the British Colonies was of great importance to the mother country, and amongst other advantages, it supplied ship-timber for the navy.

Armed vessels, during war, fitted out at Louisburg, could intercept the Colonial trade of the rival nation, and destroy its fisheries; and from the ealiest settlement it was contended for, and alternately passed into the hands of one or the other, as success or defeat attended its arms in other quarters. At the Treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia proper was ceded to Great Britain, while Cape Breton was retained by France.

Soon as the war of 1744 was declared by France against England, the commander of Louisburg dispatched a force of 900 men to the British garrison at the Island of Canso, which was captured, and the prisoners conveyed to Louisburg before news of the war had reached the British Colonies. A like expedition against the fort at Annapolis-royal failed, in consequence of the arrival of a reinforcement of troops from Boston.

The Indians of Nova Scotia aided the French in these attacks, which caused a declaration of war against them. Colonel Pepperrell was at the head of a commission sent to the Penobscot tribe to test their fidelity, requesting the Sagamores to furnish their quota of warriors, according to the terms of a former treaty. They replied that "their young men would not fight against their brethren of St. John's and New Brunswick."

Through the autumn of 1744 it was a conceded topic that Louisburg must be wrested from the French. From the prisoners taken at Canso in the spring, and which had lately returned to Boston by exchange, an accurate estimate of the strength of the fortifications was obtained, and gave to Governor Shirley the idea of taking it by surprise before succors could arrive from France. The plan was submitted to the Legislature of Massachusetts by the Governor and finally agreed upon. A variety of circumstances concurred to render the expedition feasible. Many fishermen, thrown out of employment by the war, were ready to enlist as soldiers. The preceding season had afforded an abundant harvest, which made provisions plenty. The winter following was mild, the rivers and harbors were open, and the inhabitants unmolested by savages. Happy incidents drew the naval force of England, employed to guard the shores and islands of

America, to Louisburg, whilst adverse circumstances to the French prevented the arrival of succors. The number of troops voted was: by Massachusetts, 3250; Rhode Island, 300; New Hampshire, 300; and Connecticut, 500. The whole number of armed vessels was fourteen in the Provincial fleet, carrying about two hundred guns.

There were no military officers at that time in New England experienced in European tactics and warfare from whom a Commander-in-Chief of the expedition could be selected. Few only had been engaged in skirmishes with the Indians, but none had served in any siege or pitched battle.

Colonel Pepperrell was, on the 31st of January, 1745, chosen Commander. He was extensively engaged in the fisheries and known throughout New England; was popular in manners, and wealthy, besides being the largest subscriber to the loan for carrying on the enterprise. He had also long held the highest office in the people's gift, the Presidency of the Council. He hesitated about accepting the appointment, until Governor Shirley assured him that his influence was indispensable, and after consulting his friends, amongst them the famous preacher Whitefield, he, with diffidence, concluded to accept, much to the joy of his fellow-colonists.

The popularity of the General secured a rapid enlistment of troops in every quarter, and from the town of Berwick, adjoining Kittery, the two militia companies belonging to it, of fifty each, turned out to a man.

Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton, is thus described by Dr. Belknap, the historian: — "It was two and a half miles in circumference, fortified in every accessible part, with a rampart of stone upwards of thirty feet high, and a ditch eighty feet wide; a space of two hundred yards was left without a rampart, on the side next the sea, and inclosed with pickets. The sea was so shallow at this place that it made only a narrow channel, inaccessible, from its numerous reefs, to any shipping whatever. On an island at the entrance of the harbor, which was only four hundred yards wide, was a battery of thirty cannon, carrying twenty-eight pound shot, and at the bottom of the harbor, directly opposite to the entrance, was the grand battery of twenty-eight 42's, and two 18's. On an eminence, opposite the island battery, stood the light-house, and at the northeast part of the harbor was a magazine for naval stores. The entrance to the town was at the west gate over a drawbridge, which was protected by a circular battery of thirteen 24's. These works had been twenty-five years in building, and cost more than six millions of dollars. This place was, in peace,

a safe retreat for French ships bound home from the East and West Indies, and, in war, a place most favorable for privateers to seize fishing and coasting-vessels and British merchantmen."

The Rev. Dr. Burroughs, of Portsmouth, thus describes this expedition, the most remarkable in our history: —

"The French had built a city and fortress on the Island of Cape Breton, which, in honor of their King, was called Louisburg. Their fisheries in the seas in its vicinity produced one million four hundred thousand quintals annually, and they annoyed the Colonial fishermen so much that the fishing interest of Massachusetts and New Hampshire resolved on the destruction of Louisburg, and the expulsion of the French from the fishing-grounds.

"The Colonies south of New England declined to aid in so mad an enterprise, though urged to do so; and Dr. Franklin, as if forgetting that he was 'Boston born,' ridiculed the project in one of the wittiest letters he ever wrote. The spirit of New England was up. A feeling something like that which caused the Crusades prevailed among the people. Religion shouted *Popery*, and even Whitefield made a recruiting house of the sanctuary, and he not only preached *Delenda est Carthago*, but furnished the following motto for Pepperrell's flag, *Nil desperandum Christo duce;* and one of his followers joined the troops as a Chaplain, and carried an axe on his shoulder with which to hew down the Catholic images in the churches of the fated city.

"The orders of Governor Shirley to General Pepperrell were, to proceed with his hundred armed vessels and store-ships to Canso, there to build a block-house, deposit his stores, and leave two companies for a guard. Thence to sail with the fleet and army to Cabarus Bay, (within three miles of Louisburg,) where he was to arrive in the evening, and anchor under cover of darkness, forthwith to land his men, and commence an attack without delay!! These were preposterous ideas of the lawyer-governor: that a hundred sail could arrive at a given point at a precise time; that the weather and winds would be favorable; that the rocky ridges pointing the shores, and the ice and fog were to be avoided by all; that a certain harbor was to be made at nightfall in an unexplored bay; that a landing was to be effected immediately, amidst a heavy surge; and then the soldiers to take up a march in the dark, through a ravine, bog, and woods, and, after travelling three miles, to commence pulling down pickets with grappling irons, and scale walls thirty feet high with ladders, all in the space of one short night!!

"On the 24th of March the fleet and transports of Massachusetts troops sailed from Nantasket Roads. They harbored for three days at Sheepscot, and arrived at Canso on the 1st of April. The New Hampshire troops had previously arrived, and the Connecticut portion came in some ten days after. On the 23d of April, Commodore Warren's squadron of three ships of the line arrived at Canso to coöperate in the attack. The ice which had detained them being removed, the entire army embarked on the 29th, intending to arrive at Cabarus Bay in the evening, but the wind having subsided prevented their reaching it until the next morning. This was the first intimation to the garrison and city of Louisburg of the intended invasion, and it greatly alarmed the troops and inhabitants. About half the forces were landed on that day, and the remainder, with the provisions, on the two next succeeding days. Their encampment was so near the enemy's works that shot from their guns reached them.

"Gen. Pepperrell lost no time in commencing a siege. Alarmed by the appearance of so large a force, the enemy abandoned the grand battery the next day, which was taken possession of by a body of our troops under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan. The French, upon discovering their mistake, sent a hundred men in four boats to retake it, but Vaughan resisted until a reinforcement came to him, when the enemy retired, leaving the Royal Battery in his possession. This battery consisted of twenty-eight 42's, two 18's, besides two hundred and eighty shells, and other munitions of war. The siege was now conducted with great spirit to the end.

"On the 15th of June, the fleet, comprising eleven ships of from forty to sixty guns, anchored in a line near the city, making an imposing spectacle. The General ordered six hundred Provincials on board to augment their crews. Commodore Warren came on shore, and the troops being paraded, the General and Commodore exhorted them in stirring speeches to exhibit their bravery and skill during the designed attack.

"The Governor, Duchambou, now hopeless of averting the impending storm, his batteries being sadly damaged, and many of his guns dismounted, the houses mostly demolished, and his troops worn out by the seven weeks siege, besides the strong force surrounding him by sea and land, could not do otherwise than surrender. Accordingly, terms of capitulation, honorable to both parties, were entered into on the 16th of June, 1745, and the keys of the city and stores were delivered to the victors. On the 17th the Provincial Army marched into the fortress and paraded in a line in front of the French troops

who were drawn up to receive them. Salutations being exchanged, formal possession was taken, and a banquet prepared, by order of General Pepperrell, for the officers."

By the foregoing account it will be seen that the original plan of attack was by no means observed, yet, to the surprise of all, the fortress and city fell.

The loss of the Provincials was 130, and of the French 300, killed within the works; which, with the shattered condition of the city and fortifications, proved that the 9000 cannon balls and 600 bombs thrown into them had done execution. By the capitulation, 4130 prisoners engaged not to bear arms against Great Britain or New England for a year. They were embarked on board fourteen cartel-ships, and transported to Rochefort, in France; 76 cannon and mortars fell into the hands of the victors, besides other property to an immense amount; also provisions in the city for five or six months. Upon entering the fortress and observing its strength, the stoutest hearts were appalled, and the practicability of taking it by surprise, as at first contemplated, appeared entirely futile. The captors, by keeping the flag of France on the ramparts, decoyed and captured ships and cargoes worth several millions of dollars.

"The conquest of Louisburg," says Smollett, "was the most important achievement of the war." And another author remarks that "New England gave peace to Europe by raising, arming, and transporting 4000 men, whose success proved an equivalent for all the successes of the French upon the Continent."

Capt. Montague was sent express with the news of the surrender to London, and was presented by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty with 500 guineas. The Tower and Park guns were fired, and at night were bonfires and illuminations in the city, and a general rejoicing pervaded the kingdom. Pepperrell and Warren were complimented by the Duke of Newcastle for their harmonious coöperation. The latter could not have raised an army of volunteers, nor have controlled them by gentle means; accustomed to command turbulent sailors, he could discipline them only by main force. They both endeavored to be faithful, and were crowned with success. Warren was promoted to the grade of Admiral.

Fortune adhered to Pepperrell in this as in all his commercial enterprises, and his good judgment and personal bravery were not wanting in the accomplishment of the great work. Without ambition of military preferment, this opulent and busy merchant left the attractions of home at the call of his country, and endured the fatigues of a camp

upon a doubtful and perilous enterprise. To be sure, his troops were not mercenaries, — they volunteered to defend their firesides, and protect their fishing-grounds.

The General was rewarded with the Colonelcy of a regiment in the British Army, and a Baronetcy; while Col. Vaughan, his second in command, who had performed prodigies of valor, was suffered to die neglected.

After this brilliant achievement Gen. Pepperrell repaired to England, and was presented to the King, (George II.,) who said to him, "How can I best reward your great services," to which the General replied, "By keeping a sufficient force on the Banks of Newfoundland to protect the thousands of fishermen for whom I find employment there." Struck by the disinterestedness of the answer, he presented him with a superb snuffbox, having upon the cover, in bas-relief, the appropriate representation of the interview between Alexander and Diogenes.[1] His Majesty could well appreciate the sacrifices and services of Gen. Pepperrell, having been himself a soldier in early life. He led a squadron at the battle of Oudenard, in the Netherlands, 11th of July, 1708, in which his horse was shot under him.

The city of London presented Gen. Pepperrell with a silver table, covered with a service of plate; and when the seizure of Loyalist property took place in the early part of our Revolution, it was exempted by the people and sent under a flag with a guard, in charge of Sheriff Moulton, of Maine, to Boston, then in possession of British troops, for his grandson and heir, the last Baronet of the name, who, having been a Mandamus Councillor, afterwards retreated to England, a Loyalist Refugee.

Early in 1748, Sir William notified his correspondents that he had retired from mercantile pursuits, and recommended his son as successor to the extensive business he had so long guided. And it appears to have been his highest ambition to educate this son for so important and useful a position. He was taken into copartnership by his father, after having graduated with the highest honors at Harvard University; and by industry and ability on the part of the son the wishes of the father were fully realized, and he looked forward to the continuance of a business, through him, which himself had so long successfully managed, for the advantage of the community.

At this period Sir William was much afflicted with rheumatism, from which he never entirely recovered, and which he attributed to

[1] Owned by the editor.

the cold weather during the siege of Louisburg, and the dilapidated condition of his head-quarters there during the succeeding winter.

We need not wonder at his desire to be relieved from some portion of his cares, and it is almost incredible that one man could, for so long a period, be able to attend to such numerous and varied duties. He was more extensively engaged in the fisheries than any other man. Owner of saw-mills on several rivers, ship-building had ever been carried on by him to a great extent, even to the building of frigates for Government. He was manager of the largest landed interests in New England, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, President of the Governor's Council, a Colonel in the regular Army, Superintendent and Accountant of the Recruiting Service, and Commander-in-Chief of the militia of Maine, and also a Commissioner to treat with the Indians. Yet his friend and pastor, the Rev. Dr. Stevens, in his funeral sermon, said it was a common remark that he succeeded in everything he undertook.

His constant intercourse with all classes gave him a clear perception of character, which, no doubt, contributed largely to his influence. His estimate of character was quite apparent in the selection of his friends. Governors Belcher, of Massachusetts, and Wolcott, of Connecticut, who served under him, he loved and honored. Waldo, his associate in many offices; Bradstreet, his Lieut.-Colonel; Hill, of Berwick, and Meserve, of New Hampshire, were admired by him. He was also on the best of terms with the clergy, far and near.

From Portsmouth, England, August 13, 1749, Admiral Warren wrote to Sir William that the money voted by Parliament for reimbursing the Provinces for the Louisburg expenses would be remitted by the vessel in which his letter was sent, and he hoped it would have the good effect of establishing a silver medium. Six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver were landed at Long Wharf, Boston, placed in wagons, and carried through the streets amidst great rejoicing.

At the peace of 1749, Louisburg was restored to France, much to the dissatisfaction of Sir William and all New England. And in the war which preceded the Revolution by about twenty years it was captured a second time, and miners were sent from England to reduce its walls to rubbish. In this second capture Wolfe distinguished himself. He sailed from this doomed city for Quebec at the head of 8000 men, to rise from a sick bed and *die satisfied* on the plains which his name has made immortal. Louisburg, now desolate, had nunneries and palaces; 206 cannon were mounted to perpetuate French dominion

over it, 6000 troops garrisoned its fortress, and a fleet of ships of the line was moored in its waters. But yet, though called the Dunkirk of America, because of its excessive strength, it fell, and now it is scarcely known that such a place ever existed. None but fishermen now visit it, and they for shelter, not for traffic.

After the restoration of Louisburg to the French in 1749, the English Provincials commenced a settlement at Halifax, where the land was good and mast-timber abundant.

A disagreement having occurred between the Rev. Jonathan Edwards and his church at Northampton, he received proposals from the Commissioners at Boston of the "Society in London for Propagating the Gospel in New England" to become the missionary of the Stockbridge Indians. Among distinguished individuals who took an interest in this tribe was Joshua Paine, Esq., of London, who requested information of Sir William respecting the establishment of a school for Indian girls at that place. Mr. Edwards gave his views of the matter in a letter to Sir William, who took much interest in the Indian Mission. The latter wrote to Admiral Warren upon the subject. The Admiral, who at first intended to appropriate the seven hundred pounds sterling, which the Government allowed him as a commission on the disbursements in the Louisburg expenditure, to the support of a Protestant church in Ireland, and subsequently changed his purpose to that of building a town-hall at Cambridge, Massachusetts, was now induced by Sir William to appropriate it towards educating the Indians. In reply to Sir William's letter, Admiral Warren says: "I am pleased with the idea of bringing the Indians to Christianity, and have written to Secretary Willard that I shall be glad if the £700 sterling, which I have ever intended for public use, might be improved for that, instead of building a town-hall at Cambridge." Thus the success which ensued at Stockbridge was greatly promoted through the suggestion and influence of Sir William.

To Sir Peter Kenwood, his correspondent in England, Sir William wrote in 1749–50 that his regiment was disbanded, and he allowed half-pay as a Colonel, which did not amount to the interest of the money he had expended at Louisburg out of his estate. That his son had received some consignments, and had ordered the building of several ships for gentlemen abroad, and that he had acquired the character of a diligent and honest man, which afforded him great comfort.

On the 1st of March, 1751, Sir William was doomed to meet an awful dispensation of Providence, in the death of his only son, then in his twenty-sixth year.

Some author has stated that the fate of greatness is to weep unpitied, but the aphorism did not hold good in this instance, for Sir William lived for others instead of himself. His wealth and patronage had scattered blessings all around him, by which he had disarmed envy and secured universal respect. The afflicted mother mourning her beloved son, the fond sister bewailing the loss of her accomplished brother, and the bereaved father shuddering at this first blow his house had ever sustained, presented a picture truly appalling. The prop of life, the heir to his title and estate, had been removed just as he was prepared to enter the most important scenes of life. His pillar and support being gone, the old hero continued his preparation, early begun, for an event which he felt might not be far distant. He soon rallied, however, and his useful life was prolonged for several years.

Sir William had been a Commissioner for forming most of the treaties with the Indians since the year 1720. On the 20th of September, 1753, a conference was held at St. George's, near the Penobscot and Kennebec rivers, between the following Commissioners, viz: Sir Wm. Pepperrell, Jacob Wendall, John Winslow, and James Bowdoin, and the chiefs of the Penobscot tribe. Former treaties were renewed, and the conference being ended, the presents ordered by Government were delivered, and after drinking the health of the King, the Commissioners took leave and the chiefs retired.

In 1754, Governor Shirley requested Sir William to meet him at Fort Richmond, (now Waterville,) as he wished to advise with him respecting the building of a fort still higher up the Kennebec River, and the demolition of Fort Richmond.

When the expeditions of 1755, against Du Quesne, Crown Point, and Niagara were projected, it was expected that Sir William would attack Niagara at the head of his own regiment under Gov. Shirley, but in June, while he was filling his regiment, he received a commission of Major-General from the King, which entitled him to higher command.

Col. Sparhawk, of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and son-in-law of Sir William, writes to the latter, under date of June 14: "I tell your friends that I don't know if you can be excused if you desire it, and that, from your advices to your family, you fully intend to go, which I think the safest answer. I hope you will, if consistently with your honor, excuse yourself from going on the expedition. You know that when you went to Louisburg, though Gov. Shirley tarried in Boston the whole time, his friends ascribed a great deal to him, and

as he will now be at the head of the expedition, distinguish yourself as much as you will, he will have the honor and applause."

Again, 24th of June, "I am concerned to have you fairly excused, and it is said you may, if you please, and that it is inconsistent, as you are a general officer, to act under one of inferior rank."

Sir William was ordered by Governor Shirley to command the eastern frontier, which, residing as he did in Maine, and knowing its condition and danger, was judicious, and thus relieved him from the expedition, which, however, was finally abandoned.

In January, 1756, Governor Shirley applied to the Legislature for 3000 men, for the support of which he loaned the Province £30,000 out of the Government money in his hands. The Governor aimed at securing Sir William's services in the Council, by offering him the command of the troops which were to operate against Crown Point. But having accomplished his object, revoked his promise, and conferred the command on General Winslow.

Very few would have submitted quietly to the slights of Governor Shirley.. After complimenting the Provincial troops in unmeasured terms in his letters to the Duke of Newcastle respecting the capture of Louisburg, he said nothing complimentary of General Pepperell's faithful services, although he had done all that a vigilant and intrepid commander could do, and had advanced a large sum out of his own fortune to carry on the expedition, and received but partial remuneration for his services and sacrifices.

Sir William writes thus to his friend, Sir Peter Kenwood: "Governor Shirley would not let me go against the French, neither last year nor this, and now I think I am too old. Affairs have been managed badly here, and we are in miserable circumstances, and have lost many of our young men and much of our strength. We have done nothing here against the French for two or three years past, but it is to be observed that there was no American officer in command."

Shirley was recalled, and after his embarkation for London, September 12th, 1756, the government devolved on Lieut.-Governor Phips, and by his death, in the following March, on the Council, of which Sir William was President, and Governor *de facto* until Governor Pownall's arrival, on the 3d of August, 1757.

Sir William was also in command of Castle William, in Boston harbor, as well as of the whole military forces of Massachusetts, with the rank of Lieutenant-General. The new Governor was well received, and in performance of the ceremony of taking possession of the castle, when Sir William presented the keys, he remarked that this fortress

was the key of the Province; to which Governor Pownall replied, "The interest of the Province is in your *heart*, and I shall be always glad to see the keys in your *hands*." A well-timed compliment.

He complains in various letters that he had not been consulted by Shirley and others in command on the frontiers in relation to the expeditions, and intimates that the disastrous termination of the campaigns was in a measure owing to this neglect. Historians condemn Braddock for not listening to the counsels of Washington; and Shirley, Loudon, and Abercrombie, deeming it beneath their dignity to call Pepperrell into council, evinced their own incompetency and were severally ordered home, while Pepperrell ever retained the confidence of the mother Government.

The campaign of 1758 was successful, and resulted in the recapture of Louisburg, so grateful to our hero, for nothing could have pained him more than its reversion to the enemy by the treaty of 1748.

In the annals of history the first conquest of Louisburg stands out in bold relief, and Mr. Pitt, having satisfied himself that no man in America wielded so powerful an influence as Sir William, and that in times of trouble all eyes were turned to him as a leader under whose banner they were ready to march *en masse* to meet the foe, induced his Majesty the King to honor him, on the 20th of February, 1759, with the commission of a Lieutenant-General of the Royal Army. This honor, as well as the previous one of Baronet, had never before been conferred on a native American, which fact greatly enhances their value, particularly as it was for services rendered his native country.

His health soon after failed, and he was unable to take the field, but his life was spared until the British and Provincial armies approximated the conquest of a vast region, long held by France, and soon after added to the British Empire. He died on the 6th of July, 1759, at his seat in Kittery, at the age of sixty-three. His funeral was public and attended by a vast concourse. The drooping flags at half-mast on both shores of the Piscataqua, the solemn knell from neighboring churches, the responsive minute guns from all the batteries, and the mournful rumbling of muffled drums, announced that a public benefactor had fallen and was descending to the tomb.

The writer of his obituary notice at the time, probably the Rev. Dr. Stevens, remarks that "the sickness whereof he died was of long continuance, and was accompanied with great pain, which gave occasion for the exercise of exemplary patience."

The life of this eminent man shows that a vast amount of good can

be accomplished in several walks of life, at the same period, by industry and a systematic appropriation of time.

Sir William was distinguished for his fine address; he had a taste for refined society, of which he was the life; he possessed but little knowledge of books, but by being in constant intercourse with mankind few were better acquainted than himself with those with whom he came in contact. He expended liberally in the purchase of books, and was guided in the selection of them by his pastor, the Rev. Dr. Stevens. His library comprised the best English editions of standard works.

A large number of volumes were selected, which, added to the contributions of others, formed a revolving library for the benefit of the parishes of Kittery and York, — each enjoying its advantages at certain periods of the year. He contributed generously to his own church and parish, and gave a four-acre lot for a church at Saco, as well as a liberal sum to the College at Princeton, New Jersey.

Public benefactions were not common in those days; besides, he was surrounded by a very poor population, who required daily relief. His will shows that he had many poor relatives who had anticipated their legacies and yet required his further aid.

After the death of her husband, Lady Pepperrell erected an elegant house near that of her son-in-law, Col. Sparhawk, and the village church; here she died on the 25th of November, 1789. Her natural and acquired powers were highly respectable, and she was admired for her wit and suavity of manners.

The old mansion which Sir William inherited from his parents is plain in architecture, but contains a great many rooms; it was well adapted to the extensive domains and hospitalities of its former owners. The lawn, in front, extends to the sea, and the restless waves, over which Sir William sought fortune and fame, still glitter in the sunbeams and dash around the disconsolate abode. The fires of ancient hospitality are extinguished, and the present inhabitants of the mansion (many families of poor fishermen) seem to wish to exclude all visitors and strangers. The hall is spacious and well finished; the ceiling ornamented — and the richly carved banisters bear traces of former elegance. On ascending the staircase, paintings of angels' heads decorate the hall window. All traces of comfort, however, seem annihilated. In a field near the old mansion is the tomb — a melancholy memento of the frailty of human greatness. It is highly ornamented with the family arms, and an inscription records that it was erected in 1734 to the memory of the parents of the Baronet, but

there is no notice of the death of the victor of Louisburg. In this mansion, where he was born and died, the Baronet always lived suitable to his rank, and extended hospitality to the numerous visitors who flocked to see and converse with the victor of Louisburg. His walls were hung with costly mirrors and paintings; his sideboards and cellars were filled with the choicest viands, and his park stocked with deer. He had a retinue of servants, costly equipage, and a splendid barge with liveried oarsmen. His dress was of the expensive kind worn by the noblemen of that day — scarlet broadcloth trimmed with gold-lace, a cocked hat similarly trimmed, and a large powdered wig. A full-length, life-sized historical portrait of him adorns the gallery of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts, placed there by the editor in 1821.

Elizabeth, the only child that survived Sir William, was married on the 1st of May, 1742, to the Hon. Nathaniel Sparhawk, a counsellor and judge. He was a son of the Rev. John Sparhawk, of Bristol, and a brother of the Rev. John Sparhawk, of Salem, Massachusetts.

The address of Col. Sparhawk was dignified and elegant — he was liberally educated and possessed a refined taste. A few years ago there was a fine avenue of trees leading to his house at Kittery Point. The large walls of the entrance-hall of this mansion were covered with portraits of the Pepperrell and Sparhawk families, and of the friends and companions-in-arms of Sir William. Some of them were rescued from destruction by that excellent antiquarian and elegant historical writer, the late Rev. Dr. Burroughs, of Portsmouth, and grace the walls of the Athenæum there.

Soon after the decease of his son, Sir William sent for David Sewall, Esq., of York, afterwards United States District Judge of Maine, to make a will for him which would convey his worldly possessions to his posterity, and the desire he displayed to secure wealth to his grandchildren was apparent throughout. The bulk of it was entailed upon many generations, and the name of Pepperrell was an appendage which the heirs successively were obliged to assume. He thought it secure; but the best laid plans of mortals are often frustrated by that Being who controls all events; and, notwithstanding the entailment, his princely domain was confiscated, because in possession of the last Baronet of the name, (a grandson of the first,) who was a Mandamus Councillor and a Refugee Loyalist in 1775.

After a rich provision for Lady Pepperrell and his grandchildren, and numerous legacies to relatives, to the parish poor, and the church at Kittery Point, and for a school to be kept there, he designated his

grandson, William Pepperrell Sparhawk, as residuary legatee of his estate, on condition that, upon his becoming of age, an Act should be passed by the Massachusetts Government permitting his assumption of the name of Pepperrell and the relinquishment of that of Sparhawk. In pursuance of this, a law was passed authorizing the change, and the honor of baronetcy was conferred upon him by the King, in October, 1774.

The young Baronet could not realize the necessity of the decided political movements of the day, nor did he believe that the eventual success of the Colonists would repay the cost and suffering of the pending struggle with the mother country, so he retreated to England in 1775.

His course, which constituted the treason for which acts of banishment and confiscation were subsequently passed upon him, is set forth in the resolutions which we shall introduce. His acts therein referred to, were committed before a government to which treason could apply had been created, and he fully maintained his allegiance to the Government *de facto* and *de jure*, and obeyed the only laws then in force. For his loyalty he suffered, besides banishment, the forfeiture of an immense estate, bequeathed only in trust, to be transmitted to others if male heirs failed in his line, and which no act of confiscation could legally reach. The reversal of a similar case in our courts, some thirty years ago, caused the State of New York to refund to John Jacob Astor, Esq., assignee of the Morris claim, five hundred thousand dollars.

On the 16th November, 1774, in a County Congress held at Wells, York County, Maine, the following resolutions were passed, viz. : —

"*Resolved.* Whereas the late Sir William Pepperrell, honored and respected in Great Britain and America for his eminent services, did honestly acquire an extensive real estate in this county, and gave the highest evidence, not only of his being a sincere friend to the rights of man in general, but of having a paternal love to this county in particular ; and whereas the said Sir William, by his last will and testament, made his grandson residuary legatee and possessor of the greatest part of said estate, who hath, with purpose to carry into force Acts of the British Parliament, made with apparent design to enslave the free and loyal people of this continent, accepted and now holds a seat in the pretended Board of Councillors in this Province, as well in direct repeal of the charter thereof, as against the solemn compact of kings and the inherent rights of the people :

"It is therefore resolved, that he hath forfeited the confidence and

friendship of all true friends of American liberty, and with other pretended councillors, now holding their seats in the like manner, ought to be detested by all good men; and it is hereby recommended to the good people of this county, that as soon as the present leases made to any of them by him are expired, they immediately withdraw all connection, commerce, and dealings from him — and that they take no further lease or conveyance of his farms and mills until he shall resign his seat pretendedly occupied by mandamus. And if any person shall remain or become his tenants after the expiration of their present leases, we recommend to the good people of this county, not only to withdraw all connection and social intercourse with them, but to treat them in the manner provided by the third resolve of this Congress."

Sir William was allowed by the British Government a pension of five hundred pounds sterling for life, which, together with his plantation in Surinam and some money in the funds, enabled him to educate his children, and to contribute largely to the relief of his captive countrymen in Great Britain, and to faithfully serve his fellow-sufferers in the cause of loyalty. He lent his aid to all good works, and was otherwise exemplary in private life. He was one of the founders of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Sundry letters from Sir William in London, during the war, to Isaac Winsolw, Esq., in New York, who had married Miss Sparhawk, of Salem, a cousin of the Baronet, fully evince his charity for his political opponents, notwithstanding the bitterness which marked their conduct and writings. These letters were published in the Appendix to the third edition of this work in 1845.

It is a remarkable feature in the published letters of the Loyalists throughout the Revolution, that they exhibit an ardent love of country and great liberality towards those who differed from them in political opinion, notwithstanding their sufferings from proscription, mobs, confiscation, and banishment.

This second Sir William was graduated with high reputation at Harvard College, Cambridge, in 1766. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. Isaac Royall,[1] of Medford, Massachusetts, and died in London, December 2, 1816, aged seventy, having previously lost, by death, Lady Pepperrell and their only son, whereby the baronetcy again became extinct. A likeness of him is owned by his relative, the editor.

[1] Founder of the Royall professorship of law in Harvard University. He was also a Loyalist Refugee, as was his other son-in-law, Hon. George Erving, another founder of a Cambridge professorship.

Dr. Parsons[1] very justly remarks that "words and deeds before the Revolution deemed patriotic, were afterwards considered traitorous; and so deeply was the idea of their moral turpitude impressed on the public mind as to have tainted popular opinions concerning the heroic deeds of our ancestors, performed in the King's service in the French wars. We have no sympathy with the joyous acclamations then bestowed on the successful victor returning from the field of glory to be crowned with laurels. We have felt no desire to perpetuate the fame of his achievements, although characterized at the time by patriotism as pure and disinterested as any exhibited during or since the struggle of the Revolution. The latter war absorbed and neutralized all the heroic fame of the illustrious men that preceded, and the achievements of Pepperrell, Johnson, and of Bradstreet are now almost forgotten; and the extinction of their fame, by the Revolution, was not more remarkable than the wreck of their fortunes. The Penns, Fairfaxes, Johnsons, Phillipses, Robinsons, Pepperells were stripped of their immense possessions by confiscation, who, up to that hour, 'had been but little less than hereditary Colonial noblemen and viceroys of boundless domain.' Pepperrell, it is said, could travel from Piscataqua to Saco, nearly thirty miles, on his own soil; and his possessions were large in Scarborough, Elliot, Berwick, Newington, Portsmouth, Hampton, and Hubbardstown. In Saco alone he owned fifty-five hundred acres, including the site of that populous town and its factories. This princely fortune was, in a brief hour, demolished, and its fragments scattered broadcast by the Confiscation Act of 1778, and two great-grandsons of the hero of Louisburg have since been saved from the poor-house by the bounty of some individuals on whom they had no claim for favor."

[The foregoing article, prepared by the editor of this book, was published in "Hunt's Merchants' Magazine," at New York, in July, 1858.]

Perkins, Thomas. For an account of this enterprising, opulent, and eminent Salem merchant, we have in vain examined the newspapers published at the period of his decease. The MSS. and records of the Marine Society afford us all the information we have been enabled to obtain. We find he was actively and successfully engaged,

[1] *Life of Sir William Pepperell, Baronet.* By Usher Parsons. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855.

In preparing the foregoing, much aid has been derived from this admirable work; abounding, as it does, in letters and documents, it cannot fail to satisfy the most exacting lover of detail.

throughout the Revolutionary War, in the privateer and letter-of-marque service as officer or commander. He was Captain of the privateers *Spitfire* and *Thrasher*, and successful. In the last mentioned he captured six prizes in a single cruise. Himself and Joseph Peabody were officers of the letter-of-marque brig *Ranger*, Captain Simmons, when they repulsed an attack from three British barges in the Potomac River in 1782, — a very brilliant affair, in which the enemy lost, in killed and wounded, some fifty odd men. The particulars of this exploit may be seen in our article entitled Joseph Peabody. It will be remembered by many that Messrs. Peabody & Perkins, companions in war, were also for a number of years partners in ships and general business. The late Mr. Michael Shepard, of distinguished ability as a merchant, and of most exemplary character as a man, was afterwards associated with Mr. Perkins in business during the remainder of his life, and were of mutual service to each other.

We transcribe the following from the Records of the Marine Society of Salem, December 30, 1830: —

"A committee was appointed to take charge of the Franklin Building, bequeathed to this Society by Capt. Thomas Perkins, deceased, a merchant of Salem, which we have estimated at thirteen thousand dollars."[1]

CAPT. THOMAS PERKINS'S WILL.

Mr. Thomas Perkins, a nephew of the devisor, has favored us with the following extracts from the will of his uncle: —

"I give and devise to the Marine Society of Salem, in the County of Essex, in the Province of Massachusetts, in New England, and their successors and assignees, all that my brick building and land with the appurtenances, known by the name of Franklin Place, in Salem, aforesaid, being the same which I bought of Josiah Dow, on condition that the said Marine Society shall annually apply the net rents and profits thereof to the relief of such poor and indigent members of the said Society, who may not be given to excessive drinking, as shall be annually designated by the officers of the said Society for the time being."

"I give and bequeath to such undergraduate of Harvard College, as shall, in the opinion of the President and immediate Government of said College, write the best essay on the ill effects of intemperance,

[1] This range of buildings comprised the entire brick block extending along Newbury Street, from Essex to Bath Street, opposite Washington Square. It was destroyed by fire, but has been rebuilt, and is one of the finest piles in the city.

(such essay to be written within the term of two years after my decease,) the sum of one hundred dollars."

"I give and bequeath the sum of one hundred dollars to such undergraduate of said Harvard College as shall, in the opinion of the President and immediate Government thereof, write the best essay on the importance of industrious habits in youth, such essay to be written within two years from my decease."

"I give and bequeath to the Baptist Society in said Salem, the sum of money due to me from said Society on a note of eight hundred dollars, and do hereby discharge said Society from the payment of said note."

"I give and bequeath to the Salem Female Charitable Society, and their successors and assignees, the sum of one thousand dollars, the income of which is to be applied to the care and education of the children and other persons who are the objects of their charity."

The above bequests show a right appreciation of the services and sufferings of mariners; a warm interest in the cause of temperance before the subject had been brought to public notice; and the inculcation of industrious habits of youths subject to the temptations of college life.

The generous bequests to the Salem Female Charitable Society and to the Baptist Society have been preëminently useful, by stimulating others to the like good works.

We are indebted to Asa Pingree, Esq., another nephew of Capt. Perkins, for copying and handing us the following inscription from the gravestone at Topsfield: —

IN MEMORY OF THOMAS PERKINS, ESQ.

AN EMINENT MERCHANT.

His Industry, Temperance & Enterprise Raised him From Poverty to Immense Wealth, Which he enjoyed without Pride or Ostentation, and dispensed with Justice and Benevolence. He was diligent and Faithful in business, pure in his life and conversation; of a Sound & Vigorous Mind, and of an Integrity and Fortitude which neither Prosperity or Adversity could shake or corrupt.

He was an affectionate Son, a kind relative, and a firm Friend.

He was a christian above sectarian prejudice, and a Man above Fear & with out reproach.

He was born in Topsfield, April 2^{d}, 1758, and died Nov. 24th, 1830.

Phips, Col. David, son of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips, of Massachusetts, was graduated at Harvard College in 1741; was Colonel of the troop of Guards in Boston, 1773; an Addresser of Gov. Hutchinson in 1774, and of Gage in 1775; High Sheriff of Middlesex County in 1775. Driven into Boston, he went to England, which country he left in April, 1777, for America, with Admiral Montague, and afterwards served under General Knyphausen. His house at Cambridge, afterwards Wm. Winthrop's, was confiscated. He died in England, July 7, 1811, aged eighty-seven, styled in the "Gentleman's Magazine" "Capt. David Phips, R. N."

His sisters married Andrew Bordman, Judge Joseph Lee, Col. John Vassall, and Richard Lechmere, all magnates of Cambridge.

Several books of the British peerage represent the family of the Marquis of Normanby (Lord Mulgrave) as descended from Sir William Phips, Governor of Massachusetts in 1691. This is a manifest error; Sir William, having no children, adopted his nephew, Spencer Phips, (afterwards Lieut.-Governor of Massachusetts,) father of Col. Phips, the subject of this article. The ancestor of Lord Mulgrave was Sir Constantine Phipps, an eminent London lawyer in the reign of Queen Anne.

Pickering, Hon. Timothy, LL. D., the son of a prominent citizen of Salem of the same name, was born there on the 17th July, 1746, and graduated at Harvard College in 1763. The memorable distinction of conducting the first resistance in arms to the power of the mother country fell to his lot, at his native place, on Sunday, the 26th of February, 1775, when the march of Col. Leslie's regiment of Royal troops was resolutely intercepted, and his further progress arrested by him at the head of the militia, at the bridge over the North River. The draw of the bridge was hoisted, and Col. Pickering presented himself on the opposite side. He informed Col. Leslie that the military stores he came to seize were the property of the people, and that they would not be surrendered without a struggle. Col. Leslie ordered his men into a large gondola at the wharf, to secure a passage over the river. In a moment Major Sprague, the owner of the gondola, sprang on board and beat a hole through the bottom, by which it was sunk. While effecting this he was wounded by the soldiers with their bayonets, and thus was here shed the first blood of the Revolution. The Rev. Mr. Barnard now interposed, and by judicious persuasions prevented the impending catastrophe; and Leslie, pledging his honor that if Col. Pickering would let him pass the bridge, so that it might appear a voluntary act on his part, he would abandon

the attempt to seize the stores; and this being acceded to on the part of Col. Pickering, the former returned immediately to his transports at Marblehead, and rëembarked his regiment from the harbor that night.

Col. Pickering marched at the head of the Essex Regiment as soon as he heard of the Lexington affair, on the 19th of April of the same year, to Medford, in order to intercept the enemy, but was not in season. He also took up the line of march with his regiment for the heights of Charlestown on the 17th June, but arrived too late to participate in the affair of Bunker Hill. Col. Pickering compiled a manual for the drill and exercise of the troops, which was in general use until the Baron Steuben published his more extensive work. He was appointed the same year a Judge of the Common Pleas, and succeeded Mr. Curwen as Admiralty Judge for the district including Boston and Salem. In the autumn of 1776, he commanded the Essex Regiment, under General Washington, in New Jersey.

The following is an extract of a letter from General Washington to Congress, dated at Morristown, May 24, 1777:—

"I beg leave to inform Congress, that, immediately after the receipt of their resolve of the 26th of March, recommending the office of Adjutant-General to be filled by a person of ability and *unsuspected* attachment to our cause, I wrote to Colonel Timothy Pickering, of *Salem*, offering him the post, in the first instance, and transmitting at the same time a letter to Colonel William R. Lee, whom Congress had been pleased to mention, to be delivered to him in case my offer could not be accepted. This conduct in preference of Col. Pickering, I was induced to adopt from the high character I had of him, both as a great military genius, cultivated by an industrious attention to the study of war, and as a gentleman of liberal education, distinguished zeal, and great method and activity in business. This character of him I had from gentlemen of distinction and merit, and on whose judgment I could rely.

"When my letter reached Col. Pickering, at first view, he thought his situation in respect to public affairs would not permit him to accept the post. That for Col. Lee he sent immediately to him, who, in consequence, repaired to headquarters. By Col. Lee I received a letter from Col. Pickering, stating more particularly the causes which prevented him accepting the office when it was offered, assuring me that he would, in a little time, accommodate his affairs in such a manner as to come into any military post in which he might be serviceable and thought equal to.

"Here I am to mark with peculiar satisfaction, in justice to Col. Lee, who has deservedly acquired the reputation of a good officer, that he has expressed a distrust of his abilities to fill the appointment intended for him; and hearing that Col. Pickering would accept it, he not only offered, but wished to relinquish his claim to it in favor of him, whom he declared he considered, from a very intimate and friendly acquaintance, as a first-rate military character; and that he knew no gentleman better or so well qualified for the post among us. Matters being thus circumstanced, and Colonel Lee pleased with the command he was in, I wrote to Col. Pickering on his return, who accepted the office, and is daily expected."

He immediately marched with the army to Pennsylvania, and was by the side of Washington at the battle of Brandywine, on the 14th September; he was also present at that of Germantown, October 4. He was soon after elected by Congress a member of the Board of War, with Generals Gates and Mifflin. The arrangement of the Staff Department was also intrusted to him and General Mifflin. In August, 1780, he succeeded Gen. Greene as Quartermaster-General, and discharged the arduous and complicated duties of that department with promptness and fidelity.

Col. Pickering was employed in various negotiations with the Indian tribes, and in 1791 was appointed Postmaster-General, which office he held till 1794, when he succeeded Gen. Knox as Secretary of War. In August, 1795, he temporarily had charge of the State Department, and upon the resignation of Mr. Edmund Randolph, in December, received the appointment of Secretary of State. This was the last office he held under Washington; from which he was removed by President Adams, in May, 1800. It was this circumstance to which the eloquent and eccentric John Randolph alludes when Col. Pickering's political course was attacked in the House of Representatives some years after; on that occasion Randolph declared that he would gladly surrender all his own riches and honors to be able to say what that patriot (Pickering) could say, viz., "That he ever enjoyed the unbounded confidence of Washington — and the enmity of his successor."

In palliation of his course in removing Col. Pickering, Mr. Adams wrote that his talents were inadequate to the station; but his immediate successor in the office, Chief Justice Marshall, in his "Life of Washington," awards to his diplomacy and talents the highest praise.

On Col. Pickering's removal from office, he commenced the settlement of new lands in the backwoods of Pennsylvania; but soon after

disposing of them, he returned to Massachusetts, and at Wenham, near his native town, he, like Cincinnatus, cultivated with his own hands a farm which he purchased. He could not long be spared from public life, and from 1803 to 1811 he was a Senator of the United States, and from 1814 to 1817 he represented his district in Congress, to the delight and satisfaction of his constituents. He died at Salem on the 29th June, 1829, aged eighty-four. His active life afforded but little leisure for literary pursuits, yet his writings were vigorous and elegant. From early life he was a professor of Christianity. In the service of his country he was faithful, disinterested, and energetic. His feelings were strong, and in his political controversies he was ardent, and sometimes vehement; but his exemplary morals, strict integrity, and pure principles satisfied all of his sincerity. Col. Pickering has left a number of descendants; the most distinguished was the great philologist, the late Hon. John Pickering, LL. D., his eldest son, who was President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Another son is Octavius Pickering, A. A. S., formerly Reporter of the Decisions of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. It was proclaimed more than a generation since that he was preparing a life of his illustrious father. The very few of us, septuagenarians, who only can remember Col. Pickering in active life, will soon have passed away, and the interest in the work lessened. When will it see the light? Are we who 've "*desir'd it long*" doomed "to die without the sight?"

Pickman, Colonel. Benjamin Pickman, Esq., was born at Salem in 1740; graduated at Harvard College in 1759. He was a merchant in early life, a Representative of the Provincial Assembly, and Commandant of the First Regiment of Essex County. He did not take a popular view of the subject of Revolution, but left the country at the commencement of it, and consequently was proscribed, and his estate included in the Confiscation Act; but after his return from England a portion of it was recovered, not, however, without much difficulty. Col. Pickman married a daughter of Dr. Toppan of Boston, and died at his native place in April, 1819, aged seventy-nine. He was a son of the Colonel Pickman who died at Salem, in 1773, aged sixty-six; a member of the Provincial Council, and Judge of the Common Pleas, whose sisters married Curwen, Ward, and Ropes the father of Judge Ropes, and whose brother Samuel was Governor of Tortola. The first mentioned Col. Pickman left a number of children. The late Dr. Thomas Pickman, who graduated at Harvard

College in 1791, was one, whose first wife was a daughter of Jonathan Haraden, Esq., a distinguished naval commander during the Revolution, on the side of America; and after her death, Miss Palmer, granddaughter of Hon. Joseph Palmer, President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress of 1776. William Pickman, Esq., another son, resides in Salem; and Col. Benjamin Pickman, who graduated at Harvard College in 1784, and immediately commenced his travels by the way of England. He married a daughter of Elias Hasket Derby, Esq.; was extensively and successfully engaged in commerce; represented Essex South District in Congress; and for several years the county, in the Senate of the State. His philanthropy was unbounded, and Salem sustained a great loss by his death. His eldest son, Col. Benjamin T. Pickman, late President of the Senate of Massachusetts, married a niece of the Rev. Isaac Smith, so often referred to in the body of this work.

It is a remarkable coincidence, that, of four successive generations, the eldest sons bearing the same name have been colonels, and three of them in command of the same regiment. The last mentioned was for several years at Exeter Academy, and completed a commercial education in the counting-house of Messrs. P. and H. Le Mesurier and Co., of London, preparatory to establishing himself in mercantile business at Boston. He was an aide-de-camp of Governor Brooks; and, like all his abovementioned ancestors, possessed a great share of public spirit, and a dignity and elegance of manner rarely attained; his many virtues array themselves before the writer on every recollection of the friend of his youth.

Pickman, William, second son of Col. Benjamin and Love (Rawlens) Pickman, was born March 23, 1748. He was bred a merchant in the counting-house of his father, and embarked in business before the Revolution commenced.

President Washington, in his appointments for collecting the revenue at Salem, selected Major Hiller and Captain Pickman from the most trustworthy, patriotic citizens, who had served their country in the war, for the highest offices. These they filled with honor and credit during the administrations of Washington and Adams, for a period of fourteen years.

Captain Pickman was married, October 26, 1776, to Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Dudley Leavitt and Mary Pickering, sister of the patriot Col. Timothy Pickering, the aid and support of Washington in the field and cabinet during his whole public life, and who enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the *pater patriæ*.

His father, Colonel Pickman, who died in 1773, after having passed a long, active, and public-spirited life, beloved and lamented, filled the same position in his day that Elias Hasket Derby did in a succeeding generation, and was even more prominent, holding the most important offices in the State, such as judge, legislator, and councillor. He was more extensively engaged than any other man in such commerce as the narrow policy of the mother Government at that time allowed the Colonists. He was next only to Col. Pepperrell, of Kittery, in the fishery business, — his flakes extending from North Street through Federal to Boston Street, down to the river. His success in this branch he ever remembered; and when he erected his splendid mansion on Essex Street, fronting St. Peter's, he had a carved fish, gilt, placed at the end of every stair in the hall, which still remain.

When the French cruisers had nearly destroyed our fishing vessels on the Banks, and the expedition against Louisburg, their stronghold for the reception of them, was contemplated, Col. Pickman stood amongst the foremost with a helping hand. No one subscribed more largely except Pepperrell, who advanced ten thousand pounds; we believe Col. Pickman's subscription was five thousand, but we cannot now find a list published at the time. At all events, the material aid was furnished in this manner, and had the expedition failed it would have proved a total loss to these patriotic citizens; as it succeeded, the mother Government remunerated them with interest.

We find Col. Pickman in 1745 on a committee to secure the tribes of Penobscot Indians and others to our service; on a committee to provide for the French prisoners; also to examine the accounts of the directors of the Government lottery, to aid in paying for the late expedition; on Committee of Arrangements for the reception of General Pepperrell and Admiral Warren, to thank them for their signal services in the reduction of Louisburg, the greatest martial event of our colonial history. He was also on a legislative committee to draft instructions for our commissioners who are to meet others from other Colonies at Albany, to treat with the Six Nation tribes for going against Canada; on a legislative committee to estimate our expenses for the expedition against Louisburg, and to obtain Admiral Warren's and General Pepperrell's approbation of the same, in order to recover from the Crown; and although last, not least, on a legislative committee for publishing and printing Gov. Shirley's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, with the journal of the siege and operations of the forces, attested by the General and Admiral, in order to

vindicate the New England troops, who had been misrepresented to the Home Government.

Col. Pickman was the first of four eldest sons of as many successive generations, each bearing the same honored name, who attained that military rank, — three of them having commanded the same regiment. All have passed away, with many of their country's honors blest.

The subject of this memoir died on the 3d of November, 1815, at the age of sixty-seven. He was early deprived of his partner, she having been taken away at the age of twenty-three. He never contracted another marriage. Three children were their offspring, viz.: William, who was lost at sea December 13, 1798; Elizabeth, who married Daniel Abbot, Esq., of Nashua, N. H.; and the late Hon. Dudley Leavitt Pickman, who married Catharine, daughter of Thomas Saunders, Esq., both deceased. Mr. Pickman filled with honor seats in both branches of the State Legislature, and was also a member of the Council Board. His commercial knowledge and preëminent financial abilities would greatly have benefited his country in Congress, had not his extensive business at home prevented his acceptance of the trust.

Asa Fitch, Esq., a man of reliable judgment, the surviving partner of a distinguished house of several branches in Europe, stated in a letter to the editor that *he "considered Mr. Pickman one of the first merchants of the age."* Mr. Pickman was transcendently successful through life. He left daughters, Eliza, the deceased wife of Richard S. Rogers, Esq., and Catharine, the wife of Richard S. Fay, Esq., and an only son, William Dudley Pickman, Esq., who married Caroline, daughter of Zachariah F. Silsbee, Esq., and who takes his father's place in the commerce of Salem.

Porter, Samuel, Esq., a respectable lawyer of Salem, was born in Ipswich, Mass., graduated at Harvard College in 1763, removed to Salem in 1773, was an Addresser of Gov. Hutchinson in 1774. It is supposed that either John Sargent or Porter gave Gov. Gage the information about the guns over the South Bridge at Salem, where Col. Leslie was repulsed by the people. He fled soon after to England, was proscribed in the Banishment Act of 1778, and died in London, June, 1798.

Quincy, Hon. Samuel, brother of Josiah and Edmund, of Boston, graduated at Harvard College in 1754. As Solicitor for the Crown, he was engaged with Robert Treat Paine in the memorable trial of Capt. Preston and the British soldiers in 1770; his brother was op-

posed to him on that occasion, and both reversed their party sympathies in their professional position. He was an Addresser of Gov. Hutchinson, and went to England early in 1775. He was included in the Banishment Act of September, 1778. In April, 1779, he was appointed Comptroller at Parkin Bay, Antigua, and died on his passage from Tortola to England for his health, August 9, 1789, aged fifty-five. Mr. Quincy married a sister of the late Henry Hill, Esq., of Boston. His son, of the same name, who graduated at Harvard College in 1782, was an attorney-at-law in Lenox, Massachusetts, where he died, January, 1816, leaving a son Samuel, formerly an Alderman of Boston. His other son, Josiah, was an eminent counsellor-at-law of Romney, New Hampshire, and President of the Senate of that State.

The following additional particulars and documents relating to this unfortunate gentleman are derived from original papers, of which copies have been made and forwarded to us by Miss Eliza S. Quincy, of Boston, and possess too deep an interest to be withheld from the public, although their publication renders the article more voluminous than is strictly consistent with the plan of this work.

Mr. Quincy was born in that part of Braintree, now Quincy, Massachusetts, April 13, 1735. He was the second son of Josiah Quincy, who at that time resided on the estate of his ancestor in that town, and who afterwards removed to Boston, and became an eminent merchant of that place. His mother's name was Hannah Sturgis, daughter of John Sturgis, Esq., of Yarmouth, Massachusetts. She died in Boston, August, 1755, aged forty-three, leaving three sons and one daughter. She was an excellent and religious woman, and had received the best education the country at that time afforded. Her children honored her memory, and the eminence and usefulness of their lives and characters bore testimony to the virtuous principles she had early instilled.

Endowed with fine talents, Mr. Quincy became eminent in the profession of the law, and succeeded Jonathan Sewall as Solicitor-General of Massachusetts. He was also distinguished for his attainments in literature, and was the author of numerous essays in prose and verse, in the journals of the day: was the intimate friend of many of the most distinguished men of that period, and an early correspondent of John Adams.

In early life he appears to have coincided in his political course and opinions with his brothers. During the movements preceding the Revolution, his name appears on the records of the town of Boston,

associated with that of Josiah Quincy, Jr. From the letter written by him to this brother, so ardent a patriot, on receiving a copy of his "Observations on the Boston Port Bill," it appears that their affection for each other remained unaltered.[1]

The feelings of his father and family, who were all devoted to the cause of freedom and independence, were undoubtedly deeply wounded by the course Samuel Quincy pursued, as a letter of his sister, Mrs. Lincoln, evinces. But they always continued to take an affectionate interest in his fate and fortunes; and the want of letters from his father and friends, to which he alludes in his letters from London, undoubtedly arose from the difficulties of transmitting letters to London at that troubled period. His father was then advanced in life, and lived in retirment at Braintree on his paternal estate.

The following impassioned letter was written to Mr. Quincy by his sister, Mrs. Lincoln, when on the eve of his departure for England:—

TO SAMUEL QUINCY.

BRAINTREE, *May* 11, 1775.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I write this in hopes to put it into the letter my father has just written. If it should reach you, it may serve to convince you that I have not forgotten that you are my *only* brother. He must judge what I feel, when I tell him that I fear I shall never see him again.

Our two departed brothers died upon the seas. You perhaps will say your body is sound; it may be so, but the sick in mind call for more than Esculapian aid.

If anything could surprise me *now*, the hearing of your going *home* would; but of late everything that is marvellous and strange is to be expected. I have not time to enlarge upon the complicated distresses of our country, of families, or of individuals, but shall briefly say that our connections have experienced such a series of melancholy events as are not to be paralleled. We, my brother, I hope, can sympathize in sorrowing for the loss of a brother, whose character was, as far as any man's of his age ever was, unimpeachable.

In his labors for the salvation of his country, he was indefatigable. His death, I hope, will prove a warning to others — not to pursue too eagerly *any point*. Nature kept upon the stretch will give way. He did not sufficiently consider the tenderness of his frame, and it may truly be said he fell a martyr in the cause of liberty.

[1] See *Memoir of J. Quincy, Jr.*, by his son, President Quincy, p. 160.

In the monody on our eldest brother I find the following lines; they may with equal propriety be applied to the younger:

> "That heart which late, inflamed with patriot zeal,
> Braved the bold insults of its country's foe,
> No more its pious frenzy can reveal,
> Nor e'er in Freedom's cause again shall glow."

Let it not be told in America, and let it not be published in Great Britain, that a brother of such brothers fled from his country — the wife of his youth — the children of his affection — and from his aged sire, already bowed down with the loss of two sons, and by that of many more dear, though not so near connections, to secure himself from the reproaches of his injured countrymen; and, to cover such a retreat, obliged to enlist as a sycophant under an obnoxious Hutchinson, who is a tool under a cruel North, and by them to be veered about, and at last to be blown aside with a cool "to-morrow, sir."

> "Refusal, canst thou wear a smoother form?"

My blood chills at the thought of the meanness of a seeker, and flames with indignation at such treatment from those in power. Arouse from your lethargy — let reason take the helm — disregard all greatness but greatness of soul; then the little trappings that royalty can confer will lose their lustre, that false lustre, which, I fear, inclines you to the *prerogative* side. Spare me, and do not call what I have written impertinent, but ascribe it to the anxiety of a sister, really distressed for thee. I behold you leaving your country, "a land flowing with milk and honey," and in which, as yet, iniquity of all kinds is punished, and its religion as yet free from idolatry, (how long it will continue so God only knows — we have reason to fear a depredation on our religious system next,) for a country where evil works are committed with impunity. Can you expect there to walk uprightly? Can you take fire into your bosom and not be burned?

I take a long farewell, and wish you success in every laudable undertaking.

Your affectionate sister,[1]

H. Lincoln.

[1] Mrs. Lincoln became a widow, and in 1788 contracted a second marriage with Ebenezer Storer, Esq., of Boston, whom she survived, and died in 1826, aged ninety.

TO HENRY HILL, ESQ., CAMBRIDGE.

Boston, *May* 13, 1775.

Dear Brother:

There never was a time when sincerity and affectionate unity of heart could be more necessary than at present. But in the midst of the confusions that darken our native land, we may still, by a rectitude of conduct, entertain a rational hope that the Almighty Governor of the universe will in his own time remember mercy.

I am going, my dear friend, to quit the habitation where I have been so long encircled with the dearest connections.

I am going to hazard the unstable element, and for awhile to change the scene — whether it will be prosperous or adverse, is not for me to determine. I pray God to sustain my integrity, and preserve me from temptation.

My political character with you may be suspicious; but be assured, if I cannot *serve* my country, which I shall endeavor to the utmost of my power, I will never *betray* it.

The unhappy event which took place yesterday, was as unexpected as it was distressful; my concern for your safety, as well as my anxiety for the agitation of my dear partner, wounded me to the heart. Oh, cruel separation. I had many things to say; I could have talked with you forever; but the will of Heaven forbade it.

The kind care of my family you have so generously offered, penetrates me with the deepest gratitude. If it should not be in my power to reward you, you will have that recompense greater than I can give you, the approbation of your own heart. Would to God we may again enjoy that harmonious intercourse I have been favored with since my union with your family. I will not despair of this great blessing in some future and not very distant period. * * * God preserve you in health and every earthly enjoyment, until you again receive the salutation of

Your friend and brother,

Samuel Quincy.

EXTRACTS FROM MR. QUINCY'S LETTERS.

London, *July* 25, 1775.

* * * I have now been here a month. I have not yet seen Lord North or Lord Dartmouth, not because I could not, but because I have not been sent for, and choose my own time if I do it at all. I

mention this to show you how mistaken you are when you suppose I shall be strictly examined. I have just returned from a visit to one of the first law officers, by whom I was very politely received. As to politics, I say nothing; suffice it that my opinion of men and things remains the same, and is confirmed every hour. * * * We have just received the news of the battle of the 17th of June, by the *Cerberus;* but this is a subject on which I dare not venture. Everything is peace here; I wish it may soon return to my dear, dear country.

TO HENRY HILL, ESQ.

LONDON, *August* 18, 1775.

You conjure me by the love of my country, to use my best endeavors to bring about a reconciliation, suggesting that the Americans are still as determined as ever to die free, rather than live slaves. I have no reason to doubt the zeal of my fellow-countrymen in the cause of freedom, and their firmness in its defence, and were it in my power, my faithful endeavors should not be wanting (nay, I have a right to say they are not) to effect an accommodation. But, my good friend, I am unhappy to find that the opinion I formed in America, and which in a great measure governed my conduct, was but too justly founded. Every proposal of those who are friendly to the Colonies, to alter the measures of Government and redress the grievances of which they complain, is spurned at, unless attended with previous concessions on their part. This there is less reason every day to expect, and thus the prospect of an accommodation is thrown at a distance; nor is there yet the least reason to suppose that a formidable if any opposition will be framed against Administration in favor of America. The people of this country are united in their attachment to the reigning prince and his family. The King's Ministers are their own; and though a clamor against those who are in power, which is ever the case in popular governments, in some measure divides the metropolis, the city politics never were on a lower ebb. Their petitions and remonstrances are received with indignation, as they are conceived to originate from an *anti-ministerial* spirit, and not as the offspring of true patriotism or friendship to America. The political subordination of the Colonies is in this island a sacred tenet. It is not, therefore, very surprising, that the late alarming strides of Colony opposition have taught them to suspect a determination to emancipate the continent from every civil connection with this country, and a dangerous design of independency, notwithstanding the denial of it in

words. Under this apprehension, the yeomen, merchants, and manufacturers, in the inland parts of the country, who were wont to be advocates for America, as far as I am able to form a judgment, both from information and observation, are beginning to murmur against them. Their common answer is, Whilst you were reasonable in your demands, and complained of real burdens, we were willing to support you, but we cannot venture to assist American *independence*, lest we lay a foundation for the destruction of both countries. Their produce and manufactures are in quick demand, and likely to continue so, owing principally to the equipment of the Spanish flota, and the late Russian war. They are, therefore, at peace and contented, immersed in wealth and commerce, and caring little what passes beyond them. Some of the principal American merchants here with whom I have conversed, are projecting an association promising their aid to Government, and publicly to convince America that they are not to expect the assistance of the trade here in support of what they call her extravagant claims. We look, say they, upon your attempts to distress us by stopping your commerce, as a mark of your want of honesty, and your pretended flame for liberty as only a desire for domination and empire. When the Lord Mayor carried up to St. James's the late city remonstrance and petition for the removal of the troops from Boston, his procession, with the usual parade, attended by the sheriffs, aldermen, and common-council, excited little attention, and was honored at the palace-gate with but a dumb peal even from the tattered rabble.

The effect of the battle of Bunker Hill is a resolution to send more ships and troops, every species of ammunition and warlike implements, and all kinds of supply for the support of Boston; many of them are already embarked. Admiral Shuldam supersedes Admiral Graves, and Sir Jeffery Amherst, it is said, has consented to accept the command, and General Gage will have leave to return. What number of troops will be sent I am not able to say, but I understand much greater in the spring, if a negotiation does not take place. I mention these things minutely, to show you of how small importance are those flattering articles of intelligence which sound well upon paper, and appear highly spirited and influential. These are facts, not of conjecture only, but visible and operative. Your reflection will perhaps be, we must then work out our own salvation by the strength of our own arm, trusting in the Lord. Really, my friend, if the Colonies, according to their late declaration, have made a resistance by force their choice, the contest is in short reduced to that nar-

row compass. I view the dangerous and doubtful struggle with fear and trembling; I lament it with the most cordial affection for my native country, and feel sensibly for my friends. But I am aware it is my duty patiently to submit to the event as it may be governed by the all-wise counsels of that Being "who ruleth in the heavens, and is the God of armies."

TO MRS. QUINCY.

LONDON, *Jan.* 1, 1777.

* * * The continuance of our unhappy separation has something in it so unexpected, so unprecedented, so complicated with evil and misfortune, it has become almost too burdensome for my spirits, nor have I words that can reach its description. There are passing before me a thousand varying objects, some of them affording amusement and others admiration. I see many faces I have been used to. America seems to be transplanted to London. St. James's Park wears an appearance not unlike the Exchange in Boston. * * * I long much to see my father. It is now more than eighteen months since I parted with him in a manner I regret. Neither of you say anything of the family at Braintree. They ought not to think me regardless of them though I am silent; for, however lightly they may look upon me, I yet remember them with pleasure. * * * Mr. David Greene is gone to Antigua. Mr. Bergwin, of North Carolina, is now with me. * * *

LONDON, *March* 12, 1777.

You inquire whether I cannot bear contempt and reproach, rather than remain any longer separated from my family? As I always wished, and I think always endeavored, not to deserve the one, so will I ever be careful to avoid the other. You urge, as an inducement to my return, that my countrymen will not deprive me of life. I have never once harbored such an idea. Sure I am I have never merited from them such a punishment. Difference of opinion I have never known to be a capital offence, and were the truth and motives of my conduct justly scrutinized, I am persuaded they would not regard me as an enemy plotting their ruin. That I might yet be able to recover in some respects the esteem of my friends, I will not doubt while I am conscious of the purity of my intentions. When I determined on a voyage to England, I resolved upon deliberation, and I still think, with judgment. I did not, indeed, expect so hurried a succession of events, though you must remember I long had them in contemplation. Had an accommodation taken place, my tour would have been greatly

advantageous, especially on the score of business; what it will be now, time must tell.

I am sorry you say nothing of my father, or the family at Braintree; I have not received a line nor heard from them since I left America. * * * God bless you all; live happy, and think I am as much so as my long absence from you will permit.

March 20, 1777.

I am not surprised much that, to the loss of property I have already sustained, I am to suffer further depredations, and that those to whom I am under contract should avail themselves of this opportunity and endeavor to make what is left their own. All I ask is that my brother and my other friends (if I have any) would think of me as they ought, and to be assured that, as far as they interpose their assistance to save me from suffering, they will not hereafter find me deficient in return.

October 15, 1777.

If things should not wear a more promising aspect at the opening of the next year, by all means summon resolution to cross the ocean. But if there is an appearance of accommodating this truly unnatural contest, it would be advisable for you to bear farther promise; as I mean to return to my native country whenever I may be permitted, and there is a chance for my procuring a livelihood. But I do not say that I will not accept of an opening here, if any one should offer that I may think eligible.

London, *April* 18, 1778.

The late unexpected change of the state of public affairs in this kingdom has occasioned a variety of speculation among men of moderate principles in both parties. While some construe the concessions of Parliament as the effect of fear and pusillanimity, others regard them as the offspring of humanity, a desire to put an end to war and the fruitless effusion of kindred blood. The prospect of a foreign rupture has doubtless its weight; but a wish to restore the confidence of America by generous overtures, and its dependence by a mild administration of Government, I believe is really a principal foundation of the present terms. Would to God they may be such as will meet the voice and wish of the Colonies, and the result be a reunion of two countries, whose interests, in my opinion, can never be divided. I have lived to see the beginning, and thus far the progress of this cruel convulsion; my prayer is that I may live to see the end of it. It has

produced effects wonderful and illustrious; in some of which we may discern and admire the great hand of Providence, in others the havoc of corrupt passions and ambition. Devastation and death are inseparable attendants in the train of war. I regret my once happy country has, in so short a time, experienced so large a share of them. They are events I have long ago trembled at as a picture of imagination only; my heart is, however, now disburdened in some degree by a prospect that the wrath of man will no longer prevail to the destruction of life and property.

By the favor of Lord Willoughby (of Parham), with whom, by the kindness of my friend Mr. Fraser, I have the honor of an intimate acquaintance, my curiosity has been several times gratified by an access to the House of Lords, during the most important inquiries; particularly about ten days since, when the great Lord Chatham came down to the House tottering upon his feeble limbs, to give his voice and advice on the present critical and dangerous exigence of the State. The business of the day being introduced by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chatham rose, and in a faltering tone of voice, manifestly enfeebled since I heard him before, began his remarks by recurring to former periods of national alarm, compared them to the evils now complained of, pointing out the causes and their remedy, and then delivered his opinion on the two great questions of a war with France, and the Independence of America. His speech was short to what I expected, and I believe much shorter than he intended. The Duke of Richmond rose in reply, and with some asperity objected to what had fallen from the noble earl. Whether this or mere bodily weakness was the cause I know not, but just as the Duke had finished, his Lordship suddenly fainted. The House was immediately ordered to be cleared, and the doors and windows set open; but eager to see so celebrated a Senator, as I thought in his last moments, I ventured to press in again, and saw him borne off on the shoulders of the Duke of Cumberland, and other noblemen of the first distinction, pale and speechless.

"Silent that tongue,
On which, enrapt, admiring senates hung."

It was a grand though an affecting sight! Supposing him to be near his exit, I almost wished to see him die within those walls, where for so many years he has figured to his own honor and the glory of his country. * * *

If there is an accommodation, I shall certainly turn my views to some part of the Continent, unless something very promising should

offer elsewhere. It would grieve me very much to think of never again seeing my father; God bless him, and many other worthy friends and relations in New England; but a return to my native country I cannot be reconciled to until I am convinced that I am as well thought of as I know I deserve to be. I shall ever rejoice in its prosperity, but am too proud to live despised where I was once respected — an object of insult instead of the child of favor. * * *

You suggest that, had I remained, I might still have been with you in honor and employment. It may be so, but when I left America I had no expectation of being absent more than a few months, little thinking operations of such magnitude would have followed in so quick a succession; I left it from principle, and with a view of emolument. If I have been mistaken, it is my misfortune, not my fault. My first letters from my friends congratulated me on being out of the way; and I was pleased to find my undertaking met with their approbation as well as my own. The hearts of men were not within my reach, nor the fortuitous event of things within my control. "I am indeed a poor man;" but even a poor man has resources of comfort that cannot be torn from him, nor are any so miserable as to be always under the influence of inauspicious stars. I will therefore still endeavor to bear my calamities with firmness, and to feel for others.

* * * Those who have befriended my family are entitled to my warmest gratitude, and I hope you will never fail to express it for me. Whether it ever will be in my power to recompense them I know not, but no endeavor of mine shall be wanting to effect it. * * * I conjecture, though you do not mention from what quarter, you have received unkindness. There are in this world many things we are obliged and enabled to encounter, which at a distance appear insupportable. You must have experienced this as well as I; and it ought to teach us that best doctrine of philosophy and religion — resignation. Bear up, therefore, with fortitude, and wait patiently in expectation of a calmer and brighter day.

LONDON, *May* 31, 1778.

By the public prints we are made acquainted with an Act of the State of Massachusetts Bay that precludes those, among others, from returning who left it since the 19th of April, 1775, and "joined the enemy." You do not mention this Act, nor have I any information by which I am to construe what is meant by "joining the enemy." The love of one's country and solicitude for its welfare are natural and

laudable affections; to lose its good opinion is at once unhappy, and attended with many ill consequences; how much more unfortunate to be forever excluded from it without offence! It is said also that there is a resolve of Congress "that no Absentee shall be permitted to take up his residence in any other Colony without having been first received and admitted as a citizen of his own." This may have some effect on a movement I had in contemplation of going southward, where I have a very advantageous offer of countenance and favor.

LONDON, *March* 15, 1779.

You may remember in some of my former letters I hinted my wish to establish a residence in some other part of the Continent, or in the West Indies, and particularly mentioned to you Antigua — where my kinsman Mr. Wendell, my friend Mr. David Greene, Dr. Russell and his family, Mr. Lavicourt, Mr. Vassall, and others of my acquaintance, will give the island less of the appearance of a strange place. By the passing of the Act of Proscription, the door was shut against me in my own country, where I own it would have been my wish to have ended my days. This confirmed my resolution. I have since unremittedly pursued various objects, endeavoring to drive the nail that would go.

My first intention was that of transplanting myself somewhere to the southward. On this subject I thought long and consulted others. I considered climate, friends, business, prospects in every view, and at last formed my opinion. The Provinces in the south part of America in point of health were not more favorable than the Islands; in point of friends they might be preferable, but with respect to business or the means of acquiring it, uncertain; public commotion yet continued, — violent prejudices are not easily removed. I had neither property nor natural connections in either of them. I could have no official influence to sustain me. What kind of government or laws would finally prevail it was difficult to tell. These and other reasons determined me against the attempt. But to stay longer in England, absent from my friends and family, with a bare subsistence, inactive, without prospects, and useless to myself and the world, was death to me! What was the alternative? As I saw no chance of procuring either appointment or employ here, the old object of the West Indies recurred, where in my younger days I wished to have remained; and by the influence of some particular gentlemen I have at last obtained the place of "Comptroller of the Customs, at the port of Parham, in Antigua,"— for which island I mean to embark with the next convoy.

My view is to join the profits of business in the line of my profession to the emoluments of office. This I flatter myself will afford me a handsome maintenance. I grow old too fast to think of waiting longer for the moving of the waters, and have therefore cast my bread upon them, thus in hopes that at last, after many days, I my find it.

Transmit to my father every expression of duty and affection. If he retains the same friendship and parental fondness for me I have always experienced from him, he will patronize my children, and in doing this he will do it unto me. It was my intention to have written to him, but the subjects on which I want to treat are too personally interesting for the casualties of the present day. He may rest assured it is my greatest unhappiness to be thus denied the pleasing task of lightening his misfortunes and soothing the evening of his days. Whatever may be the future events of his life, I shall always retain for him the warmest filial respect, and if it is my lot to survive him, shall ever think it a pleasure as well as my duty to promote to my utmost the welfare of his posterity. My mother will also accept of my duty and good wishes; the prosperity of the whole household lies near my heart, and they will do me injustice if they think me otherwise than their affectionate friend. * * *

Colonel Scott yesterday received a letter from his wife, by the Marquis de Lafayette, by which I learn you were all well the 4th January last. * * *

With respect to my property in America, my wish and desire is, if I have any control over it, that my friends there collectively, or some one singly under your direction, would take it into their hands, and consolidating the debts I owe into one sum, apply it to their discharge. I can think of no better way than this. If eventually I am deprived of it, I will endeavor to bear it with that fortitude which becomes a Christian and philosopher.

P. S. — I could wish above all things to preserve my law books.

TO HENRY HILL, ESQ.

LONDON, *May* 25, 1779.

* * * I have obtained an appointment at Parham, in Antigua, as Comptroller of the Customs, and am to embark soon for St. Kitts. * * It is this day four years since I left Boston, and though I have been racked by my own misfortunes and my feelings for the distresses of my family and friends, I have still by a good Providence been blessed with health, and comforted by the kindness of many friends. If I have not been in affluence, I have been above want, and happy in the

esteem of numbers in this kingdom to whom I was altogether a stranger. * * * The education of my children is uppermost in my heart. The giving my son the benefit of classical learning by a course of college studies, is a step I much approve. The sequestration of my books is more mortifying to me than any other stroke. If they are not yet out of your power save them for me at all events.

TO THE REV. DR. WIGGLESWORTH, HOLLIS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, CAMBRIDGE.

ANTIGUA, *June* 28, 1782.

* * * Nothing has laid so near my heart during my absence and misfortunes as the advancement of the education of my children. The honor my son is about to receive at the approaching solemnities I hope will be well earned. * * * It was always my desire, and more than once have I intimated to you my inclination, to turn my thoughts and influence towards the prosperity of the College; how that object has been defeated needs no explanation. I was ever their well-wisher — they would have found me their benefactor.

In a copy of a letter to a friend, apparently in the West Indies, but whose name does not appear, Mr. Quincy thus expresses himself: —

ANTIGUA, *Feb.* 1, 1782.

You ask of me an account of my coming to the West Indies, the manner of my existence, and destination, &c. The story is long, and would require many anecdotes to give the true history, but you will excuse me if at present I say only that, in the year 1775, just after the battle of Lexington, I quitted America for London on motives of business, intending to return in a few months; but my absence was construed by our good patriots as the effect of my political principles, and improved first to my proscription, afterwards to the very flattering title of traitorous conspirator, and the confiscation of my estate. I remained in England several years, but, tired of waiting for the moving of the waters, and unwilling to waste the flower of my age in a state of indolence, neither profitable to myself nor my family, I resolved to seek my fortune in this part of the world, where I had been in my younger days, — obtained a berth in the customs, which, together with the emoluments of my profession, afford me a comfortable subsistence, and the prospect of something beyond.

Your friend, &c.,

SAMUEL QUINCY.

TO HENRY HILL, ESQ., BOSTON.

St. Christopher, *July* 26, 1783.

My dear Brother:—

I am sorry to find that the letters you wrote me, after the tidings you received of my loss of your dear sister,[1] never reached me, as by that means I was deprived of the consolations which the sympathy of our friends affords in the hour of grief. * * * For strange as it may seem, however painful the idea that we are *forever* separated from our friends, there is something pleasing to me in calling to memory the conversations, the attitudes, which present them in the strongest point of view, the occasions upon which, and the places where they have most administered to our felicity and comfort. If this is not the case, how great a part of the small pittance of enjoyment allotted to us in this life is broken off. How many of our former friendships and sweetest intercourse would be forever obliterated, and dead to recollection; our fund of gratification would be confined to the narrow limits of the objects immediately around us.

There is in some persons a strange kind of reluctance to conversing about their dead friends; as if those passages in their character which render their memory dear, could not be thought upon without recalling the circumstances of their departure.

To die is the lot of humanity; if the sentiments and conduct of those who have been separated from us are such as have afforded us either amusement or instruction, and their example worthy of imitation, the more we meditate or confer upon their native and ornamental graces, the more we pay them honor; the more likely are we (at the same time that we receive a sensible gratification) to imbibe the amiable qualities in which they excelled, and to adopt their virtues. * * *

If the events of life were under our control, it is probable we should endeavor to govern them to the purpose of our views. In that case I should soon be in the society of my nearest friends; it would be immaterial to me in what part of the world, for I have long since learned that happiness is not confined to any particular spot: diffused equally through the immense space of air and earth, the animal part of creation, whether rational or brute, possess it in every region; and most likely were we permitted to carve for ourselves, our fortunes would be still more checkered than they are. This reflection, at the same time it expands our idea of the Deity, has a tendency to

[1] The wife of Mr. Quincy, who died November, 1782.

teach us acquiescence in the state to which we are destined. Change seems to be as necessary to sustain the present link of being as air and food; for though the accidental ties of birth, kindred, and friendship, have a powerful influence on our affections, if the latter is met with where least expected, it has there its most peculiar energy, and the former gradually lessen as the probability of restoring them is removed in a greater or less degree.

TO SAMUEL QUINCY, JR., CAMBRIDGE.

June 10, 1785.

How anxious soever I may feel to see my friends and relations once more, I cannot think of doing it at the expense of my liberty; nor will I ever visit that country where I first drew my breath, but upon such terms as I have always lived in it; and such as I have still a right to claim from those who possess it, — the character of a gentleman. * * * The proposal Judge Sumner has hinted to me, of keeping his old berth for you at Roxbury, is a good one, at least better than Boston. Cultivate his good opinion, and deserve his patronage; he will bestow the latter for my sake, I trust, as well as his personal esteem for you. It will also stand you in stead at Court, where I hope you will one day figure as a legislator as well as an advocate. All depends upon setting out right. You are at the edge of a precipice, or ought to consider yourself so; from whence, if you fall, the "*revocare gradum*" is a task indeed. Resolve, then, to think right, and act well; keeping up to that resolution will procure you daily the attention of all ranks, and command for you their respect. Keep alive the cause of truth, of reason, of virtue, and of liberty, if I may be permitted to use that name, who have by some injuriously been thought in a conspiracy against it. This is the path of duty, and will be the source of blessing.

July 24, 1789.

I am exceedingly sorry to hear of the distracted political situation of Massachusetts. * * * A constitution founded on mere Republican principles has always appeared to me a many-headed monster, and, however applauded by a Franklin, a Price, and a Priestley, that in the end it must become a suicide. Mankind do not in experience appear formed for that finer system, which, in theory, by the nice adjustment of its parts, promises permanency and repose. The passions, prejudices, and interests of some will always be in opposition to others, especially if they are in place. This, it may be said, is the case in

all governments, but I think less so in a Monarchy than under a Republican code. The people at large feel an overbalance of power in their own favor; they will naturally endeavor to ease themselves of all expenses which are not lucrative to them, and retrench the gains of others, whether the reward of merit or genius, or the wages of a hireling.

TORTOLA, *June* 1, 1789.

MY DEAR SON: —

Your short letter of the 14th February gave me pleasure, as it informed me of your health and that of your family, and other friends in the neighborhood of Roxbury. * * *

It would be my wish to make you a visit once more in my life, could it be ascertained I might walk free of insult, and unmolested in person. Two things must concur to satisfy me of this, — the repeal of the Act passed 1779 against certain crown officers, as traitors, conspirators, &c.; and accommodation with those who have against me pecuniary demands. The first I have never yet learned to be repealed, either in whole or in part, and therefore I consider it as a stumbling-block at the threshold; the second, no steps I suppose have been taken to effect, although I think it might be done by inquiry and proposition — with some by a total release from demand, and with others by a reasonable compromise. If you ever wish your father to repose under your roof, you will take some pains to examine the list, and make the trial. I shall shortly, I hope, be in a situation to leave this country, if I choose it; but whether Europe, of the two objects I have in view, will take the preference, may depend on the answer I may receive from you, upon the hints I have now thrown out for your consideration and filial exertions. * * *

I have been, as I informed you in my last, a good deal indisposed for some time past. I find myself, however, better on the whole at present, though I feel the want of a bracing air. Adieu.

Your affectionate parent,

SAMUEL QUINCY.

In 1787 Mr. Quincy married, at Tortola, Mrs. M. A. Chadwell, widow of the Hon. Abraham Chadwell, and in 1789, embarked with her for England. The restoration of his health was the object of the voyage, but the effort was unsuccessful; he died at sea, within sight of the English coast, August 9, 1789, aged fifty-five. His remains were carried to England, and interred on Bristol-hill. His widow immediately

reëmbarked for the West Indies, but her voyage was tempestuous. Grief for the loss of her husband, to whom she was strongly attached, and suffering from the storm her vessel encountered, terminated her life upon her homeward passage.

Reed, Joseph, graduated at Nassau Hall, New Jersey, in 1757. He engaged with zeal in opposition to Parliament, was of the Committee of Correspondence, and afterwards President of the Convention of New Jersey. On the organization of the Army, he became first Aide to General Washington; the next year Adjutant-General. While he was a member of Congress, in 1778, the Commissioners from England arrived, and one of them, Gov. Johnstone, addressed private letters to him, Francis Dana, and Robert Morris, to secure their influence towards the restoration of harmony, with intimations of honors and emoluments. Mr. Reed's former correspondence being known, a lady, supposed to be the wife of Dr. Adam Ferguson, (the Secretary of the Commissioners,) assured him as from Gov. Johnstone, that ten thousand pounds sterling and the best office in America should be at his disposal, if he would effect a reunion. He replied that "he was not worth purchasing, but, such as he was, the King of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it."

In October, 1778, he was chosen President of Pennsylvania, which office he held till the autumn of 1781. He died March 5, 1785, aged forty-three, having visited England for his health the year before, without good effect.

General Reed published remarks on Gov. Johnstone's speech in Parliament, with authentic papers relative to his propositions, in 1779, and an Address to the people of Pennsylvania in 1783.

Robie, Thomas, Esq., of Marblehead, a son of Dr. Thomas Robie, who was graduated at Harvard College, in 1708, and after being a resident fellow or tutor there, established himself in the practice of physic at Salem, and married a daughter of Major Stephen Sewall. The subject of this notice became a merchant, and married a daughter of the Rev. Simon Bradstreet, who was the great-grandson of Gov. Bradstreet, called the "Nestor of New England." Mr. Robie being strongly on the side of the Royal Government, was an Addresser of Governor Hutchinson, and quitted the country about the commencement of the war: he first went to Halifax, but afterwards to London, February 5, 1776. He passed his time of exile mostly in Halifax, where one of his daughters married Jonathan Stearns, Esq., another Refugee, who graduated at Harvard College in 1770, became Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, and died in 1798; another was mar-

ried to Joseph Sewall, Esq., late Treasurer of Massachusetts. His son, Simon Bradstreet Robie, Esq., of Halifax, Solicitor of the Province of Nova Scotia, is a gentleman of great wealth and respectability. Mr. Thomas Robie returned after the peace, and reëmbarked in commercial pursuits in Salem to a limited extent. He was amiable, intelligent, and exemplary, and died at Salem about fifty years since, well esteemed.

Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General the Count. Jean Baptiste Donatien De Vimeur, Count Rochambeau, born in 1725, died 1807, Marshal of France. After much military service, he was appointed Lieutenant-General, and in 1780 was sent with six thousand men to the assistance of the United States,-in the war of the Revolution. In the siege and capture of Yorktown he rendered important services, for which he received as a present two cannon taken from the General Lord Cornwallis. In the French Revolution he narrowly escaped suffering death under the tyranny of Robespierre. In 1803 Bonaparte settled upon him a pension and created him a Grand Cross of the Legion of Honor. His memoirs were published in 8vo. in 1809.

Ropes, Judge. Hon. Nathaniel Ropes, of Salem, born in 1727, was graduated at Harvard College in 1745, and applied himself to the study of the law. The violent measures in opposition to Government were obnoxious to him; and when he found he could no longer be useful there, he retired from the Council in 1769, and from the Bench of the Superior Court just before his death, in the spring of 1774. He was firm in Loyalist principles.

After ineffectual negotiations with Governor Hutchinson, the inflexible assertor of Royal prerogative, at the termination of the first session of 1773, it was resolved "that any of the Judges, who, while they hold their offices during pleasure, shall accept support from the Crown, independent of the grants of the General Court, will discover that he is an enemy to the Constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of arbitrary government." In February, 1774, four of the Judges, Trowbridge, Hutchinson, Ropes, and Cushing, on the appeal being made by the Assembly, replied that they had received no part of the allowance from the King; which was deemed satisfactory. Judge Ropes's house was assailed, notwithstanding, by a mob, and the furniture and windows throughout broken the night before his death, (by small-pox,) which event it doubtless accelerated.

With the exception of the reports of his decisions in the Supreme Court, the following obituary notice from his political opponents is all that is on record respecting him:

From the Essex Gazette, (Salem,) March 22, 1774.

"Died, on the 18th inst., in the forty-eighth year of his age, the Hon. Nathaniel Ropes, some years since Representative of this town in the General Assembly, afterwards a member of the Council, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Judge of Probate of Wills for the County of Essex, and also a Justice of the Superior Court for this Province."

Judge Ropes married a daughter of the Rev. John Sparhawk, of Salem, and their deceased sons were merchants of that place. Nathaniel married a daughter of Dr. Putnam, and John a daughter of Jonathan Haraden, Esq., a distinguished naval commander in the Revolution against Great Britain. Their daughters married William Orne, Jonathan Hodges, and Samuel Curwen Ward,[1] also merchants of Salem, all deceased; of their descendants many are now living.

Rumford, Count. Sir Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford) was born in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1752, and while a clerk in the employment of Mr. John Appleton, merchant, of Salem, first displayed his fondness for experimental philosophy, (when accidentally his face was somewhat marked by a pyrotechnical explosion,) in which he was afterwards a proficient, under the Professor of Natural Philosophy at Cambridge, and became a teacher. He made an advantageous marriage, and became a Major of militia; was instrumental in preserving the library and philosophical apparatus when the colleges were converted into barracks; as a Loyalist he rendered important services to the British generals, and was received by Lord George Germaine as Under-Secretary in the Office for Colonial Affairs. Towards the close of the war he was sent to New York, and raised a regiment of dragoons, of which he was the Colonel. He commanded at Huntington, Long Island, in 1782–3, where he caused a fort to be erected in the church-yard, contrary to the wishes of the inhabitants. He returned to England in 1784, and received the honors of knighthood, and became Under-Secretary of State. Subsequently, recommended by the Prince of Deux Ponts (afterwards King of Bavaria), he entered the service of the reigning Elector Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, where he effected many useful reforms, civil and military; among them a scheme for the suppression of mendicity, which he carried into execution at Munich and other places, providing labor for able-bodied paupers, and exciting a spirit of industry among the poorer classes of people, for which he was rewarded by the sovereign of Bavaria with

[1] Parents of the Editor.

the commission of a Lieutenant-General, several orders of knighthood, and created Count Rumford. He returned to England in 1799, and employed himself in making experiments on the nature and application of heat, and other subjects of economical and philosophical research. He suggested the plan and assisted in the foundation of the Royal Institution. In 1802 he removed to Paris, and his wife being dead, he married the widow of the celebrated Lavoisier. He purchased a country-house at Auteuil, about four miles from Paris, and embellished the grounds. He died there in August, 1814, leaving only a daughter, the offspring of his first marriage in the United States. Besides a great number of communications in scientific journals, he published four volumes of essays, political, economical, experimental, and philosophical. In 1796 he remitted five thousand dollars in three per cent. stocks to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; the income to be appropriated as a premium to the author of the most important discovery on light and heat. By his last will he laid the foundation of that Professorship to Harvard University which has rendered his name justly esteemed with its friends. His useful and eventful life has been the subject of faithful history. He bequeathed an annuity of one thousand dollars, and the reversion of another of four hundred dollars, also the reversion of his whole estate, which amounted to upwards of twenty-six thousand dollars, "for the purpose of founding a new institution and professorship, in order to teach by regular courses of academical and public lectures, accompanied with proper experiments, the utility of the physical and mathematical sciences for the improvement of the useful arts, and for the extension of the industry, prosperity, happiness and well-being of society."

Rumford, the Countess. Miss Sarah Thompson, the Countess of Rumford, died at Concord, N. H., December 2, 1852. On the 5th, the Rev. Dr. Bouton delivered a discourse on the death of the Countess; the following extract from which forms an interesting biography: —

"Yesterday a few family friends and acquaintances followed to the grave an aged lady, known among us as the Countess Rumford. But whence did she derive that title of nobility? Who was she? What was her origin and her history? The Countess Rumford was a granddaughter of Rev. Timothy Walker, the first minister of this town. She was the only daughter of Benjamin Thompson, formerly a resident of this town, and was born on the spot where she died, October 18, 1774. Her father, remarkable for his native talent and enterprise, came to

this town from Woburn, Mass., as a teacher, in 1772, and marrying the eldest daughter — then a widow [1] — of Rev. Mr. Walker, settled among us. But, as the war of the Revolution came on, being suspected of principles and feelings adverse to the American cause, he was obliged to flee for safety, first to his native town and then to Boston, under the protection of the British, whence he was soon after sent by General Gage, as the bearer of despatches, to England. Attracting the attention of the Government there he found honorable employment till the close of the Revolutionary war. Soon after that, 1783, he went to Germany, was introduced to the Elector of Bavaria, and was employed by him in various services, civil and military, in which he acquired most honorable distinction. Residing awhile at Munich, the capital of Bavaria, he became distinguished for his efforts to suppress the system of vagrancy and mendicity, which had become a great public nuisance; and, as a reward, in part, for his services, he received from the Elector the title of "Count of the Holy Roman Empire," — with a pension settled on him for life of nearly $2000 annually. To this title he added that of Rumford, in remembrance of his residence in this town, which was formerly called by that name. About the year 1796 he sent a request to his daughter, in this country, to meet him in London, which she did — her mother having previously deceased, 1792, aged fifty-two years. Subsequently the daughter attended and shared the fortune of her father until his death, in France, in 1814. The scenes and changes in her eventful life are in many respects remarkable. The forsaken infant of a persecuted father, fleeing from unmerited reproach and insult, for protection from an enemy he had opposed in arms, — an orphan by the decease of the only parent left to protect her, — forsaking the home of her childhood to pass an isolated life with her paternal grandmother in an adjacent State, — a young girl in the heyday of life encountering the perils of the Atlantic, at the call of an exiled, and to her a long-lost father, — a resident of the capital of Bavaria, when Munich was about to be bombarded by the Austrian army, and which was alone prevented by the stern energy of her father, at that time the Commander-in-Chief of the Bavarian forces, — the caressed daughter of one honored among the learned savans of Europe, and received among the *élite* of the saloons of Paris, — doubly an orphan in a foreign land, and thence inheriting the estates and title of her father, — returning to England and settling upon the paternal estate at Brompton, near the English metropolis, — receiving at will the atten-

[1] The widow of Benjamin Rolfe, Esq.

tions of the literati of the British capital, — again a resident at Paris, and subject to all the inquietude naturally the result of the revolutions and the counter-revolutions of the fickle Government and people of France, — the Countess Rumford, after long absence, returned in 1845 from her sojourn in foreign lands, to end life's pilgrimage in her native State, upon the spot hallowed by the afflictions of a father, the suffering of a widowed mother, and the tender recollections of her own childhood. Here she died — on the spot where she was born — on the 2d of December, inst., aged seventy-eight years. The Countess never married, but left as her chief mourner an adopted daughter, who assiduously and affectionately waited on her in the infirmities of of age, in her last sickness and death. The Countess left a very considerable property which she has saved from her father's estates, and from a pension of nearly $1000 annually that she received for nearly forty years from the Bavarian Government in consideration of her father's services. The last years of her life were spent in quiet retirement, enjoying the social intercourse of a few family friends and acquaintances. She tastefully ornamented with trees and shrubbery the grounds about her residence; and mindful, no doubt by her own experience of the trials and sorrows to which orphans are subject, she in her last will made a charitable disposition of a large portion of her property, and particularly, as is understood, gave the place where she resided and the sum of about $15,000, for the establishment there of an asylum for widows and female orphan children of Concord."[1] Her remains were interred in the old burying-ground, by the side of her mother, and near the graves of the Walker family.

Saltonstall, Col. Richard, was the eldest son of Richard Saltonstall, of Haverhill, Mass., a Judge of the Superior Court of that Province. He was born April 5, 1732, and graduated at Harvard College with distinguished honor, in 1751. Colonel Saltonstall entered the military service of the Province in the *French War*, in 1756, and was at Fort William Henry, Lake George, at the time of the memorable capitulation and massacre, August 9, 1757. When the Indians fell upon the unarmed prisoners, he escaped, and arrived a few days afterwards at Fort Edward, on the Hudson, nearly exhausted by hunger and fatigue. He commanded a regiment from 1760 to the close of the war. On his return to Haverhill, he was appointed Sheriff of the County of Essex, which office he held until he left the

[1] The Countess Rumford has bequeathed in her will $15,000, and a homestead valued at $5000, for a Widow and Orphans' Asylum; $15,000 to the New Hampshire Insane Asylum; and $2500 to the Concord Charitable Female Society.

country. He was one of the seventeen Rescinders. When the difficulties between the Colonies and the mother country came on, Col. Saltonstall was opposed to forcible resistance; he believed it must be ineffectual, and that the Colonies would fall before the power of Great Britain. He was greatly beloved and respected, and often represented the town in the General Court. It was long before he lost his popularity, notwithstanding his opinions; but in the autumn of 1774, a great number of persons collected before his house, armed with clubs, etc., and with threats of violence. Contrary to the advice of some friends who were with him, and who had gone for the purpose of aiding in his escape, he came to the door and addressed the excited assembly with great calmness, firmness, and dignity; reminding them of his services for his country, that he had exposed his life in its defence, etc. Seldom has a speech been more effectual; it quelled the excited passions of the multitude, and they dispersed. He was soon after compelled to take refuge in Boston, and embarked for England in 1775.

Col. Saltonstall refused to accept a commission in the British Army, saying that if he could not conscientiously engage on the side of his country, he would not take up arms against her. His reputation as an officer was high, and it is supposed that he might have had an important command in the American Army if he had embraced the popular cause.

Col. Saltonstall was proscribed by the Law of 1778, and passed the remainder of his days in England. In one of his letters, written soon after the peace, he expressed great affection for *the delightful place of his nativity;* but he added: — "I have no remorse of conscience for my past conduct. I have had more satisfaction in a private life here than I should have had in being next in command to General Washington, where I must have acted in conformity to the dictates of others, regardless of my own feelings." Colonel Saltonstall resided on the beautiful family estate in Haverhill, known as "the Saltonstall Place," where he lived in a style of liberal hospitality, sustaining the character of a truly upright and honorable man, and an accomplished gentleman: he was never married.

He was kindly received by his remote family connections in England; and his friends erected a monument to his memory at Kensington, with the following inscription: —

"Near this place are interred the remains of RICHARD SALTONSTALL, Esq., who died October 1, 1785, aged fifty-two. He was an *American Loyalist*, from Haverhill, in the Massachusetts; where he

was descended from a first family, both for the principal share it had in the early erecting, as well as in rank and authority in governing that Province; and wherein he himself sustained, with unshaken loyalty and universal applause, various important trusts and commands under the Crown, both civil and military, from his youth till its revolt; and throughout life maintained such an amiable private character as engaged him the esteem and regard of many friends.

"As a memorial of his merits this stone is erected."

Col. Saltonstall was a descendant in the sixth generation from Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the patentees of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and who arrived at Salem, in the *Arabella*, (or *Arbella*,) June 12, 1630, with Governor Winthrop and their associates, "bringing out the Charter with them." He was also a patentee of Connecticut, and may be considered as one of the principal founders of both Colonies. A memoir of this family may be found in the publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall, brother of Colonel Saltonstall, was a decided Whig of the Revolution. The late Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, of Salem, an able and eloquent Representative in Congress from Massachusetts, was his son. Nathaniel, another son, after a successful mercantile career in Baltimore settled also in Salem, and they married Mary and Caroline, daughters of the late Thomas Saunders, an eminent and opulent merchant. Richard, a third son, married Miss Savage, of Baltimore.

There remain a number of descendants of these brothers, who long since passed to the spirit world. This ancient and honored family of Saltonstall still adorns, as of old, the highest walks of life in New England.

Sargent, John, Esq., born at Salem, Massachusetts, Dec. 24, 1749; died at Barrington, Nova Scotia, Jan. 24, 1824. He was the fifth and last-born child of Epes Sargent, by his second wife, Catharine, widow of Col. Samuel Browne, of Salem.

John married the widow Margaret Barnard, who died at Barrington the same year of her husband. They had four children. His eldest brother, Col. Paul Dudley Sargent, was a zealous fighting Whig of the Revolution, and, of course, indignant at the part his brother John took. John was a merchant of Salem. His name stands at the head of those who addressed Governor Gage on his arrival at Salem in 1774. This Address was pronounced time-serving and contemptible. He was proscribed in the Banishment Act of 1778, but had long before left the country.

At the time Col. Leslie attempted to obtain the guns secreted at Salem, Mr. Sargent was noticed waving a white handkerchief as a signal (from the roof of his house near the First Church) as the troops approached, and followed them to the bridge. On seeing the draw raised, he exclaimed, "it is all over with them." "What?" asked his companion: to which he replied "they were going after the cannon." From that day Mr. Sargent absented himself from Salem forever.— *C. M. Endicott's Account.*

Shirley, William, Governor of Massachusetts, was a native of England, and was bred to the law. After his arrival at Boston, about the year 1733, he practised in his profession till he received his commission as Governor, in 1741, in the place of Mr. Belcher. He planned the successful expedition against Cape Breton in 1745; but, while his enterprising spirit deserves commendation, some of his schemes did not indicate much skill in the arts of navigation and war. He went to England in 1745, leaving Spencer Phips, the Lieutenant-Governor, Commander-in-Chief, but returned in 1753. In 1754 he held a treaty with the eastern Indians, and explored the Kennebec, erecting two or three forts. In 1755, being Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in America, he planned an expedition against Niagara, and proceeded himself as far as Oswego. In June, 1756, he was superseded in the command of the army by Abercrombie. He embarked for England in September, and was succeeded by Mr. Pownall. After having been for a number of years Governor of one of the Bahama Islands, he returned to Massachusetts, and died at his seat in Roxbury, March 24, 1771. Though he held several of the most lucrative offices within the gift of the Crown in America, yet he left no property to his children. The abolition of the paper currency was owing to his firmness and perseverance. His penetration and industry gained him a high reputation. But it was thought that, as a military officer, he was not sufficiently active in seizing the moment for success. It was during his administration that England became acquainted with the importance of this country,—and the Colonists learned to fight.

Governor Shirley published "Electra," a tragedy, and the "Birth of Hercules," a masque, in 1765.

Silsbee, Nathaniel, was an eminent master mariner, and confidential agent of Elias Hasket Derby, of Salem, where he was born 9th Nov. 1748. He married Sarah Becket, Nov. 2, 1770, who survived him forty-one years. He was the son of William and Joanna (Fowle) Silsbee. She died April 16, 1793, aged eighty. They owned and occupied the house on Essex Street, fronting Pleasant

Street. William was the son of Nathaniel and Sarah (Pickering) Silsbee; she being a granddaughter of John Pickering, who migrated from Ipswich, England, to Salem, in 1633, and who erected the mansion in Broad Street, still owned by the family; John Pickering, Esq., being the present occupant. All Mr. Silsbee's American ancestors were of English origin, and all that bore his name were members of the East Religious Society in Salem. At a very early age Mr. Silsbee was entrusted with the charge of a vessel and cargo to the West Indies, and subsequently he was the owner of several vessels employed in that trade, it being almost the only branch of foreign commerce pursued here, and which the mother Government had left comparatively untrammelled to her enterprising transatlantic children. He commanded the *Grand Turk*, on a voyage to the West Indies, and afterwards to Spain. While in the service of Mr. Derby, Capt. Silsbee had charge of three of his vessels at one time in the West Indies, and by papers in the hands of Mr. Derby's heirs, he is shown to have possessed extraordinary ability and enterprise, whereby he secured the unbounded confidence of his employer. Mr. Derby thus writes to Capt. Silsbee, Feb. 13, 1776:—"The times at present are such I cannot determine what will be for the best, and must therefore leave it wholly to you, not doubting the business will be conducted with care." In reply, Capt. Silsbee writes Mr. Derby from St. Nicholas Mole, March 17, 1776, "that he has received his letter and has disposed of the principal part of his three cargoes to good advantage; despatched Capt. Hallet on his return; shall visit Jamaica to learn the latest news, and govern himself accordingly; that he shall not ship the principal part of the property until he can do so with safety, and after loading his vessels shall leave sufficient to load a fourth," and concludes: "I have sent you a gun and pair of pistols which you will please accept. I bought them for myself, but think you stand more in need of them than I do. N. Silsbee."

In the course of a very few years he embarked in business on his own account, which he prosecuted with industry, uprightness, and success. He soon acquired what was then considered an independent fortune, had he chosen to retire with it; but a person of his active habits, in middle age, would have been unhappy out of business, so he kept on until reverses reduced his estate to a single vessel, in the command of which he once more braved the winds and waves where he had early sought and acquired fortune and fame. The blind goddess failed to smile on these later efforts, and at the end of a disastrous voyage, which terminated at New York, his valuable life was

closed on the 25th of June, 1791, at the age of forty-three. His remains were interred in the cemetery of the New Brick Presbyterian Church fronting the Park. The reverses referred to caused a change in the plans of his sons, who subsequently sought and found their fortunes where their father had won and lost his. Each of the three sons were masters and supercargoes of ships while in their teens, and became eminent and successful merchants. William, born in 1779, and Zachariah Fowle, born in 1783, are the sole survivors. Nathaniel, the eldest, was prosecuting his studies for college under the tuition of Rev. Dr. Cutler, at Hamilton, when the disasters overtook his father. He was born 14th January, 1773, and at eighteen was master and supercargo of the Brig *Rose;* and Richard J. Cleveland, celebrated for his voyages and travels, was his mate. Mr. Nathaniel Silsbee rose to affluence and great consequence, and after the attainment of a fortune he devoted many years to the civil service of his country. He graced both branches of the Legislature of Massachusetts, and for three years was President of its Senate. He was in Congress as a Representative, from 1816 to 1820, and was a United States Senator from 1826 to 1835. No legislator was ever held in higher estimation by his colaborers and constituents; his name, ever synonymous with honor and usefulness, is held in grateful remembrance by his fellow-citizens. Mr. Silsbee married Mary, daughter of George Crowninshield, Esq., who died Sept. 20, 1835. Their only son, bearing his father's name, married Mary Ann, only daughter of Humphrey Devereux, Esq., and of late resides in Boston. Of their two daughters, Mary C. is the wife of Jared Sparks, LL. D., and Georgiana of Henry Saltonstall, Esq. The Hon. Nathaniel Silsbee, Sen., died at Salem, July 1, 1850, aged seventy-seven years.

Simpson, Jonathan, born at Boston, October 19, 1711, was son of Jonathan and Mary Simpson. He was a merchant, and was married to Margaret Lechmere, January 31, 1754. He was appointed a Councillor by writ of mandamus in 1774, but declined to serve; and with his wife left Boston for Halifax in April, 1775; from thence they went to Kensington in England, where Mrs. Simpson died in 1778. Mr. Simpson removed to Bristol in 1779, where he died Sept. 19, 1795.

Simpson, Jonathan, 2nd, a nephew of the above, was born at Boston, 1752; graduated at Harvard College in 1772; married a daughter of John Borland, of Cambridge. He was a Refugee; was proscribed in 1778. He was at Charleston, S. C., a Commissary of Provisions in the British Army. After the peace of 1783 he re-

turned, and for some years was owner of the large Borland estate in Cambridge, and built the house afterward owned and occupied by the Warland family. He died at Boston, December 7, 1834, aged eighty-two. He left five daughters.

Sparhawk, Samuel Hirst, graduated at Harvard College, 1771, an Addresser of Gov. Gage, and a Refugee to England with his brothers Nathaniel and William, was the third son of Col. Nathaniel Sparhawk, of Kittery, who married the only child of Sir William Pepperell, Baronet, the hero of Louisburg in 1745. Mr. Sparhawk's brother William became heir to the estate and honors of his grandfather, having been created a Baronet in 1774. The former died in Kittery, August 29, 1789, aged thirty-eight.

Steuben, General. Frederick William Augustus, Baron Steuben, an officer of the American Revolution, was born in Magdeburg, Prussia, Nov. 15, 1730; died near Utica, New York, Nov. 28, 1794.

He was educated at the Jesuit College of Neisse and Breslau, and when only fourteen years old served as a volunteer under his father, who was an officer in the army of Frederick the Great, and at the siege of Prague. In 1747 he was appointed a Cadet in an infantry regiment, became an Ensign in 1749, and a Lieutenant in 1753.

In 1757 he distinguished himself at the battle of Prague and Rossbach; in 1758 was appointed Adjutant-General, and was in the battles of Kay and Kunersdorf, in the latter of which he was wounded.

On the capitulation of Treptow, in 1761, he was sent to St. Petersburg as a prisoner of war, but released shortly afterward.

In 1762 he was appointed Adjutant-General of the King's staff, and had charge of the Quartermaster's Department. He was a member of Frederick's select academy of young officers, who were under his special instruction; and after the siege of Schweidnitz, in which he participated, the King presented him with a valuable lay benefice. At the close of the seven years' war, Steuben retired from the army and devoted himself to travel, accompanying the Prince of Hohenzollern-Hechingen to a number of the courts of Europe. That Prince appointed him, in 1764, Grand Marshal and General of his guard. Steuben was on terms of intimacy and friendship with a number of European literary characters and noblemen of his time. In 1777, while on a visit to France, the Count St. Germain solicited him to come to America; and Steuben, after frequent interviews with the American Commissioners, finally decided to acquiesce. He arrived at Portsmouth, N. H., Dec. 1, 1777, and immediately wrote to Con-

gress and to Gen. Washington, tendering his strongest sympathy with the cause of the Colonies.

Shortly after he proceeded to York, Penn., where Congress was in session, was directed to join the army under Washington, and during the winter arrived at Valley Forge.

On May 5, 1778, he was appointed Inspector-General, with the rank of Major-General, and by his excellent management greatly improved the condition of the continental troops. In June following he was at the battle of Monmouth. He prepared a Manual for the Army, which was approved by Congress in 1779, and introduced the most thorough discipline; and much of the success of the Revolution is to be attributed to his sagacious and rigid regulations. This work supplanted Col. Pickering's book, formed from old writers on the subject at the commencement of the struggle in behalf of liberty.

He was a member of the court-martial on the trial of Major André.

In 1780 he was placed in command of the troops in Virginia, and in January following was active in harassing the British forces under Benedict Arnold. The next summer he was attached to General Lafayette's division, and took an important part in the siege of Yorktown. He was distinguished for his generosity and kindness of heart, and was frequently known to share his last dollar with the suffering soldiers. At various times he contributed most of his clothing and camp equipments to the men, and labored unceasingly to promote their comfort and welfare.

After the war, in the impoverished condition of the country, Congress was tardy in rewarding him for his services, and he experienced much annoyance and vexatious delay in securing an appropriation for his pay, and to reimburse him for personal expenses incurred in providing the soldiers with clothing and arms.

In 1790 Congress voted him a life annuity of $2500. Several of the States passed resolutions acknowledging his eminent services, and voted him tracts of land. New York presented him with 16,000 acres, near Utica, forming a township called after him Steuben, on which he settled and passed the remainder of his life, giving portions of the land to his aides, and leasing the remainder to settlers. His life has been written by Francis Bowen, in "Sparks's American Biography."

An inscription attributed to General North, one of his aides, adorns an elegant tablet fixed conspicuously on the wall of the German Lutheran Church, in which the Baron was a constant and devout worshipper while a resident in the city of New York. He died suddenly

at his seat in Herkimer County, and was buried, agreeably to his desire, under an evergreen of peculiar form, on his own land. — *American Cyclopædia*, Vol. XV., and *Alden's American Epitaphs*, Vol. IV. p. 255.

Stevens, George Alexander, an English author, born in London in the early part of the eighteenth century, died in 1784. He commenced life as a strolling actor, and gradually acquired some reputation as a writer of burlesques and of comic songs. In 1760 he published a novel, "The History of Tom Fool," and a few years later produced an entertainment entitled, "A Lecture on Heads," which he gave with remarkable success. He also published a volume of "Songs, Comic and Satirical," (1772,) and after his death appeared "The Adventures of a Speculist, compiled from the Papers of G. A. Stevens, with his Life, a Preface, and Notes" (1778). Of his Songs, one hundred in number, one only, "The Storm," is still popular. — *American Cyclopædia.*

Taylor, Joseph, A. M., was born in Boston, March 26, 1746, and graduated at Harvard College in 1765. In a letter from Isaac Smith, relating to Dr. J. Eliot, he states that Taylor delivered the English oration at Commencement in 1765. If he was not the best Latin scholar, he was among the few who were most distinguished, and was chosen to deliver an oration in Latin at the funeral of Professor Wigglesworth. He was subsequently a merchant of high respectability. Mr. Taylor was proscribed and banished in 1778, went to England, and returned after peace was proclaimed. In his latter years he was deranged in intellect, and died December 15, 1816.

Temple, Robert, Esq., of Tenhills, near Boston, was an elder brother of Sir John Temple, Baronet, the first Consul-General from England to the United States. Mr. Robert Temple's eldest daughter married the Hon. Hans Blackwood, afterwards Lord Duffrin; the second married Temple Emmet, Esq., and the youngest died single. Mr. Temple died in England before 1783, and his death is noticed in the "list of exiles who died during the Revolution," published in the "American Quarterly Review," 1841.

Thomas, Nathaniel Ray, Esq., of Marshfield, Bristol County, Mass., was born in 1731, at Green Harbor, and graduated at Harvard College in 1751; appointed by writ of mandamus a Councillor in 1774, but declined serving. He was proscribed in the Act of 1778, and died at Windsor, Nova Scotia, 19th September, 1787.

His immediate most remote ancestor of whom we have any account was one of the merchant adventurers to the Colony, and came from

Wales about 1636. He went to Green Harbor with Mr. Blenman about 1641, and permanently settled there in 1645, where he died in 1651, aged seventy-seven.

His son, Capt. Nathaniel Thomas, succeeded to the estate. He was also of transatlantic birth, and in the prime of manhood when he came to Green Harbor. He died in 1674, aged about sixty-eight, leaving a son, Nathaniel, and other children. Nathaniel married Deborah, daughter of Nicholas Jacob, of Hingham, in 1643, and their son Nathaniel married Mary Appleton in 1694, and died at Plymouth in 1738. His son John succeeded to the Green Harbor estate, and married Mary, daughter of Simon and Judith (Manwaring) Ray, of New London, Connecticut, in 1724. John Thomas and wife both died in 1737, leaving but one surviving child, of eight born to them, Nathaniel Ray, who became the noted Loyalist of Marshfield.

His mansion-house was converted into quarters for British soldiers. He joined their army at Boston, and accompanied it to Halifax on its evacuation.

Mrs. Thomas was a daughter of John and Elizabeth Parker Deering of Boston. She died at Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1810, aged seventy-eight.

Mr. Thomas's family returned to their home after the retreat of the Queen's Guards therefrom, having sojourned at a neighbor's during the period of the occupation of their house by the troops.

At the close of the war the estate of their fathers was confiscated, (with the exception of one third,) and they joined, with one exception, (viz., the late Capt. John Thomas,) their husband and father at Nova Scotia.

THORNDIKE, ISRAEL. The year 1757 gave birth to Israel Thorndike, who became heroic in naval exploits during our Revolutionary struggle, and subsequently a preëminent merchant and distinguished citizen. His father, Andrew, descended from Paul Thorndike, all natives of Beverly, Massachusetts. The last mentioned was married there in 1668, and was a Representative to the General Court. The subject of this memoir had in youth no other advantages than what the town school afforded, and these were quite inferior to those of the present day.

Possessing in the vigor of his own mind a never-failing spring of self-advancement, he improved his opportunities to the utmost, limited as they were, and early became qualified to take a stand in the community. The Revolutionary War called forth his latent powers; a spirit of enterprise actuated his movements, and he embarked with

unsurpassed zeal on the side of his country. As First Lieutenant to the renowned Capt Jonathan Haraden in the *Pickering*, he performed prodigies of valor, and acquired among his comrades the cognomen of the "Bravest of the brave." Capt. Thorndike afterwards commanded the *Scorpion* privateer, and others, with great success. Among the papers of the Salem Marine Society is a note, of which the following is a copy: —

"The naval warfare represented as from Salem was performed equally by citizens of this town, Beverly, Marblehead, and Danvers. These four towns supplied all the officers, and a large portion of the crews, who were patriotic, and in the most critical times could be depended upon; there was a portion of strangers and foreigners taken to complete the complement of each of the numerous vessels from this place. Salem had her Fiske, Haraden, and Gray; Beverly, her Thorndike, Tittle, and Woodbury; Marblehead, her Mugford, Tucker, and Cole; and Danvers, her Foster, Page, and Endicott.[1] Each town had more of the same patriot stamp."

The following compressed account was prepared by the indefatigable William Wait Oliver, Esq., who was a Clerk and Deputy Collector of the Customs for this district for more than forty-six years, from April, 1793; his accuracy is unquestionable: —

"Soon after the close of the war for independence, Capt. Thorndike embarked in commercial pursuits in partnership with Mr. Moses Brown; they had married sisters, the Misses Bridge. Mr. Brown retired with a competency at the close of the century, and Col. Thorndike then branched out largely. In the year 1800, Mr. Briggs built for him the ship *Cyrus* of 305 tons; Capt. Leech took command, and sailed for Calcutta with $205,000. In July, 1801, he returned with a full cargo of cotton goods. The largest ship he owned while in Beverly was the *Alexander Hodgdon* of 382 tons. During the last quarter of the year 1807, Col. Thorndike had a ship from Sumatra, one from Calcutta, one from Havana, and six or seven other vessels from Europe and the West Indies; on their cargoes the duties amounted to $93,000. The embargo of December 22, 1807, stopped all commerce till it was removed in 1809. In the spring of 1810, Col. Thorndike closed his business in Beverly and removed to Boston. While preparing for this change, his pastor, Rev. Dr. Abbott, who had come from Haverhill at a greatly increased salary, endeavored to

[1] The late Capt. Samuel Endicott, a worthy descendant of our First Governor Endicott, and long a successful and enterprising merchant, and an esteemed citizen of Salem.

dissuade the Colonel from his purpose, and among other things reminded him of the proverb, "A rolling stone gathers no moss;" to which the Colonel replied, "that the adage did not always hold good, for he knew a stone that rolled from Haverhill to Beverly, which gained a great deal of moss; so he concluded to try it." At the time of removal he had a large amount of goods on hand for exportation to Europe, and he wished me to settle his business at the Custom-house, so as to save him the trouble of coming to Salem when his liabilities became due, and I undertook it, receiving all his debentures; at the close I paid him the balance. He received the account, which filled three sheets of paper, without comment, and offered to remunerate me for my trouble, but I declined, saying the Collector pays me my salary; I never take money from anybody.

"In 1807 the duties on goods imported into Salem amounted to $1,131,000. This was the greatest amount ever paid here. In 1808, the duties on imports amounted to but $650,000. In 1817 there went from Salem to the East Indies thirty-two ships, two barks, fourteen brigs, and one schooner, — forty-nine vessels in all. The largest merchant ships belonging to Salem merchants, from 1791 to 1836, were G. Crowninshield & Sons' *America*, 654 tons; E. Hasket Derby's *Grand Turk*, 564 tons; Joseph Peabody's *Carthage*, 426 tons; William Gray's *Laurel*, 425 tons."

This closes Mr. Oliver's account.

Col. Thorndike's commercial transactions continued to be extensive and profitable after his removal to Boston to the close of his life; his sagacity, judgment, and industry insured success to his various enterprises. He became an early patron of manufactures, and it was said he invested a greater amount in them than any other capitalist of New England.

He was a member of the Convention called by this State for the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Subsequently he was a member of both branches of the State Legislature, and a most popular officer as Colonel of the militia of his neighborhood.

Col. Thorndike was an ardent supporter of the Administration of Washington and Adams, and deprecated the disastrous result, which he foresaw, to the restrictive policy of the succeeding one, which ended in the annihilation of trade by the embargo.

He was a generous contributor to all patriotic and charitable objects, and often gave his active agency in their support. He subscribed five hundred dollars, in the year 1806, for the foundation of the "Natural History Professorship" in Harvard University, and the

same sum, in 1818, for the Library of the Theological School. In the same year, being informed that the library of Professor Ebeling, of Hamburg, was for sale, and that the agent of the King of Prussia was negotiating for it, Col. Thorndike ordered it to be purchased, at the cost of six thousand five hundred dollars, and presented it to our University, thereby securing to his country one of the most complete and valuable collections of works extant, on American history. It included three hundred and fifty volumes of American newspapers.

Col. Thorndike died 10th May, 1832, aged seventy-five, leaving a very large estate to his children, none of whom are now living but Israel, and Anna, the widow of William J. Loring. By his second wife, the daughter of George Dodge, Esq., he had the daughter above mentioned, and five sons. From the third marriage, with a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Dana, of Ipswich, there was no progeny.

It has been very justly remarked, that few individuals endowed with such mental efficiency as Israel Thorndike possessed appear in a generation; and when their influence is united to high moral powers, and exerted on the side of virtue, it serves to give a character to the age in which they live.

Upham, Colonel Joshua, was born in Brookfield, Mass., in 1741. His father, Jabez, was a physician, having removed to that place from Malden, where the family had settled in the early period of the Colony. A son of one of his brothers, the Rev. Timothy Upham, settled in Deerfield, N. H., was the grandfather of Professor Thomas C. Upham, of Bowdoin College, and Judge Nathaniel G. Upham, of Concord, N. H. The "Boston Daily Post Boy and Advertiser" of November 24, 1760, contains an obituary notice of Dr. Jabez Upham, who died in Brookfield on the 4th of November of that year. He is represented as having been a very prominent and distinguished person, not only in his profession, but as a man of business, exerting a wide-spread influence in matters of agriculture, trade, and general industry. He was active in directing the civil concerns of the town, the leader of its train-band during the French war, and its Representative in the House of Assembly. His private virtues are spoken of in the highest terms.

His son Joshua received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Harvard College in 1763, in a class containing a large number of persons who acted a conspicuous part in life; such as the illustrious patriot Josiah Quincy, Jr., Judge Nathan Cushing, Dr. John Jeffries, Timothy Pickering, and others. He received the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard, in course, and from Yale College. He commenced

the practice of law in his native town, and continued with success, making his mark deeply on the records of the bar of Worcester County. At the same time he took a leading part in promoting the industrial interests of the country.

Among the movements of the people in resistance to the policy of the mother country, by which an imperial revenue was to be derived from taxation, by the British Parliament, of goods imported into the Colonies, was a town-meeting held in Worcester, in March, 1768, for the purpose of promoting manufactures in the Colony. In "Lincoln's History of Worcester" it is stated that in the fall of that year Joshua Upham and his brothers had erected a large building in Brookfield for a woollen manufactory, collected an adequate force of operatives, and were preparing to carry on the business on an extensive scale. At a somewhat later period he engaged with others in arrangements to introduce the manufacture of salt in the maritime ports of the Colony.

When the Revolutionary struggle approached, he, with many other good and conscientious men, was apprehensive that an attempt to resist the power of England, at that time, by force of arms, was unwise, and would lead to disastrous and ruinous results. In the second volume of "American Archives," page 852, fourth series, is a letter from him to the Committee of Correspondence of the town of Brookfield, dated May 20th, 1775, from which it appears that he defined his position as follows: He claimed the right, *in that stage of the question*, to express his views on the subject. He also claimed, as a right, if after the matter had been more maturely considered, in free debate, it should appear that the majority of the people were determined to resort to the last alternative, he should be allowed to take part and lot with them. In this letter he disclaims setting up his own private judgment against the public judgment, and only demands to be allowed, by the free expression of his opinions, to take his rightful share in forming that public judgment. "I can truly say," to quote his own words, "that I shall rejoice at the salvation of the country, even though the same be obtained by the very measures which have appeared to me to be improper, and not likely to be successful." He further says, "I now declare that I mean and intend to submit to what I find to be the sense and resolution of the majority of my countrymen, and expect to bear an equal share and proportion of such public charge and expense as shall be deemed by such majority necessary to extricate this country out of its present alarming and critical situation; nor is there anything I hold so dear, in comparison of

my country's good, that I would not risk in its defence — even life itself, if necessary."

The tide of public feeling, however, had risen so high, that the position he took could not be tolerated, and the result was unavoidable. He became an exile, and his estates were confiscated. For some time he was charged, by appointment of the British Commander-in-Chief, with the care and supervision of Royal Refugees. A personal friendship, which continued through life, between him and Sir Guy Carleton, afterwards Lord Dorchester, led to his appointment on the staff of that officer, as one of his aides. At the close of the war he held the rank of Colonel of dragoons. As the British forces remained in New York some time after the termination of hostilities, an opportunity was afforded for the interchange of courtesies between those who had been arrayed against each other in the long and hotly contested struggle. His place in Lord Dorchester's military family, and his former extensive acquaintance with gentlemen who had acted conspicuous parts on the Revolutionary side, and who went to New York on the occasion, enabled him to render agreeable civilities to them, and to renew old friendships. His college classmate and room-mate, Col. Pickering, not being able to leave his post, sent him an affectionate letter, and the correspondence, expressive of the strong personal friendship between them, is still preserved.

Major Garden, in his interesting volume of anecdotes of the war in the Southern Department, relates an anecdote that may well be introduced here. The British troops, it will be recollected, were in red, and the American in blue, uniforms. "About the period of the final departure of the British from New York, an excellent repartee made by Major Upham, aide-de-camp to Sir Guy Carleton, to Miss Susan Livingston, has been much celebrated. 'In mercy, Major,' said Miss Livingston, 'use your influence with the Commander-in-chief to accelerate the evacuation of the city; for, among your incarcerated belles, your *meschianza* princesses, the *scarlet fever* must continue to rage till your departure.' 'I should studiously second your wishes,' replied the Major, 'were I not apprehensive that, freed from the prevailing malady, a worse would follow, and that they would be immediately tormented with the *blue devils*.'"

On the organization of the government of the Province of New Brunswick, he was appointed one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. It is a singular circumstance that Joshua Upham, Jonathan Bliss, and Samson Salter Blowers, who, in college, were placed side by side in the class arrangement, and whose names stand in that order

in the triennial catalogue, were all placed on the judicial bench in the Colonies.

In 1807 he was selected by his brethren on the bench to visit England, for the purpose of obtaining from the Government a more perfect organization and arrangement of the judiciary in the British American Provinces. He fully succeeded in the object of his appointment, but did not live to return to his country. He died in London in the year 1808. While in London he enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Palmer, who afterwards bequeathed his valuable library to our University, of Sir John Wentworth, Sir William Pepperrell, and Mr. Percival.

The last-named gentleman was at the head of the Ministry, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the time of Judge Upham's death, and extended his attachment to his distant, and to him unknown family, performing for them many offices of kindness, sending pleasing tokens of his regard, and only a few days before his assassination at the door of the House of Commons, transmitted four hundred silver dollars to assist in the education of Judge Upham's son (Hon. Charles W. Upham, now of Salem, Massachusetts), in addition to several other gifts appropriate to a child of his years.

Judge Upham left a family of young children, without any other inheritance than the love, gratitude, and veneration of the whole people of the country of which he was one of the early settlers, and whose institutions and welfare he did so much to establish and promote. His name and memory were a passport to all good offices, and secured them the protection, friendship, and kindness of all descriptions of persons.

He was buried in London, in the Church of Mary le Bone. His first wife was a daughter of Col. John Murray, of Rutland, Mass. His second wife, who survived him, was a daughter of Hon. Joshua Chandler, of New Haven, Conn. Her father's mansion-house, in that city, was afterwards converted into a hotel, known as the "Tontine," occupying the site of the present building of that name. Judge Upham's dwelling-house in Brookfield, a large building constructed in the best style of that day, was also converted into a hotel, and is well remembered by all who, in the times of stage-coach travelling, had occasion to pass that way.

Willard, in his "History of the Worcester Bar," thus speaks of him: — "Judge Upham held a high rank as counsellor and advocate; he had a great command of language; not a mere flow of words, but the music and harmony of arrangement and style; the well of English undefiled, and adorned with classical elegance. He possessed, in

a remarkable degree, that rare talent, fine powers of conversation, of which Lord Bacon laid down the true rule; and indulged occasionally in a happy vein of satire. With brilliancy and wit he united many virtues, and a sound judgment.

"Judge Upham was pleasing in his person and address, while he was imbued with all that grace which comes before education, and which education can hardly bestow. Like Bliss, he was of that peculiar class of the old school of manners, of which, probably, even the youngest among us have seen some surviving specimens.

> 'He was complete in feature and in mind,
> With all good grace to grace a gentleman.'"

Vaughan, Lieut.-Col. William, served under General Pepperrell, in the expedition against Louisburg, in 1745; although he refused any regular command, he made himself highly useful during the whole siege by his advice in councils, vigilance in reconnoitring the enemy, and promptitude while in command of perilous enterprises.

He died in London, December, 1746, in the prime of life, where he went to press his claim for the above service. The immediate paternal ancestor of Col. Vaughan was Major William Vaughan, who came from England about the middle of the seventeenth century, and settled at Portsmouth, where he became a wealthy merchant. He died in 1720. His son George was Lieutenant-Governor of New Hampshire; born in 1668, graduated at Harvard College in 1696. Afterwards agent for the Province, and on the accession of George I. was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in 1715; he died December, 1725. His son William, the subject of the above, was born at Portsmouth, September 12, 1703. He had settled at Damariscotta, thirteen miles below fort Pemaquid, and his men were employed in fishing. Here he conceived the idea of the capture of Louisburg, repaired to Boston, and conferred with Governor Shirley upon the subject; proposing that it should be taken by surprise by going over the walls in winter upon drifts of snow.

Walter, Rev. William, D. D., a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Walter of Roxbury, was born October 7, 1737; graduated at Harvard College in 1756. He was Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, Boston, while the Rev. Mr. Hooper officiated there, and was installed Rector of the same, July 22, 1764. He resigned March 17, 1776. In 1791 he returned from England, whither he fled in 1776, and became Rector of Christ Church, Boston, in which he continued to the close of his life, December 5, 1800. He married Lydia, daughter of Chief Justice Lynde, of Salem, September 30, 1766, who died December 25,

1798. They were the parents of Lynde and William Walter, merchants of Boston. The Rev. Dr. Parker, who preached Dr. Walter's funeral sermon, described his character as ornamental to religion, the Church, literature, and humanity. — *Holmes's Annals.*

Ward, Richard, of Salem, son of Joshua Ward, one of the Justices for Essex County, first appointed on the establishment of Republican Government in Massachusetts, was born in Salem, April 5, 1741. He ardently espoused the popular cause with his father, and opposed the arbitrary measures of Parliament. He was a member of the Committee of Safety and Protection during the entire period of the Revolution, and under direction of Gen. Charles Lee, constructed at the Neck the fort bearing his name, for the defence of the harbor and town of Salem. He accompanied Col. Pickering with the regiment, in which he was a subaltern officer, as soon as the Lexington affair was known, to Medford, in order to intercept the enemy, but they were not in season. They also took up the line of march for the heights of Charlestown on 17th June, but arrived too late to participate in the affair of Bunker Hill.

His commission, dated at Watertown, June 6, 1776, as "*Captain of the Third Company of the First Regiment of Essex County, whereof Timothy Pickering, Jr., is Colonel,*" was granted "*by the major part of the Council of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England,*" and by them signed, during the interval between Colonial and Republican Government, on paper bearing the impress of the crown and the sign manual of the King, with the Colonial seal appended. The following are the signatures attached to it; and of those who signed it, one was afterwards President of the Continental Congress, and six were Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of Massachusetts, viz. : — J. Bowdoin, J. Winthrop, Caleb Cushing, R. Derby, Jr., T. Cushing, B. Lincoln, S. Holten, Jabez Fisher, Moses Gill, B. White, William Phillips, Benjamin Austin, John Whetcomb, Henry Gardner, Daniel Davis, and D. Hopkins. Mr. Ward had married the daughter of George Curwen, in 1762, and owing to her feeble health, the cares of his numerous family devolved upon him; and its imperative claims, as well as that of their uncle's family, (the author of the foregoing Journal,) pressed so heavily that he was obliged, after having served with his regiment, commanded by Col. Pickering, in New Jersey, under Washington, in 1776, to retire from the military service of his country. He was for a long period at the head of the town government, and a member of the State Legislature, as well as an acting Justice of the quorum for Essex County many years. He was from the beginning prominent

in the ranks of the anti-Federal or old Republican party, but never a heated partisan.

Mr. Ward possessed great firmness and equanimity of temper, and his suavity of manners and obliging disposition endeared him to all. He died in November, 1824, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Children of his sons, (George C., and Samuel C., father of the editor,) and Richard, are living in different parts of the Union.

Warren, Admiral Sir Peter, was born in Ireland, and long employed in the British Navy on the American coast. He coöperated with General Pepperrell in the siege and capture of Louisburg. He contributed seven hundred pounds sterling towards the successful establishment of the school for christianizing the Stockbridge Indians. He purchased lands in the valley of the Mohawk River, New York, and invited his nephew to occupy and improve them. His nephew became the renowned Sir William Johnson, Baronet. Sir Peter died in England in 1752.

West, Nathaniel, whose age so nearly approximated an hundred years that we may say he flourished during four generations of his race, in the most active and enterprising walks of life. He was the chronicler of the past, and the best authority for the history of our commerce from the beginning. Nathaniel, second son of William and Mary (Beckford) West, was born at Salem, 31st January, 1756, and died there December 19th, 1851. The eldest son Ebenezer, and Edward, the third and last, were also possessed of as daring and enterprising a spirit as their brother; and early selected the ocean for their field of action. The subject of this memoir was amongst the pioneers in all the branches of trade, and knew their origin and progress through their various stages. He was in England when our Revolution commenced, and the Government ordering the arrest of all Americans found there, his escape from being made a prisoner was thus effected: His father and himself had been acquainted in America with Captain Edwards, commander of a seventy-four gun ship, and when Mr. West made known his situation, Capt. Edwards gave him a midshipman's warrant, and took him on board his ship. It was not long before Mr. West found a vessel bound to Spain, engaged a passage, and without notifying his friend, sailed for Spain. On his arrival there he found the privateer *Oliver Cromwell*, Capt. Cole, of Salem, and came home with him. He made several cruises in this and other armed vessels, taking many prizes. He participated with the gallant Haraden in several contests, and was the last survivor of the band that had so largely contributed to the success of our country's cause. Whilst thus

engaged, he, with Capt. Nathaniel Silsbee as his Lieutenant, put into the port of Cork, on a dark night, and cut out and took away a valuable prize. He also made successful cruises as captain of the privateer *Black Prince;* she carried eighteen guns and one hundred and fifty men. On the 8th July, 1779, he was ordered, together with the *Hector*, Capt. John Carnes, of Salem, and the *Hunter*, to join the fleet at Nantasket Roads in preparation for the Penobscot Expedition, in which they all joined, but unfortunately the *Black Prince* was driven on shore, captured and burnt by the enemy's fleet.

Mr. Derby had a fine ship built and fitted for a cruiser, to be employed on the coast of France in 1782, for Captain West to command. On her arrival at a French port, news of preliminaries of peace being signed was proclaimed, and consequently the *Astrea* returned to Salem bringing the first news of peace.

Capt. West was soon after in London, and on learning that Captain Edwards, who had so befriended him at the breaking out of the war, had been promoted to an Admiralship, and was then on a distant station, immediately wrote him a grateful acknowledgment of his kindness in rescuing him from a prison-ship, and stating that a desire of serving his country could only have caused him to leave his ship in so unceremonious a manner.

He now embarked in commerce, and pursued it with continued success until he had amassed a large fortune.

On the 27th September, 1782, William West, Esq., father of the three sons before mentioned, obtained a flag of truce to go on board the *Jupiter* man-of-war, then cruising off Cape Ann, in order to effect an exchange for his eldest son, Capt. Ebenezer West, on board, who had been for nearly four years a prisoner of war; this object he failed at that time to accomplish, but it was soon after effected. Soon after the exchange, peace was proclaimed, and Captain Ebenezer West had command of the *Grand Turk*, a fine ship belonging to Mr. Derby, in which he performed voyages to Batavia, Isle of France, and finally to China. This was the first voyage by an American vessel to Canton, which he completed and returned to Salem in 1786.

Captain Edward West, the youngest of the three brothers, all master mariners, was in command of his brother Nathaniel's ship *Hercules*, seized in Naples in 1809, and it was his good fortune to obtain her release in order to transport Lucien Bonaparte and family to Malta, which enterprise he accomplished, and saved his ship from confiscation. He died but a short time before his brother Nathaniel, aged ninety-one.

Nathaniel West, Esq., was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of his early patron, Elias Hasket Derby; and second, to Julia, daughter of Warham Parks, Esq., of Westfield, Massachusetts; — an only son was the fruit of this connection, Richard West, Esq., of Concord, N. H. The children of the first marriage are all deceased. Nathaniel graduated at Harvard College in 1807, and married Mary White, and was a merchant. Martha and Sally died unmarried. Eliza was the wife of Edward Lander, Esq., and they were the parents of the late gallant General Frederick W. Lander, of Chief Justice Lander of Oregon, of Miss Elizabeth Lander, and of Louisa, the eminent sculptor, and of Sarah, a writer of celebrity.

After making ample provision for all his descendants, Mr. West, at the close of a long life, feeling a deep interest in his townsmen, provided for the wants of such as venture upon the perils of a seafaring life by bequeathing the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars, placed in the hands of trustees, to the Salem Marine Society, to enable it to sustain a "nautical and commercial" school for the young men of Salem. A proud testimonial of the generous heart of one whose early life had been passed upon the seas, whose meridian was that of an enterprising and successful merchant, and whose long protracted later years were those of a philanthropic citizen.

In person Mr. West was of fine figure, and of a majestic mien and gait. He never forgot the dignity which belonged to his years and station.

Winslow, Edward, the son of General John Winslow, was born June 7, 1714, entered Harvard College when eighteen years of age, and graduated in 1736. He married Hannah Dyer, widow of Charles Dyer, and daughter of Thomas Howland. His second wife was the widow Miller, and her children were Edward, Penelope, and Sally.

Mr. Winslow resided in Plymouth, was Clerk of the Courts, Register of Probate, and Collector of the port. He was an accomplished scholar and a gentleman of literary taste. Being a Loyalist, he removed to Halifax with his family soon after the commencement of hostilities, where he died June 8, 1784, aged seventy years. The funeral ceremonies conferred the highest honor and respect to the memory of the deceased. In consequence of his absenteeism, his estate in his native town was confiscated. Still, every branch of his family was provided for by the British Government during the remainder of their lives. — *Thatcher's Plymouth.*

Winslow, Isaac, son of Joshua and Elizabeth (Savage) Wins-

low, was born September 24, 1743, graduated at Harvard College in 1762, was married to Margaret, daughter of Rev. John Sparhawk, of Salem, who died January 18, 1772. He soon after married Mary, daughter of Benjamin Davis, Esq., of Boston, by whom he had several children. His descendants are in Boston, New York, and South Carolina. He died at Boston, January 23, 1793.

Mr. Winslow was a particular friend of Sir William Pepperrell, and his first wife a cousin of the Baronet. Whilst Mr. Winslow was in the British Provinces, they corresponded, and Sir William's letters evince great charity for his political opponents notwithstanding the bitterness which marked their writings and conduct. It is also a remarkable feature in the letters of the Loyalists throughout the Revolution that they exhibited an ardent love of country.

WINTHROP, ROBERT, Vice-Admiral in the British Navy, was the youngest son of John S. Winthrop, Esq., of New London, Connecticut, where he was born, September 7, 1764. On his father's side he was a lineal descendant of the early Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, of the same name;[1] his mother was Elizabeth, daughter of William Sherriffe, Esq., of London, whose first husband was Capt. John Hay, of the British Army. After the death of his father, young Winthrop, when fourteen years of age, left New London for New York, under a flag of truce, consigned to the care of a maternal uncle attached to the British force stationed there, by whom a midshipman's warrant was obtained for him in the Royal Navy. Of his subsequent career the following notice, taken from an English publication,[2] furnishes an interesting though concise account.

"May 10, 1832, died at Dover, of paralysis, aged seventy, ROBERT WINTHROP, Esq., Vice-Admiral of the Blue. Mr. Winthrop was a Midshipman on board the *Formidable*, bearing the flag of Sir George B. Rodney, in the memorable battle of April 12, 1782. He was a Lieutenant in 1790, and at the conquest of Martinique, in 1794, he commanded a battalion of seamen, attached to Prince Edward's brigade. In the spring of 1796 he commanded the *Albicore* sloop at the capture of St. Lucia; and, about the same time, he captured, near Barbadoes, *l'Athenienne*, French corvette, of fourteen guns. He was afterwards

[1] The line of descent was as follows: — 1. John Winthrop, First Governor of Massachusetts, died in 1649; 2. John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, d. 1676; 3. Wait S. Winthrop, Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts, d. 1717; 4. John Winthrop, F. R. S., d. 1747; 5. John S. Winthrop, father of the Admiral, d. 1776.

[2] *Gentleman's Magazine.* London, 1832.

appointed to the *Undaunted* frigate, and in that ship had the misfortune to be wrecked, on the Morant Keys, during a heavy gale of wind, August 27, 1796. His post commission bore date December 16, following.

"Captain Winthrop's next appointment was to the *Circe*, of twenty-eight guns, stationed in the North Sea; and in June, 1798, he served in the expedition sent against Ostend. Major-General Coote, who commanded the army employed on that occasion, has recorded in his despatches 'the indefatigable exertions and good conduct' of Captain Winthrop, who superintended the landing of the troops. In the summer of 1799, Capt. Winthrop was intrusted with the command of a small squadron employed on the coast of Holland, the boats of which, in the night of the 27th of June, very gallantly cut out twelve sail of merchantmen from the Wadde, without having a man hurt, notwithstanding they were much annoyed by the fire from the enemy's batteries and gun-boats. On the 10th of July, the boats also cut out three more valuable vessels, and burnt another laden with stores.

"In the following month the *Circe* assisted at the capture of the Helder; on which occasion all the Dutch ships lying in the Nieuwe Diep, together with the naval magazine at the Nieuwe Werk, containing a large quantity of stores, were taken possession of by Captain Winthrop. This event led to the surrender of the enemy's fleet in the Texel. In October of the same year, Capt. Winthrop's boats, under his own immediate direction, carried off from the port of Delfzel a sloop-of-war and schooner; the *Lynx* of twelve guns, and the *Perseus* of eight guns.

"In the autumn of 1800, in the expedition against Ferrol, Captain Winthrop commanded the *Stag* frigate, but which was unfortunately stranded in Vigo Bay, on the 6th of September, and was obliged to be destroyed by fire, after the stores had been removed.

"On the renewal of war, after the peace of Amiens, Captain Winthrop obtained the command of the *Ardent*, a sixty-four gun ship, stationed on the coast of Spain; where he drove on shore *La Bayonnaise*, French frigate, of thirty-two guns and two hundred men, from the Havana bound to Ferrol. The crew, to prevent her being taken possession of, set her on fire, by which she was totally destroyed. The *Ardent* was subsequently employed off Boulogne, under the orders of Lord Keith. From that ship he was removed into the *Sybille* frigate, about July, 1805, and on the 3d of May, 1807, he captured *l'Oiseau*, French letter-of-marque. In the ensuing summer he was appointed

to the command of the Dover district of Sea-Fencibles. He attained the rank of Rear-Admiral in 1809, and of Vice-Admiral in 1830.

"Admiral Winthrop married, December 23, 1804, Miss Farbrace, of Dover, by whom he has left a family of two sons and four unmarried daughters."

WINTHROP, THOMAS LINDALL, LL. D., half-brother of the preceding, was born at New London, Connecticut, March 6, 1760. His mother was the only daughter of Francis Borland, Esq., a merchant of Boston, and granddaughter of Timothy Lindall, Esq., of Salem. Mr. Winthrop began his collegiate course at Yale College, but finished it at Harvard, where he graduated in 1780. Soon after taking his Bachelor's degree, he embarked at Nantucket for Amsterdam, in a merchant ship, which was captured on the passage and carried into an English port; by permission of Admiral Duckworth, however, he was allowed to visit London on his parole, and afterwards travelled in the interior of the country, and on the Continent. At the close of the war he returned to the United States with Commodore Truxton, and engaged in commercial pursuits at Boston, where he continued to reside during the remainder of a long, useful, and not unhonored life.

In 1786 Mr. Winthrop was married to Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Temple, and granddaughter of Governor Bowdoin. The only son of the latter having no issue to perpetuate the family name, Mr. Winthrop's second son, the late James Bowdoin, of Boston, a gentleman of great personal worth and literary distinction, assumed it by the desire of his uncle, taking with the name a large estate.[1] Another son of Mr. Winthrop, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, has represented the city of Boston in Congress with distinguished reputation. He was Speaker of House.

In politics Mr. Winthrop belonged to the old Republican party; he was several times elected to the Massachusetts Senate, and in 1826 was chosen Lieut.-Governor of the State, by the votes of both political parties, which office he continued to fill, by successive annual elections, until his retirement in 1832. He was an active and liberal patron of literary and benevolent institutions, over several of which he presided during the latter part of his life. He was for a long period an officer of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. At the time of his decease he was President of the American Antiquarian Society, the

[1] Mr. Bowdoin contributed many valuable papers to the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, being deeply conversant with the early history of New England.

Massachusetts Historical Society, and the State Agricultural Society; and the libraries of the two former institutions were greatly indebted to his liberality for many important additions to their historical treasures. Governor Winthrop was also a member of various other learned and economical institutions both in this country and Europe, with some of which he maintained a constant correspondence. Indeed the greater part of his time, for several years before his death, was devoted to these objects, and to the promotion of the religious and benevolent enterprises of the day. He died universally beloved for his many virtues, and respected for his public services, at his residence in Boston, on the 22d of February, 1841, having nearly completed the eighty-first year of his age.

Governor Winthrop was in his person tall and commanding, and remarkable for the elegance and suavity of his manners. Enjoying an ample fortune, he lived in a style of generous hospitality, and for many years was in the habit of receiving at his table most strangers of consideration who visited the New England metropolis. The members of the State Legislature, and of the numerous associations with which he was connected, have reason to remember the liberal character of his hospitable attentions; and the latter lost in him a munificent patron and benefactor. In his religious opinions he was firm, but catholic and tolerant; attached to the communion of the Episcopal Church, he died as he had lived, a humble and sincere Christian.

Worthington, John, was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, November 24, 1719, and graduated at Yale College in 1740, where he remained for three year as tutor. He read law with Gen. Lyman, of Suffolk, Connecticut, and commenced practice in his native town in 1744. He attained great influence and had an extensive practice in his profession. He was also a Colonel of militia and a member of the Legislature in 1774. He opposed the measures of the friends of liberty. He was appointed a Councillor by Mandamus, but declined serving. He was public prosecutor for Hampshire County, and was held in as high esteem by the Colonial authorities, as by his fellow-citizens. The following copy of a letter, now in possession of Josiah Hooker, Esq., of Springfield, in the handwriting of Gov. Hutchinson, shows how highly he was esteemed by the latter. The letter was written while Sir Francis Bernard was Governor, — in fact during the year in which he was recalled, and the Administration left in the hands of Hutchinson.

Boston, *Feb.* 28, 1769.

Dear Sir: —

In conversation with the Governor, a few days ago, about the Attorney-General's place, which will be vacant in a short time, it was agreed that I should write and propose to you to accept of it, provided a salary of not less than £200 sterling a year should be annexed to it. I could not give any great encouragement to the Governor, because it is necessary an Attorney-General should live at or near Boston, and I know your attachment to that foggy, unhealthy air from Connecticut River, which, if you do not remove, will shorten your days; but as it was possible, I thought it best to make the proposal. If you can bring yourself to be willing, the Governor will immediately represent to Lord Hillsborough, the advantage the public will receive from it, and try to obtain 300 instead of 200 a year. I will add my little interest, though I doubt not his recommendation would be sufficient. If the attempt for a salary should fail, it cannot be expected you should take the place, though I fancy there is more in it than is generally known, *or Sewall would not be so fond of it.* It will not be discovered by me, and I should think not by the Governor, that such a proposal had been made to you. I shall be glad to secure an answer as soon as you have deliberated.

I am yours sincerely,

Tho. Hutchinson.

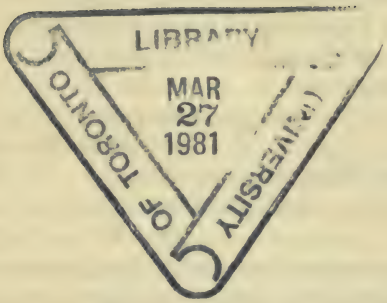
To the Hon. John Worthington,
Springfield, Mass.

This plan was never consummated; but the consideration which Col. Worthington received from the Government was doubtless the cause of a leaning towards Toryism, which made him unpopular with the patriotic masses. He endeavored to act the neutral, but his sympathies had been made too apparent by his action in the Legislature. It is a forcible commentary on the spirit of the times that this man, so long honored and revered, suffered the humiliation of being forced inside a ring of Whigs in the open air, in his own town, and there made to kneel and ask forgiveness for his Toryism. From the time of the interruption of the courts in 1774, Col. Worthington retired from practice. He lived to the good old age of eighty-one, dying in 1800.

The illustrious Fisher Ames, and Col. Thomas Dwight, M. C., married his daughters.

Col. Worthington's law library is now in the possession of Josiah Hooker, Esq., who inherited it from his father, Judge Hooker, a student and nephew of Worthington.

It was one of the best law libraries of its times. — *History of Western Massachusetts*, Vol. II. p. 135.



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Curwen, Samuel
The journal and letters
of Samuel Curwen

24